

HUGO GROTIUS,
De Rebus Belgicis :
OR, THE
ANNALS,
AND
HISTORY
OF THE
Low-Country-WARRS.

Wherein is manifested,

That the *United Netherlands*, are Indebted for the
Glory of Their *Conquests*, to the *Valour* of the *English*;
under whose Protection, the *Poor Distressed States*,
• have Exalted Themselves to the Title of the
HIGH and MIGHTY.

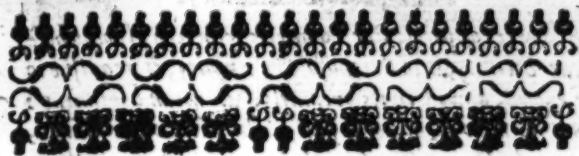
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ROGER L'ESTRANGE,





TO THE
Right HONOURABLE,
CHARLES
Viscount *Fitz-Harding*,
AND
Earl of *Falmouth*.

MEN, as the Philosopher saith, Most Noble Sir,
are rude, barbarous, and worthy of nothing but
Contempt, unless their Natures be refined by Learning
and Knowledge; a main Instrument for the attaining
whereof is History; which, as the Learned Livy saith,
Hoc illa præcipue agit in rerum cognitione salubre
et frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta in illu-
stri posita monumento, intueri, unde Tibi tuæq; Rei-
pub: quod imites capias, unde foedum inceptum,
foedum exitu, quod vites: *This I take to be meant by*
him in general of History; which, without offence of the
more Learned, I hope may be extended to the various

The Epistle Dedicatory.

Discourses of particular Countries; especially such, whose near vicinity, as to Friendship or Enmity, is requisite to be known, as well in its greatness, as mean beginning: A Wise-man ought not to find fault with those things, which he sees written, because he doth not approve thereof, but rather will set a high esteem thereon, because others are experienced in those things whereof he is ignorant; wherein the Candor of your Lordships Judgment appears glorious, as using to try all things rather by the measure of unerring Truth, than the deceitful Fancy of a biased Judgment.

The famous Author Hugo Grotius, though eminent for Learning in his Country, and by his own Repute able to bear up against the Malevolent Blusters of Envy, yet were his Posthume Works glad to crave the Protection of Superiours, by whose Approbation, they have gone through the World, meriting the highest Applause. And therefore, I humbly hope, the unworthiness of the Translator, in his being unknown to your Honour, will not in any measure lessen the well-known Repute of the Author, whose Impartial Pen, hath with that Candor deliver'd his Countrey-mens Actions, as gives not the Credit of their Greatness, to their own Policy or Strength, but yields a deserved Laurel to the honour of the English, whose Aid was not onely as a Hand to uphold, but a vivifying Medicine to a fainting Body, that recalls and gives new Spirit to a formless and cadaverous Lump. I shall not trouble your Lordship with the Reasons inducing to this Translation at this time, as well-knowing it would be too great an Intrenchment upon the full Occasions, which hardly afford your Honour any time of Repose:
And

The Epistle Dedicatory.

And therefore I humbly crave your Lordships Pardon, for this bold Intrusion, beseeching your favourable Respect to Patronize this Translation, which I prostrate to you, as the most hopeful Stem of Rising Nobility, as being replete with all the Advantages flowing from a large and plentiful Fortune; wherewith not onely your Body is enriched, but your Mind copiously embelished, with all the Helps both of Art and Nature. Accept then hereof, and make it receive a value, if not from its own Worth, yet from your Approbation: Which that it may do, is the Desire of,

MY LORD,

Your Lordships in all service to
be commanded,

T. MANLEY.

To

THE F. W. Dodge Co.

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses, which are arranged in a columnar fashion. The names are written in a cursive script, and the addresses are written in a more formal, printed style. The list includes names such as "John Doe", "Jane Smith", and "Robert Brown", along with their respective addresses.

October 1941

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To the READER.

IT is a Crime too incident to Humane Frailty to be finding fault, though they undergo the Lash of the *Satyrical Poet* for it, *Turpe est Doctori cum culpa redarguit ipsum*; And I cannot expect to be free from such *Calumniators*: But I hope better things from the *Ingenious Readers*, who, if I flatter not my self, will be enforced to acknowledge, That if I have not arrived at the highest Pitch of the Author's Fancy, yet that I have not deviated from the same.

You have here the first Rise of the *Quondam Poor Distressed States*; which, as the Author confesseth, was by a Revolt from their Lawful Sovereign: And the Sacred Scripture parallels *Rebellion* to the *Sin of Witchcraft*. But, *Success* brought in that *Pagan Principle*, *Prosperum Scelus vocatur Virtus*: And from this Step they assumed the Title of *High and Mighty*: Yet is it not forgot, that *Babel* should have reach'd to *Heaven*, but was destroyed.

Our Author, as he ingeniously acknowledgeth the *Rise and Growth*, so he often brings them forth with their *Humble Suit* for Aid and Assistance; and afterwards, with the Expressions of their *humble and hearty Acknowledgments* to *Queen Elizabeth*, as their main Support, in their most distressed Condition: And with more Humble supplications to her,
Not

To the Reader.

Not to leave them to the Rage of their Enemies, but to continue them under the Wings of Her Protection ; unto which Protection , out of her meer Mercy and Compassion, she admitted them. Because of the *Inhumane Cruelties* committed upon them by the Bloody Duke *D'Alva*: And though They in all humility offered unto her Submission as to their Prince, (such was their low Condition) yet, notwithstanding their Preservation by the *English Nation*, so often acknowledged by Themselves ; they , like the ungrateful Snake, endeavour to destroy their *Foster-Father*, forgetting all their Obligations to *England*, and offering all the Violencies imaginable, which, with *Amboyna*, shall not now be particularized.

These are the Wars, which most Christian Princes were concerned in : writ they have been by others ; but this the onely *Protestant Writer*, whose Impartial Pen needs onely to be named to give Credit.

And how seasonably Translated at this Juncture of Time, their own Confessions in those past, and their unjust Proceedings in the present Affairs, will sufficiently testify.

GROTIUS

OF THE

Affairs of the Netherlands.

The ANNALS of Hugo Grotius, concerning
the Dutch Affairs; from the Departure of King
PHILIP.

The First

I Intend to Discourse the most famous Warre of our Times, and which may not improperly be called *Spanish*, or a Warre of Confederates, while the *Spanish* and *Dutch*, People accustomed to live under one Government, and who had as well been Victors, as Companions in Arms, differ between themselves, nor wanteth Reason why it may not be termed a Civil War, the Parties therein concerned under the several Title of the Prince, and the Laws being Domestick: And whe her we mind the Policies either of Civil or Military Government, we shall not find a

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more fertile Field of Examples, nor in any Age more fierce and tedious Conflicts, in such an unequal Quarrel: You would admire how the Seeds of this Hostility were long before sown, but after they began to grow up and appear, it would even tire Curiosity to observe the great Mens Power and Craft, the desperation of the meaner sort, the new Leagues, and immediately the Home-Discords, and at last the unhappy endeavouring of Forraign Aid; whereto, in short time after, were added the frequent Assaults, takings, and re-takings of Towns and Castles, Marches and Re-Marches of Armies, till sometimes they met to Battel, Passages to and fro by Sea, long Sieges, and indeed all kind of Martial Discipline, improved to the utmost, by signal Experiment: But these things being done in publike, whereby each Party strengthened his own Affairs, and turned all occasions into Force, I shall more easily accomplish, in regard I have them, as nearer, so more certain, and consequently not to be prevented, much less amended by others at a greater distance. The beginnings of this War, though very incertain, because much unknown and dark in its occasion, many famous Writers have undertaken, even in the *Latine* Tongue, to describe: But in regard you cannot well understand those without some further Director, I thought it not amiss to declare at large, the first Causes of those Tumultuous Proceedings, which intervened there from the beginning, that at one short View, Counsels and Policies may be compared one with the other, together with the Event produced by the same. And in truth, so great and famous have the Actions there done, been, that even Strangers have been curious in writing thereof; and therefore we certainly should be accounted most ingrate to our Countrey, and envious of the good of our Posterity, if we should not give them a most exact Relation of those things which hapned so near them; Especially since most of our Modern Writers have too frequently deluded their Readers Credulity, with vain and uncertain

certain Rumours, as either Party, for their own advantage, published the same; or else if any had Desire or Opportunity of knowing the Truth, even such contented their selves to write onely a *Diurnal*; My Design is to lay open and discuss the Peoples Commotions, the Consultations of the great Ones and Governours, and whence a new Sovereignty sprang, where the first determined.

The People that inhabit the Land within the *Rhene*, as also on both sides thereof, to the Sea of the *Marim*, and the River *Amassus*, on this side called *Germany*, on the other, Old *Belgium*, their Country; but most of them are beholding to *Germany*, as well for their Language, as their Original; whence it was, that while the *Romans* strove to bring in their Arts and Commerce, these jointly taking Care, both of their Liberty, and the Warre, at once, were Companions in Loss or Conquerours: Neither did they ever lose the Repute of good Warriors, though they most shewed their Valours, either in others Aid, or their own Rebellions: But when the Generality of People, as it were upon one Signal, made violent Incursions into the *Roman Empire*, all this Tract fell to the share of the *Franks*; until in the Division of their Power, part became the Possessions of the Kings of *France*, and other part the *Emperors* of *Germany* claimed as their Right. But both, when they themselves were from thence far distant, set *Governors*, by the Names of Earls, Dukes, and the like, to rule and defend all the Cities therein, saving onely such as for the sake of Religion, were given unto Bishops, when Christianity began to increase and flourish: Such as were sent forth to the Wars in Command, were called Dukes, to whom Earls or Counts were such as took Care of the Accounts of Subsidies, and other Taxes, for the Souldiers Pay, and were chief Judges: But it is a thing hardly credible, how both these and those did augment their Power in a short time, by these three means, their own Valour and Verrue, their Princes neglect and Carelessness, and the Favour and Good-will of the Pro-

vincials. For first, they got themselves Power and Authority, by doing good to all; nor did they shew more Audacity and Courage in time of War, than Moderation and Religion in Times of Peace. In this manner strengthening themselves, instead of a Lieutenantship, (which was all they had at first) they attain to themselves a perpetual and Hereditary Dominion, which was with the more Facility and Compliance granted to them, because when any Wars broke out in those Parts, they were the more ready to meet and undergo the Dangers and Hazards thereof, in regard they defended their own Territories: For, in those Times, the Seas were almost covered and the Shores even beset and filled with *Danish* and *Norman* Fleets: Not long after, taking a Privilege, either from the Fear or Favour of their Followers, or the Breach and Decay of a greater Lordship, though they kept the same Resemblance still in Name, yet they established a Sovereign and lawful Authority even with the Peoples good-will. Lands are set apart for the Princes, and moderate Tributes: yet enough to support and maintain their Dignity; for they gave not themselves over to Covetousness and Luxury, or those other Crimes, which in the Innocency of that Age were scarce known to the World: Onely the Desire of Rule, and Thirst of Dominion (aged almost as Nature) they could not excuse themselves from. Hence it was, they had perpetuall Wars, either among themselves, or with their Bordering Neighbors; for managing whereof, they never hired Forrein Souldiers, but used their own People, who for the safe keeping of their *Borders*, would strive who should be foremost in the Watch; and if Ambition or Honour had invited the Prince beyond, they forthwith followed him with Alacrity, moved thereto as well by the hopes of Praise, as Reward: The *Conquerour* bestowing in Gift on his Noblest Souldiers, Lands in Fee-Farm, and confirming on Cities and Citizens, their Franchises, Customs, Laws, and Magistracy, the sure Guards and Defences of their Liberty. Nor did their Successors take

take upon them the full power of Government, before they had confirm'd by Oath these Grants, on whom they were at first bestowed.

The whole Charge of the Common-Wealth, was of old laid upon the Shoulders of the *Nobility* and *Governours* of Towns, which consisted of the *Commune*, to whom in some places the Clergy were added: These, where it was necessary, met together concerning Embassies; These Consulted of the great Affairs of State; nor was it lawful, without the general Consent of all, to set a Tribute or Tax, to alter the present State of Affairs, nor so much as enhance or debase the value of *Coin*. So much Caution was there used, even when they had good Princes, to prevent the encroaching of Evil Ones. The most Noble and Vertuous amongst the Citizens, underwent and performed all publike Offices, and all Strangers were kept out of the Princes Court, the Senate, and all other places, either of Honour or Profit. By the observance of these good Customs, long did the Common-Wealth continue fix'd on a good Basis. But at length by little and little Seditions growing up, wasted this flourishing and rich People, untill by many Victories, Affinities, and Treaties, most of them were glad to submit to the *Burgundian* Government, who being sprung from a Royal House, Warlike, Crafty, and daring, to undertake any thing, to Arise his Power from the Divisions of the Nobles, Promises to one, Threatens another, and gives Rewards to a Third: Thus, in a short time, all things bow, either for Reward, or fear of Punishment; and he is ready to destroy the Force of their promiscuous Liberty, by an extraordinary Act of Authority, according to the *French* Example: For every several Nation hath his own Senate appointed him, but all were to attend the Common Justice of *Micklin*, by which means they more easily represented the Form of one City: A Colledge also, or Fraternity, by the Name of the *Golden Fleece*, was Erected, whereby he obliged the Princes admitted into the same, that were famous both for

their Extract and Merits, to be to him both an Honour and a Safeguard. Among all these Policies, the States maintained the Peoples Right, whom out of the several Nations, he called to meet in one Common-Council, as oft as the Common Treasury was drained by his Wars, or other Necessity required the same: Being sent thither, they oft-times did great things for the Common-Wealth; and that which added to their Courage was, that they might speak what they had in Commission. There was not a Castle, nor in time of Peace a Souldier, except a few Garrisons upon the utermost Borders, suspected from the frequent Motions of the *French*; together with Three Thousand Horsemen, the Flower of all the Nobility, yet Commanded by the Chief of the Popularity, and were in readines against any sudden IncurSIONS, and such a Number of private Ships, ready upon any unexpected Occasion, as would over-number a good Fleet.

This great Accumulation of Fortune, being transposed unto the *Austrian* Family, though it made the Power of *Spain* greatly to increase, yet the mild Natures of those in Authority, by their Moderation, augmented their Power; and certainly, sooner by this Act is Liberty overthrown and conquered, than by Force: For Fierceness grows into Fury, while it resists Compulsion. when Meekness and Courtesies will even hand men into Obedience; untill accustomed Duties being commanded, the long License of Evil Habits, makes that Obedience seem to be Slavery. In the mean time, to the Commons who meddle not with Arms, the Benefits of Merchandizing and Trades is frequently shewn, whereby the Customs and Tributes are increased, and that private men grown rich, if they would be innocent, must with Care shun publike Employments. This *Spanish* Conjunction, was a very great Augmentation: But now, as if grown more wise, as the Wealth of those in Superiority over them mightily increased, they began to suspect with a kind of Dread, from the *Spaniards* Behaviour, which they had Opportunity enough

enough to look into, in the time of their Service together in the Wars; as also, from the Difference between them, a Change of their Common-Wealth: For while *Bordering Nations* have from a like Stock, by the same Endeavours increased, they easily agree between themselves, engaged thereunto by a kind of *Brotherly Relation*: But the *Spaniard* and *Dutch* differ in many, nay in most things; and in those they agree, they meet with too much vehemency. Both have been famous in Martial Exploits for many Ages, unless that these have disused, those by *Italian*, and other *Forreign Expeditions*, are encouraged through long Discipline and Rewards.

The *Dutch* are very sedulous and diligent, and, for the hope of gain willing to undergo any labour, do by that means acquire both Trade and Peace; yet do they not use to take and put up Injuries: and as they are greedy after other mens goods, so in defence of their own they will contend to the uttermost; which hath been the cause, that in this single Region there are so many Cities, and those that are situate near the Sea, or any other River, strongly fortified, and every where else so replenished by their own, and a mixt multitude of persons from other Countries: Thus since these monstrous Incursions from the *Northern* Parts of the Earth were blown over, have they for Eight Ages continued unconquered and free from the spoils of forreign Armies. But *Spain*, after it had contracted from the variety of its Victors, many of their Customes, and great diversity in their manners, at last was forced to yield her Neck to the *Gothish* Servitude: by which mixt cohabitation and intermingled breeding, they came even to unite in nature and disposition, of whom both Ancient and Modern Authors have given us this Character, That they were of invincible spirits to undergo all manner of hardships and dangers, whereby it was scrupled by the rest of the World, Whether they were more greedy of Honour or Wealth? They are proud and arrogant beyond measure, even to the contempt of all others; they are very great

honourers of things Sacred, having Religion in high esteem, which makes them neither unmindful of nor ungrateful for benefits received; but in revenge so furious is their heat, and in victory, so barbarous their cruelty, that they think nothing in such case done to an enemy either unlawful or dishonourable. The things are quite contrary to the *Dutch*, a Nation innocently crafty, and after the manner of their situation which is between *France* and *Germany*, they are moderate both in their Customs and Conditions, in some measure participating of the Vices of both, yet not altogether without some of their Vertues: You cannot easily deceive them, you must not unadvisedly insult over them, Nor in matters of Divine Worship, in former time did they in ought come behind the *Spaniards*, being unanimous ever since they first put on Christianity; not so terrified by the *Norman* Arms as to change their profession, nor yet ever infected with any damnable error: They bestowed so much upon Religion, that the very Priests themselves were necessitated to prescribe bounds to what they might possess; They learnt from both, between whom they seemed engrafted, to honour and reverence their Princes: But the *Dutch* thought the Law ever above them, from which pretence sprung many troubles. The *Castilians* love to govern, somewhat more strictly than other Nations, and yet what liberty soever they usurp to themselves, they will not allow the like to others: Hence arose very great danger, because as in two divided Empires, neither for Fear or Love to prevent the trouble or win the favour of their Princes, would the *Dutch* en, use any superior, nor the *Spaniards* an equal.

All People hot labour with the thirst and ambition of Rule, if their first actions thrive into a Success, their next Work is to draw the Nations with whom they converse or hold correspondence under the subjection of their Law, to appoint Judges and Governors, to assess and impose Tributes and Taxes, that it may be at their option and pleasure to use and command

command the common Strength: Thus the *Spaniards*, accustomed to domineer in *Italy*, and at their will to lay waste and destroy in *America*, sought either the same power, or else, for denyall thereof, a cause of Quarrell with the *Dutch*, who, by a long succession of Princes, were even united in an indissoluble league. Neither did *Adrian*, shortly after Pope, a holy and just man, and yet a *Hollander*, forget the hateful authority of the *Spaniard*, the lofty pride of *Crojac*, and rapacious dealing of *Cenry*, among whom all things whether temporally honourable, or Ecclesiastically Sacred, were sold; yet not thinking (though scarcely by force withheld) when they laid down their Command, that they had done ought amiss. Wherefore by soothing up those that were most powerfull, they made a mock of that vain shadow of Empire, where Magistracy must either be by the favour or for the good of the People, & where the Princes can hardly with the most gentle and persuasive blandishments obtain for their most necessary and difficult affairs, an inconsiderable pecuniary ayd. In vain it is, without doubt, to talk of the limits of Dominion beyond the *Tyrrhene* Sea, and utmost extents of the main Ocean; if the subject must become slaves to their Lords at home. Nor yet did they deceive or turn upon those whom their own Country's scarcity, and the known modesty of this Nation had drawn into these *Netherlands*; Although the Emperour *Charles* seriously consulted of the alteration of the State, and erecting a Kingdom out of the Cities, especially where the Victory at *Pavy* had in a manner half brought to pass his desire over *Flanders* and *Artoys*, which by that were totally rent from the *French* possessions, but deterred he was by divers settled Laws and Customs, which he durst not abrogate. On the other side, he would not so make the *Spanish* Provinces, he himself having often averred, That if their Pride were joynd with the *Dutch* Patience, they would certainly produce some eminent mischief: much blaming his Son, who spending his Youth among the *Spaniards*, took no notice of the nature

nature of these people, but rather slighted all conveniencies that were offered him for the survey and knowledge of these Regions. He was indeed an equal Judge of Vertues, and sharer of Honours, behaving himself as one and the same Prince to all his People, not suffering such daily usurpations here, as the *Spaniards* were free to in their new gained Kingdoms, whereat they were troubled; endeavouring to be present in these his *Netherlands*, if his Affairs would bear it, and it hindred not his taking care for his more immediate necessities.

He that was here the Princes Lieutenant, had a threefold Classis of Counsellors. To the first of whom, was the care and managery of Peace and Warr. To the second, the distribution of Justice according to Law, with the moderation thereof by equity; as also the power of judging and determining the publick Controversies of these Regions. The third supervised the Treasury, and therein took care of the Prince's Wealth, or to supply his Necessities.

That first Councell or Assembly customarily made up of the most noble of the *Dutch*, and eminent and famous for the many great and weighty Affairs there frequently handled, we will call by a proper name, The *Senate*; To which *Philip* between the greatness of his Kingdoms, and the insinuations of such who flattered the actions of his Youth, forming himself to the *Spanish* Mode, and using no other language, used to come with an assumed austere gravity, few words, and eschewing of much company. And when his Father had withdrawn himself, that he might spend his old age in a private retirement, they presently urge him to raise new Imposts, in whom the old ambition and thirst of Rule, not yet repressed by experiments, was such, as would scarcely suffer either measure or bounds. Nor is it to be doubted, but that most beautiful order of Government gave credit to the faith and vertue of the *Spaniards*: How great a desire harboured in the Breasts of Princes to subvert the Law, which kept under

der the violent ebullitions of their power; the notable ruines both of Princes and People have left us too many both new and old pregnant examples.

Of this endeavour and intention of *Philip*, some of the *Spaniards* themselves were afterwards sensible, but the *Netherlanders* (for so for the greater part of them, are they to be called) being now mastered into obedience, but yet not willing to bear an arbitrary Government, though they would seem to bear the yoke the better, from a long use, so that hence were hoped many great and seasonable opportunities against Neighbour Kingdoms both by Sea and Land. Nor was there wanting the seeds of future discord: for when *Philip* had undertaken the *French* Warr, invited thereto rather by their Civill Discords, than the Peoples will or assistance, after many delays and controvertings, a Tax was granted by the States; but so, as if they had had a power to have denyed it, ordaining, That the very Collectors & Receivers thereof should pay towards the same: This was charged upon them as an unaccustomed thing, and a crime by them committed against their Liberty, which indeed then was but small. Hereupon the meeting of the States being interpreted as a Meeting of confederacy, was strictly forbidden: Nor did the *Spaniards* doubt to make the offence seem greater, some of them affecting honour, others minding only rapine, which while the Lawes stood, they knew would not admit them. How necessary it is for wise Princes to keep in possession, since by their presence not only the *Netherlands* formerly, but even *Spain* it self, had been kept in good order; yet notwithstanding *Phillip* is perswaded, the Peace with *France* being concluded, to take a Journey into *Spain*, or other parts of his Dominions, as well because he feared some Troubles in that Kingdom, and the encrease of the *Turks* power at Sea, as also because he should be nearer to take a care of and secure his *American* Treasures. At this time also the ancient and magnificent Nobles appeared glorious in
their

their Dignities, but were mean in their Estates; either by their own Luxury; or the Prince's Policy, who under pretence of Honours, had by extraordinary Charges exhausted every honourable Person. Among all whom, *William*, by possession of the *Cabellian* Family, Prince of *Auraig* within a Province of *France*, did excell the rest in diligence, curtesie and policy; but originally descended from the ancient Family of *Nassau* in *Germany*, which formerly having contested with the *Austrian* Family for the Imperiall Wreath, afterwards submitted himself under the Patronage of the more fortunate overcomer. He was from his tenderest Infancy separated and taken from his Father, who professed the *German* Religion; he was the Courts foster-Child, and by *Charles* admitted into his Councils; became not only skilled, and employed in the conduct of Warre, but in very great Embassies: he was renowned by an ancient stock of Nobility, had many large and rich Possessions in the *Netherlands*, of a great Spirit, which embellished it self, his wisdom and Prudence equalling his height of Spirit, so that he was capable even of the greatest Fortune; cruelty and covetousness were absolute strangers with him: Valiant in the search of the remotest matters, and when found, a memory so faithful as ever to retain them, by most pleasing allurements growing potent with the People. He had the Government of *Holland*, *Zealand* and *Utrecht*; and within those bounds, his care and power managed all the affairs both of Warre and Peace, the Law and the Sword; but *Lamoral* Count of *Edmond*, governed *Flanders* and *Artoyes*, a man of a more open nature, and like a Souldier, somewhat fierce, trusting much to his wealth and strength, much to his fame; and the truth is, (had he not too much blamed others) in those two famous Victories obtained against the *French* at *St. Quintins* and *Gravelin*, he merited an immortal wreath of Honour and Renown.

These two far outwent all the rest, both in the greatness of their charges and honour; for *Brabant* being a common part
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of the Empire, had no proper Governour: the rest of the Provinces are mentioned hereafter. The Command of the Sea, which in it self is most honourable, rested advantaged in *Mommerey* Count of *Horn*, sprung from a noble Family in *France*. These great men thus qualified, the *Spaniards* found he must remove before he should enjoy the *Netherlands*, according to his aym; and it seemed the more easie to be done, because while they wholly endeavour to attain estimation and Authority, and to that end, cavel at the *Spaniards* haughtiness and pride, they had already made a breach in friendship: in the manner, the rest of the Nobles in no manner (though but) comparatively wealthy, made factions, and most of the meaner sort had shipwrack't their credit, either by luxury, or among a wanting and necessitated Souldiery. In which wreights they were not continually thrust out of their power, as their enemies expected, but they used all their industry and diligence, by all wayes and meanes to maintain their dignity: many in these publick distempers, seeking either to hide or amend their own, the vulgar rout were ready for mischief, and would commit spoils on others, as they were led thereunto, either by their hope or desperation. These bickerings among the Belgick Peers and Nobility, discording in affection, did in some manner for a while, put a stop to the careere of the audacious *Spaniard*, while part take part with the Prince of *Anrange*, and the others before named, others follow the factions of severall great Houses. But neither the hatred of Warre, the suffering and undergoing its evils, the love of peace, nor the loss of honours, no whit moved the Commons, whose whole study was Merchandizing and feasting; by the first to get money, and by the second, prodigally to spend it: But they took it heavily to heart, that men should be tormented or killed for any manner of worship of God, and this was irksome, even to those that were not within the fear or danger of that cruelty. Long did grief stand wavering between sighes and teares, before the increments of good could
make

make it burst out. Of this matter, because to some it gave cause, to others onely pretence, I will discover it fully from the very beginning.

Christian Religion, that of old was revered for its naked simplicity, was shortly after set out with the various flourishing of congregated Philosophers, by the additions of each, according to their severall fancies; among whom also *Jews*, *Greeks*, and others, cast in the severall Ceremonies of their particular Countries, that so the Majesty of their Religion might the more splendidly appear (nor indeed was it without reason), but these continuing long free to be used or left, at last admitted by the Opinions of some private Families, or the advice and judgment of some Churches, by little and little encreased by use, till the Eloquence of the Learned, and the suffrages and Decrees of Counsels, changed them into necessity and Law: which, through the ignorance of succeeding times, and by subtle and dark disputations and circumlocutions, have been ever since defended. In which Interim; the Bishops of *Rome*, men of an unlimited Authority, emulous *Constantinople* being removed, as also the Cities of *Asia* and *Egypt*, established a kind of Ecclesiastical Kingdom, wherein the *Cardinals* being as Judges Laterall, they have assumed the height of Empire, and have continued in a long Series of Dominion, none in any manner contradicting them, because most of the *European* Nations had received their Christianity from instructors sent from *Rome*. Hence it was, that the Rites and Ceremonies of the *Latine* Church were all received, and the *Latine* Tongue onely used in all acts of devotion by the Church. But they, after they had thus brought all things Sacred within their own reach, set forth new Decrees, interpret the old, take the holy Scripture out of the hands of the vulgar, protesting it a most pernicious thing, if an unlearned curiosity should dive into the understanding of so great a Mystery. Thus turning all things to their own honour and profit, and so great a liberty is given by the Priests, that vice is come to that pitch

pitch, as they themselves confess it wants correcting. But by a sudden breaking forth of Learning, which dispelled, by a new way of preaching, the darkness of that age: there did appear, some who promised as well to reform Religion as the arts, and to call all things relating to Religion, to the Test of the holy Scripture.

This was well pleasing to the People, who weary of the charges and injuries they underwent, did exceedingly rejoyce, that now they should no longer serve God, and seek for Heaven, with anxious dread, and in blind obedience, but with a more firm and settled confidence, and with fewer Precepts. Neither were some Princes backward in breaking in upon this Priestly Power, which had now almost subjected unto it self the Kingly Diadem. But here the Proverb was truly manifested, *the hand alwayes followes the hurt*, certain people of troublesome natures, that could not endure any quiet: what was publickly to be desired, they will, though private persons, extort, and now they fall together by the ears about the manner, nor will they admit any to compose the differences. But it was no easie matter to pull asunder those joynts which for so many Ages had grown together. And the discomposed face of Affairs was very displeasing, the peoples minds being set a madding, and no apparent way to bring them into order again: for here were revived the opinions of *Husse* in Germany, of *Wicliffe* in England, of the *Waldenses* in France, whence by the meetings of their severall Inhabitants, by the company of the forreign Souldiers, and by commerce and Trading, they were transperfed over the *Netherlands*, and grew common. And liberty being allowed of once, changing brought in many impious and nefarious Sects: Nor would any one believe, that there was any Land more fertile in the producing such kinds of Monsters in those times, than the *Netherlands*, if he should but thoroughly look over the villanous and reproachful Speeches of *David George* of *Delph*, and the seditious sayings of *John Bucolmus* of *Leyden* against

and demonstrated the power of France, to show that the revolution by way of proceeding, against the old system, in regard to the payment of the army, and maintenance of the army! So when there had been a peace, the maintenance of a full force had been given to the nation, under that name of the Law, and they might by their maintenance make a difference.

[illegible]

... ..

have as little regard such as usurped at their *Dicums*, as if they had rebelled against God himself by Blasphemy. Nor was it only assigned to Bishops, to visit their Dioceses, but also they were wick, when they thought it meet, to send *Commissaries*, with a most ample Power, (which first began about Four hundred Years since) and there chose to be assistant unto whom they pleased; who had Authority to examine upon Oath any person whatsoever, wheresoever, or under whose Obedience soever he lived: And by these subtle Dealings, they not only did wind themselves into the Secrets of Families, but also into the Closets of Mens Hearts; for as any one was more or less Conscientiously fearful of *Perjury*, so did he accordingly, more or less, by closer or more open Discoveries, betray himself. But if this were not, yet were it a hard matter for men to conceal themselves there, where it is accounted Religion to fall down before the Shrines of Saints, their *Hell* exposed in the Churches, or else when it is openly carried about. Suspicion sends a man to Prison; but the meanest Discovery is enough to commit him to Torture. Nor is it permitted, for the Accused Person, Guileless or Guilty, to hear or re-join the Witness; as if such Allowance would be dangerous to the Witness, and destructive to Truth it self. The temporal Judges are commanded to punish all that are condemned, although it only proceed from Ecclesiastical Censure, in the cruel executing whereof, many strive to shew their Zeal and Piety: Others there were, who did foresee this manner of Judgments, to be subject not only to Scandal and Hanged, but Covertness; because when Goods happened not to be Confiscate, they would not suffer them to be taken out of their Cognizance and Power, to the use of the Parties, until they had satisfied the Charge of the Complaint: But the *Spanish Inquisition*, for Sharpness and Cruelty, exceeds all other; for the management whereof, some *Officers*, of the Order of St. *Dominic* are chosen, and

was of old, and originally, intended against the Jews and Infidels, who being, by their Kings, compelled to own and profess Christianity, did yet clandestinely retain their ancient Errors.

This, at first, was, not unavailably, made use of against those *Barbarous Nations* through which their Harred; but of moments it was by a wondrous Society of Inquiry laid upon wilfully in a *Burlesque* upon all. For the most wary Spectator, why, Silence is left, Deceit and Treacheries in Friend ship: and, Fidelity and oblique Antidotes were admitted in that it was plainly evident, no man should behave himself with Innocency, as could preserve his Safety and Honour, if they were guided or qualified in: which makes me think that they are not to be mistrusted for Deceit, who say only the real Truth, not out of Envy, than they have heard in Spain itself, and almost all over Italy, most grievous Complaints of this *Imposition*, made by *Rome's* themselves in the very City of Rome.

In the *Netherlands*, the Emperor *Charles* first set out an *Edict* concerning *Religion*, after he had condemned *Lucas* upon a full Hearing before the *Grand of Warrers* in *Germany*, and here it began from pecuniary Malice, and other Cruel and Sufferings, to pass with Devils, and by reason of the Luxury of the Judges, the Law was the dead, and few Cases proclaimed. There was likewise great Care taken that no Books should be published, but what had the Approbation of the *Doctors of Louvain*: They who were French, or origin out of the *Barbarians*, were laid to death, by the *Assembly*: Death, by the Sword, was the sentence, and to Women Infamies, or Burial alive, together with the Confession of their Guilt: yet so, that the *English* first came in, and acknowledge their Errors, the *English* were to be burnt. After, if any *English* was taken in this *Opinion*, and innocent in the rest, was upon his should be degraded from all his Dignities: The

who harboured such, and did not bring them forth, should be liable to the same punishments, as the guilty themselves; but Rewards and Impunity to all Accusers. Many severe Laws were set forth against suspected Persons, and such as fell, but most terrible against Relapsers: And the very Judges, though terrified by Penalties, yet, least, under the presence of Pity, they should moderate the Laws; had *Advocates*, fully instructed by *Cæsar* himself joyned to them; Only the City of *Amoy*, whom a moderate Liberty, together with extraordinary Obedience had mightily enriched, daring to complain to the *German* and *English*, that the Severity of that *Edict*, had driven away the best part of her *Commerce*, obtained, that *Strangers* should be a little more kindly used; and that, that part of the *Decree* whereby *Allegiances*, and *Testaments of Delinquents*, even before *Traditions*, should be rescinded, (an evident Ruine of all Merchandising) should not in that City be of any force: These Laws being Dictated by a Disposition, or Nature, in it self otherwise not at all cruel, we may the less wonder, that the strength of *Religion* made them, being impatient of any *Dissensions*; which, as interest, should rather mollifie and unite mens minds, yet is, by the wickedness of Humane Frailty, made the main Cause of most bitter *Dissords* and *Factions*: Most of the *Princes* made it their business, to bind up the United Body of the *Commonwealth* in one *Religion*, as in one *Heart*, and to be as well firm, and well satisfied in the Religion of *Sacred*, and of *Profane* Laws; which might, certainly, if they were not so commonly admitted to vulgar handling, hereby *Cæsar* also was the more easily persuaded, after the *German* manner, that they might not with the Despoiled Reverence of the *Clergy*, cast off the Bond of their Obedience to him, by some few Penalties, to take away the strength of that Portion, which had its only Allment from Liberty. But the Event proved quite contrary, for though many suffered and perished, by putting this in effect; yet instead of a Decree

from thence, they infinitely multiplied: and the Reason
 hereof might be, because those things which we corporally
 act easily, by the Fear and Threatning of Death and Tor-
 ments, are obnoxious to Authority and Power: But the
 Mind, as it is free, and not to be limited or bound up, it
 receive any Principles or Documents into it self, it will not
 be evinc'd either by Fire or Sword; but rather incites and
 scorn danger, accounting it a Blessed and Glorious thing, to
 suffer Ignominy and Cruelty, not being Conscious of
 themselves of having committed Evil, which they learnt no
 easily from the *Primitive Christians*, but many Examples of
 these very Times. For after the Butchery of no less than One
 Hundred Thousand Men, to make a Triall if this Fire were
 to be quenched with Blood, such vast Multitudes made *Is-
 surrections* all over the *Netherlands*, that sometimes the pub-
 like Executions; especially if upon any more eminent Cri-
 minal or Exemplary Torments, were hindered and impeded
 by *seditions*. And this moved the Queen of *Hungary*, that
 had the Government of these *Netherlands*, under her Bro-
 ther *Charles*, to go to him while he yet staid in *Germany*, and
 to let him know, how great a slaughter those things, which
 were pretended for Remedies, had made.

But *Philip*, not at all moved or frighted with these things,
 did more earnestly press what his Father had began, by fines
 and threatening Edicts, and preparing other Remedies, which
 might repress this Evil now getting Age: The Cause, above
 all others, and which we may with most Reason conjecture
 was the *Pope's* Authority, by which he had ordered many of
 these things to be done. For having obtained, by the gene-
 ral Consent of so many Nations, to Distribute of Kingdoms,
 and to be a *Moderator*, and *Judge* of *Law*, *Equity* and
Right, while he by submissive Obedience, and large Gifts
 was made their Friend and Ally, they might confidently
 be assured, in the Success of their Affairs, which he had
 thoroughly learned by his Fathers, and his own Experiments

How terrible it was, and injurious to his Affairs, to have that Power adverse to him, from which, even they who had Conquered it in War, were glad to crave a Pardon: These were the State of Affairs, and these the Conditions of the People, when, upon the Departure of King *Philip*, strife began about the Chief Government. In the attainment whereof, both the Prince of *Aurange*, and Count *Erasmus*, had pitched their Hopes and Expectancie; but neither of them had it, for this Reason, least either of them singly being preferred, should by perpetual private Feudes, disturb the Peace of the Commonwealth.

There was likewise Ambitions of the same sort among Women, to wit, *Christian* that had married *Francis* Duke of *Lorraine*, Uncle of the Emperor *Charles* and *Margaret*, his Daughter of the said *Charles*, first married to *Alexander* *Midian*, afterwards to *Ottavio* *Farnese* Duke of *Parma*. The Prince of *Aurange*, and the *Netherlanders*, endeavoured by all means to promote *Christian*: but *Perduande* *Alvarez* of *Tolosa*, Duke of *Alva*, and *Anthony* *Perotto* *Granvel* Bishop of *Arras*, having been jointly Servants and Counsellors to his Father in his greatest Affairs, and by *Philip* received with the like Honour; were of a contrary Opinion, for *Margaret*. *Alva*, one of the greatest and noblest *Spaniards*, in many places witnessed a great and famous Soldier, by the getting some notable Victories for the Emperor, had won great Rewards: *Perotto*'s Father, one *Nicholas* *Burgundian*, as he was of a mean Stock, to him was more readily obsequious, and by his extraordinary Watchfulness and Industry, so secured the Humour of the Court, that he became a *Privy Counsellor*; and had the keeping of the Emperor's Seal, in which, having performed his Duty, by the space of Twenty Years, he at last left the same to the enjoyment of his Son.

But as *Alva*'s proud and cruel Nature, so *Perotto*'s subtle Disposition, while they onely seek to enlarge the *Grandeur* of

of the *French* who likewise desired nothing so much, they do both of them find fault with as many Nations as they know, especially the *Germanes*, who imputing the *Landgraves* Imprisonment, to no other than their Councils, did esteem and reckon their too great Power, among the principal Causes of the War. Again when it came to the Point of giving the Government of the *Netherlands* to *Margaret*, although there wanted not specious Causes enough, for the giving of the Countess, as such a Tie of Blood, and that her Husband would be a Pledge for her Fidelity, and her Person be in the Command of the *Spaniards*, both in the City and Castle: Yet the departure of the King, no less suggested by the Great Ones, than bewailed by the meaner sort, inflamed the angry Minds of the Nobles. And that very Day was the chief in which *Philip* was solicited for Liberty, and that the *Netherlanders* showed themselves conscious of Justice towards their Prince. For just upon his Departure, resolving to leave a Garrison of above Three Thousand *Spaniards*, under pretence of defending the *Port* against the *French*; but it is true, that he might to his pleasure, baffle the Licentiousness in Religion, which had been increased by a Company of *French Soldiers* in the Wars: The Prince of *Orange* and Count *Erasmus*, whom he appointed Commanders of those Forces, on purpose to allay their Envy, refused the Charge, as being contrary to their Laws; and at the very instant of the Kings going away, the Assembly of the *States*, whom he had lately called together, to give a Farewell, asked him, That he would remove away with him those *Soldiers*, whom they would not endure; adding also, a Warning, as *Admonition*, That he should use the Councils of some his *Netherlander*, in the Government of the *Netherlands*. And from hence there sprung an implacable Hatred, because they seemed to give out, as if they understood the Art of Governing, and fore-saw the approaching Tyranny. But openly He agreed to their Request, and thereupon forbore to add *Graveffa* *Figueras* *Spaniard*,

Spain, and Earl of Fria, unto that Great Council, though lately destined to that Intent. But in this Dissimulation, he nourished Anger in his Heart, and in his Mind studied nothing but Revenge: So departing, but disdaining to pass the Borders of Strangers, he went by Sea, where in the Shipwreck of his Fleet, through many great and imminent Dangers, with much ado he got safe to the Port of *Gibraltar*.

The *Soldiers* for a little while after remained there, but very unruly and burdensom, unwill at *Gibraltar*, or the Island of *Gibralta*, (called by the *Antients Adria*) having received a loss by the *Turks*, they were taken from them (as the *Netherlanders* interpreted it) not so in favour of them, as to supply the Loss there received. In the mean while, the Government of the *Netherlands*, Nominally was in *Mageura*, but in Deed and Power in *Granvel*, in whom, *Industry*, *Vigilance*, *Ambition*, *Luxury*, *Covetousness*, and, in truth, all manner both of Good and Evil, were eminently to be seen. Nor did he advantage himself more by his own *Prudence*, than by the *Folly* and *Sloth* of Others; who growing weak by *Age*, had let slip those Opportunities of present Power, which, of old, was not without great difficulty and hazard to be attained. He therefore minding cunningly, to oblige his *Prince*, by diving into *Secrets*, and by advancing his *Favour*, concerted unto himself, the *Intrigues* of all *Embassies*, and all sorts of *Chancellors*, and what ever else was to be known, either by *Spies*, or *Passengers*.

Between this *Granvel*, and Count *Horn*, there were some old Gudges: first, concerning *Lalage*, Count *Horn's* Sister's Husband, whom he taxed with the Crime of an ill performed *Embassie*; Another was, that *Horn* had missed the *Professurship*, or *Lieutenancy* of *Gelderland*, (which he had much sought after) for want onely of one word's speaking of his.

He had not yet Declared himself to the Prince of *Orange*, the only hope of increasing his Dignities resting upon him; but, as the Custom of Ambition is, had hitherto only looked upon him with an evil Eye, least he should grow too great for him: For which cause, when *Magistrats* were to be chosen at *Amsterd.*, he had endeavoured to procure him to be absent: But the Prince of *Orange*, who above all things, the empty Boast or bare Title of Honour, and that one Man, a stranger, and of one to Enrich, should possess what he listed, not without the disgrace both of himself and others, stirred up with many provocations Count *Egmond*, who then by chance had observed himself to have received some Injuries from *Granvel* in assuming to himself, and not bestowing the *Governorship of Hulsin*, and the *Admiralty of Trazly*, which *Egmond* had desired for his Kinsman, and by him was denied: Hereupon, many of the Companions of the *Order of the Golden Fleece*, (for at this time they were often called so meet together by *Mary*, that they might Consult about Defending and Fortifying the *Borders*) drew their *Colleges* into *Flanders*, as if these Managements of Affairs tended wholly to all their Disparagements, by whose Counsels formerly the Private Business had so well succeeded: After which, these Three Noble-men, to shun any further Converse with *Anthony Granvel*, whereto they used to sit together in the *Smack*, publicly fell out with him. *Amory* seeing this, began to bestir himself, to be able to resist those men, who were not only powerful in themselves, but strengthened by the Love and Favour of the People: To which purpose, he drew to his Side, by Benefits and Favours, Men active and ingenuous; among whom, were *Charles Barlaamont*, and *Viglius Bruchem*, which were also of the same *Smack*, He being the Chief of the *Treasury*. This, though not of any great Family, yet famous for his Understanding, and Knowledge of Affairs, was the Chief of the Judges of the Law, who by their *secret Meetings*, and *private Confer-*

ces concerning unknown matters, made such an exultant *Olaus* appear against them, as became the publick sign and token of faction.

Now *Philip*, before his departure, that he might the better settle affairs of Religion, had obtained from *Paul* the fourth this Pope, that all the Provinces of the *Netherlands*, should be exempt from the care and charge of foreign Bishops. For the Archbishops of *Colen* and *Rhimes*, which were, of old, chief Cities, that of *Lower Germany*, this of *Gallia Belgica*, had nothing now left them of that so antique division besides the name. Their Jurisdiction therefore being taken away, together with the Bishops of *Loist*, *Triers*, *Onsbargh*, *Admorf*, and *Paterbargh*, losing also part of their Command, and three Bishops in upper *Burgundy*, to wit of *Alsace*, *Strasbourg*, and *Cambray*, renounced, and under these many more, of whom in the Borders of *Brabant*, *Antwerp*, and *Saule*: of *Gelderland*, *Ravennand* of *Flanders*, *Gant*, *Ippe*, and *Bruges*: of *Holland*, *Harlem*: of *Zeland*, *Middleburch*: of *Oversel*, *Davenry*: of *Artois* also with *Andornarum*: thence *Namur*, *Groning* and *Tornay*, Cities that bear the names of the Countries they stand in. This was an antique Custom, and much used by the Popes, upon the multiplying of people, and that Religion might be the more easily taken care of, to erect new Bishops Seats, so to share among many the burden which grew too great for one, and the Emperour *Charles* minding other things, had omitted this care which of old was taken by the Princes of the *Austrian* Family. But the causes of the reviving this Policy or appointment were hated and grown odious almost to all. One was, that they who should overlook and inquire into the manners of the Clergy, and the peoples errors, might be more in number and deeper, and this the very Authours thereof openly professed, complaining that vices did mightily increase by the neglect or connivence of those who should take care to prevent the same.

Another

Another was imported to *Gravel*, coming, who had taken from *Zure*, both the Bishoprick of *Mashin*, and the Dignity of a Cardinall, most men guessing in the future, that would be as when Priests of old had by Prerogative a right of sitting in the Assembly of the States, that he being the chief of that number, with others which he should, by his means and endeavours, allure (for the right of naming Bishops was by the Popes granted to the King, reserving to themselves only the right of approbation) might, by an under-hand confederacy with the *Spaniards*, suppress their liberty. When Revenues were to have been settled upon Bishops, out of Manasticall Possessions, the Abbots were the first that gain-sayed that purpose, of which society, at that time, all, with free and unanimous consent, avowed, they would not admit underminers of their Wealth and Authority: The *Bishops* did confederates with these, by Books, commend the care of the Laws to the Prince, wherein they advise, that Ecclesiastical Promotions should not be increased without the consent of the Nobility and Commons: Hereto we added many censurers of men professing Justice, That it was an act of intemperance and profaneness to tear away the pious and charitable liberalities of other men, and to question the judgements and integrity of dying persons, by diverting their gifts to other uses than they intended them. And some of the ancient Bishops, especially He of *Leige*, cryed out, the Pope was circumvented, and with all eagerness prosecuted their right. Hereupon many other Cities refused to receive their new Bishops, and who were admitted, were so generally hated, that they could never officiate without mocks and taunts. Now the Nobles taking notice of the generall hate of the *Netherlanders* against *Gravel*, did think it most necessary, for the better managing of their publick affairs: That there should be a generall Assembly of the State: Therefoe as often as there hapned complaints of the poverty of their Treasury, or of the fear of Seditions (for there was much pay behind, and

due to the Souldier both Horse and Foot, and Merchants beggar to be restrained among Foreigners for publick debts, and the Tributes promised for nine years, were even now at an end. They began to cry up the old Customs, of which (they said) good Princes would never think to quit.

What marvel is it now, that all things were in a deplorable Condition, when, in all their evils, the basest flattery could rob them of their only remedy. The adverse party took notice of all, to little purpose; therefore it was for them to dissemble how far their malice ceased, in prosecuting, with hatred, the man that had been industrious for the King, more than they would have had; and therefore, the Ministers of State, under Philip, were to inquire out any that were emulous of the Princes Power, and who those should be, to whom all would submit in this great alteration, the Abbots were troublesome for their own private interest sake. The Nobility were obnoxious to these; and the rest, under the notion of the States, were doubtful, and in suspense, for the use of their temporal usages. So that dissembling here modesty and obedience, their fear-fight of, and providing against dangers, and the Lawes left to them by their Ancestors, and various Discourses, every one did strive to make himself greatest; Furthermore, those three before named, taking the boldness to write Letters to the King, denied it possible to divert the publick ruine of the State, unless *Perennis* were removed from his stigmatized Power, praying also for themselves, an exemption from the Assembly of States: but promising very largely, as to his Government, his Sisters Dignity, and the maintenance of the *Roman* Religion.

Philip sends them an answer, full of courteous Language, wherein he said, that he did not use to set aside Ministers of State, without hearing and perpending their cause of Complaint; but if he could not have his Revenue, upon whose payment he did depend, he would that some of them should come to him, from whom, being present, he would take cognizance

ignorance of the whole matter. They earnestly write back again, That it was not for them to lay crimes to any man; that they believed it was a part of his duty, rightly and truly to have informed his Prince; but whether he had so done or not, was an imminent danger, if they should be silent; would speak; and they hoped, that their Deaths and Exiles would gain no less credit to their letters, than their words; but were chiefly, when the absence of Government from their Charges could not be well admitted.

The King was much moved at these lines; but finding it necessary a little to yield, he sends secretly to Grammont (whom now these fore-going passages began to vex, partly as by-flander, and partly as being guilty to himself of the deadly hatred of the people towards him) commanding him to depart into Burgundy, whither he was ordered to retire for avoiding the danger of his life so much sought and long wait for by his enemies. And a long time after, he kept the *Netherlands*; or the greatest part, in fear of his return, but few joying with him in his hopes, till at length, either by Command, or his own free will, he went to Rome. Then they who hitherto had been kept out of office, were, at the Request of the Regent *Margaret*, recalled in the Senate and Assembly; and that they might give some proofs of themselves, they begin with all diligence to advise and take notice of choice things; of others there was no great need. And the praise and thanks of dissembling their Crimes was so much the greater towards them, by how much it would divert them from the sense of their evils, so that now, acting wholly as Victors, they had taken all things into their own hands, whether belonging to publick accounts, or to the Law, saying, it was the Sovereign pleasure of the Senate, and that to it all the other Assemblies ought their Service and Obedience.

But how many faults do attend, where some few bear the sway, and in how little time do they grow ripe? The King, Raynnew styled, the Authority of the Law among

rent discords laid aside, the greatest Crimes and Villanies unpunished; Honours given for favour, either much done through Ambition, by such as covered the praise of all, or else evils, never to be remedied, overcharge the Credit of the great ones; They dissembled less in point of Religion, maintaining it was better taught by perswasion than compulsion, till at length they found, what they supposed as remedies, proved rather food to nourish the Disease: But when they granted this in favour of the People, whether it were out of their own disposition averse from cruelty, or that they suspected under the veil of the Inquisition, that there lay hid still very or danger to the valiantest men, I will not undertake to discover: But this is most evident, that they themselves did not depart from the Ceremonies of the Church of Rome, and he who was the chief in all these Consultations, in his own Principality of *Auranga*, would suffer nothing in matters of Religion to be changed. Besides this, and for other weighty Causes, *Edward* was sent into *Spain*, to pry into the Kings nature and affections, and is there received with so much Honour, and such high Gifts, as no man before him ever had the like.

Here *Philip* protests much of affection to the *Netherlanders*, and that he may prevent any desire of his return to them again, he says, he hath resolved in himself for the *Turkish* Warre, and likewise gave him some hope, that he would moderate the rigour of the Sentence, and Edict of the Bishops; least either by severity or impunity, he might provoke the *Sectaries* licentiousness, whereas in truth he intended to make it far more strict: For when first he came into *Spain*, and found there many, and some of the chief, of the *Convent of St. Isidore*, to think otherwise than they ought of the received Rites and Doctrine, he was not overly content to have commanded into the fire, Learned men and noble Women, but joyced to see the same; with the terror whereof, having appeased the discords there, he believed
either

about the death of Cardinal of his Judges hindered, if not
 tried him the like success in the *Netherlands*; And at the
 time Elizabeth his Wife, Sister of *Charles* King of France,
 being sent, together with the Duke of *Alva*, to *Spain*, who
 after the same *Charles* and his Mother *Marian*, met at a Con-
 fession, for rooting out innovators and disturbers of Reli-
 gion, he bound himself by some private Covenants, to be a
 sistant equally therein: The like League was made between
Mary and *Philip*, after the Peace of *Cambray*, and this being
 by the imprudence of *Henry*, discovered to the Prince of
Orange in his Embassy into France, as he was by chance
 hearing, made him often offer with Proclamations, that he
 truly feared these Counsels which were concealed.

Henry was scarce returned, full of his vain hope, but the
 Kings Letters immediately followed, cruelly commanding
 the Intendants to execute judgement upon violators, and re-
 vellers in Religion, adding certain other Assitants to the
 number of the Judges; and though *Protestants*, and many were
 him, perswaded the contrary, presently they were published
 to the great trouble of all consciences, and shortly after
 were the Decrees of the Council of *Trent* put forth: by
 whom nothing being amended, either in Doctrine or Cer-
 monies, these whole Nations separated and fell off from
 the Church of *Rome*; only there was a Decree made for re-
 formation of Priests Lives and Manners, wherewith indeed
 they were offended, but never cured. And truly in the *Neth-
 erlands*, those mens lives were most vicious, who being ad-
 mitted into the Sacred Order of Priesthood, got nothing
 thereby but the name and Revenues, yet were these men
 most fierce for the publishing of these Decrees, which in
 those places were obeyed, but with exception underwritten
 in which *Philip* had consented, that they should not derogate
 from any mans right, which was added, by reason of Patron-
 age of Churches, and bounds of Jurisdiction.

But the *Brabanters*, with one free consent, went further: First, their Cities, and afterwards the Senate or States of that Nation, did Declare, That this Custom of the Inquisition, of itself creeping in daily in a high manner into their Country, was against the Law, by which all their Judgments should be directed, and which should set Bounds to the Priesthood wherein they should walk. The Constancy of these, was followed by others; but especially the Common People were infinitely perplexed, with the Terrible Remembrance of the Spanish Inquisition, whose Authority with the King, though manifest, and its Usage and Example in all Kingdoms how profitable, and though commended by the French, yet the Name of it in the Netherlands, with great Regret of Spirit, was abominated. These were, who at this time wrote to the King, the whole tenor of this Discipline, which he, under the Name of Henry, gave hearing to, with an evil Will, lest he should in any manner give Credit, to a thing so profane and detestable, however glossed over by those malicious People. Here, by the Industry of the Prince of Orange, were excited George Cassander, and Francis Baldwin of Artois, Men well skilled in Eloquence, and that persuaded to Moderation: There is of this Manservant, an eloquent Oration, desiring the free use of their Religion, who now, by being grown strong, could not be esteemed a Disturber of the Peace, with whose Interest such a Liberty would be consistent, as well as with that of Commerce. The Pope having, in these inferior things, to the very Jews given leave to purchase Indulgences, for the Exercise of their Religious Rites: But all these things proving of no effect, some for fear of punishment, others desirous of novelty, cast out ambiguous and doubtful Speeches, send abroad Libels, the onely Allurements of the Vulgar: and, as a thing indifferent, there being no War to retain the Affairs of the German Religion: The Roman Superstition is again thrown out of England; as also, by the Dutch and Swedes. Nor in France do Slaughters pass unrevealed, where

where not being able to bear the cruel Natures of those who
 Tyrannized over them, they Resolved openly to defend
 their Safety, either by *Peace* or *Warre*, there being no other
Advantage for their *Liberty*: For certainly, there is nothing
 can more strictly oblige the People to their Duty, than
 to see a moderate and just Government.

By making use of these Alterations, the Minds of the
 Cities were confirmed, who already judged themselves in their
 own Thoughts, to stand condemned in the Kings; and some
 of them being married to Women, that were *Foreigners*,
 well by Countrey, as by Religion; as the Prince of *Arum*
 to a *Saxon*, and Count *Hers* to a *Nimorian*, gave the
 doubtful King also from thence all cause of Suspicion, which
 they were not insensible of; because the King had already
 showed his Dislike, against the new power of the *Spaniards*,
 which they had introduced and assumed. And therefore
 that they might the better strengthen their Cause, by the
 Assistance of the Vulgar, they endeavour to quit Religion,
 and if they cannot firm a publike *Peace*, at least to settle
 Domestike One, they making the fear of the ensuing
 chiefs so much the greater, by how much the rest did under-
 valuingly laugh them, they endeavour to hide their Practices
 under the Notion of Civil Disturbances, which they
 themselves were partly the cause of; or else by these means
 they hoped to move the King: however, they doubted not
 in these Novelties of Assistance, if not out of Love to them-
 selves, out of Envy to the *Spanish Graciffs*. Departing there-
 fore from the *Spaniards*, as if they had fore-seen Commotions,
 which they were unable to help, now under pretence of
 dissuading *Marriages*; another time, intermingling Festive
 Societies, to make it seem the more solemn, they gathered
 together, and obliged to them many, either by the Ties of
 Blood, or the Obligations of Friendship. But long it was
 not, ere the main matter, at which all these things aimed,
 burst out; for after it was perceived, that there were many

which

few which looked that way, while they sollicit much both the
 before the Commander and Souldier, find fault that a Woman should
 in Authority, dissuade the *States* and *Governours* of
 from Cruelty, and to suffer patiently. Many other
 in the Netherlands, but all without any Government or Command,
 among whom were some of the *Roman Religion*, made a
 the *League*, which was drawn up by one *Marnix*, against the *In-*
 a the *League*, wherein they promised to aid and assist one another,
 if any of them should thereby be questioned, or brought into
 And that it might not be unknown upon what main
 they relied, among the *Leaders* of that Faction, the
 the Count regent was *Louis of Nassau*, Brother to the Prince of
 Orange, an open *Dissenter* from the *Roman Profession*. So
 it was no difficult matter to understand, that al-
 though the fiercest and greatest Heads of the Faction, did not
 yet to judge who they were, that, when time
 should serve, would uphold them, whose Interest and Autho-
 rity, in the mean while, was a sure Safeguard to all *Protes-*
 against the bitter *Invidious* and *Tyranny* of
 who by Arms would endeavour to stifle or suppress
 the growing Rebellion.

There joyned with the before-named, *Louis*, the Count
 of *Burgh*, and *Culemburg*, and *Henry Braderode*, of an
 Family of the greatest Nobility of *Holland*, and ge-
 nerally beloved of the People, whose hopes were blown up
 too high, and were vain and uncertain, unless more had ap-
 peared.

These, accompanied with Four Hundred *Confederates*, the
 5th Day of *April*, 1566. came all unarmed to the Court of
 where then the Prince of *Orange*, & the rest, scarce-
 ly increased by the Lady *Margaret* the *Regent*, to return
 had taken their Places, and were sitting: These were
 their *Desires* (for so they called them) That the *King's*
 concerning *Religion*, might, by the Order of the *States* of
 the *Netherlands*, be changed, and that they would acquiesce till it
 could

could be done. The one of which, when the *Regent* promised she would recommend to the *King*, and protested she could not in her power; they urged the same with an earnestness rather befitting Judges or Justices, who had power of Command, than *Princes*, who know not to separate their *Zeal* from *Temperance*. Then first was heard of that name of *Guise*, forwards so less famous than those of *Protestants* and *Huguenots*; when therefore some had cast into the Teeth of *Confederates*, their broken and decayed Portraits, they took the *King* notice of the happy Fortune of that Name, but wholly lost by Honour, confirmed their Faith to the *King*, to stand by him, even to the hazard of their Estates: Which thing being now evident to the whole World, there were various Consultations both in *Spain* and the *Netherlands*: Of these who were attending upon the Councils and Person of the *Lady Margara*, some reputed those Requests, or rather Demands of the *Confederate Nobles*, to be just: Others thought them only necessary: But some of the Great Ones, who began to suspect the Cruelty of the *King's* Intentions towards them, without any Dissembling, demanded Pledges for the Security, and to prevent the fear of suffering punishment which otherwise might happen to be the cause of a War, and if these things were denied, they having under the Command most valiant People of several Nations, and likewise some Troops of Natives, which would prove the main Props of the War, would not draw a Sword in Defense of those Laws, by which the Citizens being slain by each others hand, should fall onely for the pleasure and advantage of the *Spaniards*.

After many several *Letters* sent to the *King*, at last *John Mompalao* the Brother of *Colin Horn*, and *John Marquess* *Durham of Zant*, glad of the Honour of their Embassy, that they might clear themselves of the former, and take themselves off from the future Troubles, came to him; who, troubled every day with fresh Messengers, and bad News, dis-

often

then advise with the chief of those *Spaniards*, who had been in the *Netherlands*, and of the *Senats* there, what was best to be done.

The Faith of Laws (wherein was contained, that Ministers teaching *Heresical Doctrine*, Receivers and Abettors of *Complotes*, and such as by their evil Examples, had done great harm to the Publike, should suffer Death, either by the Suffer of Sword, and the rest either abjure their *Errors*, or be) of which, amendment and moderation was desired, and committed from the States, was altogether unpleasing, because he was more careful of his own Dignity, than fearful of any Danger, in that he would not seem to be compelled by Threatnings, to grant such things as were contrary to his Nature and Will: But hitherto he seemed to bear therefore, that the Authority of the Bishops might be well served, whose Duty it was, if any Trouble should happen, willingly to take care to prevent the same; otherwise, by the Pope's express Command they were not, without Order, to meddle further. He refused to grant any Pardon, without Examination of the Cause; and unless he might with more Severity take notice of the *Confederacy*, than those times would bear, though formerly he would willingly have granted them more; yet he promised they should partake both of his *Presence* and *Clemency*: But to call a General Meeting of the States, though the Cities most faithful and Loyal to him desired, the whole *Netherlanders* persuaded, his Sister urged, and without which it was almost impossible for him to keep his Government there, he most obstinately denied, rather commanding them to take Arms; and the easier and more readily to raise an Army, to take the *Germanys* into present Pay. Adding moreover, That he doubted not, but that as his Father had often had Experience of the Fidelity of the *Dutch Nobles*, so he should likewise find them ready and obedient to him, desiring openly to put in Execution the Laws made by his Father: For though any man may dissent in O-

plions, yet still the Decision and Judgment thereof is left to the Prince, and Obedience onely to the Subjects. But on the contrary, they had so brought it about, that no Force could be raised, by laying open the Poverty of the *Transva*; and if there were any gotten together, the *Confederate Nobles* anticipated the same; giving out also, that *Flemish Soldiers* on all hands offered to serve under them. Which Rumour, as it was spread to terrifie the other Party, so was it altogether dissonant to the Truth. For they checked the Haughty and Tyrannical Humour of *Philip*, boasted, that they had both the Strength and Wealth of some of their Neighbors, who, either in Point of Religion, were of the same Mind with them, or very little differing, to assist them, by which means they proceeded at Home, both with greater Surety and Safety.

Now of those who denied the Authority of the Pope, there were three sorts in the *Netherlands*; the *Anabaptists*, whereof many were in *Frisland*, and the Neighbouring Parts, were not greatly to be feared, by reason of their rapine, and infinite Disorders amongst themselves; as also, because they did renounce both Magistracy and Arms: But that Profession, which received its Name from *Luther*, and the *Augustine Synod*, was maintained and upheld by the King and favour of many of the *German Princes*, and a certain Form of Law: Now because the Emperor *Charles* had taken these his *Netherlands* into the *German League*, and in this Part had upheld the Majesty of his Empire; there was that said, that the Settlement of Religion was also included, which may be easily answer'd thus; That although the *Netherlands* might participate with *Germany*, both in Tributes and Immunities; yet it was very well known, that for many Ages last past, they were neither subject to their Laws, nor the Decrees of their *Synods*: Not much differing from the Doctrine, there is another, illustrated chiefly by the Ingenious of *Zuinglius*, and *Calvin*, and now for some time growing

up together with the *Augustans*; unless it may be said of Religions, that they are all made more subject to Obstinacy in Opinion, or Singularity, rather than Concord: That (to wit, of *Zwinglians*) part of *Germany* and *Switzerland* follow; but the other of *Calvin*, onely the famous City of *Geneva* within the Dukedom of *Savoy* allows of: The same was also used in *England*, different onely in the Retention of some of the ancient Rites; but the main and violent Followers of this Sect were in *France*; nor did the rest come near them in number: and therefore, both those and these, to wit, *Zwinglians* and *Calvinists*, judged this new Ordinance proposed by *Philip*, no less cruel, than he himself esteemed it mild: There was too another Complaint, that in stead of the desired Meetings of the States General, the Judgments of the several Provinces were separately required, and that too but partially; not of all, nor after the accustomed manner: In which Contentions, while the *Regent* expected further Orders from the King, and either to receive from him Soldiers, or Money to hire Soldiers, hoping Delays would blow over, or else mitigate the greatness of the Danger; behold, on the contrary, the Vulgar, who till now had been frightened with the noise of Fire and Sword, begin now to fright others. They come out of their Corners and appear in publike: they Celebrate their Devotions, and preach after the new Mode, as if they would publickly convince their Enemies of those Lies, wherewith they had slandered their private Meetings: Exhort also, and such as had been persecuted onely for Religion, of whom there were not a few, even weary of their Lives, joyned with Stragglers and Fugitives from *Monasteries*: So that now there did appear a Formidable Multitude and so great, beyond Expectation, that those who had frequented and used their Meetings, could hardly believe the same.

This over-much assumed Liberty confirmed their Presumption; for now, if at any time they fear Danger, they go Armed:

Armed : All which Rabble, the *Confederate Nobles* received into their Protection, and arm them, as the common Vogue was, but that is not always infallible. And not long after a great Sedition began of the Rascality of the People, but whose instigation is uncertain, wherein were seen many known Thieves : This is not meddling with Towns or Fields, invades the Churches, where onely the Altars and their Furnitures, with the Shrines of Saints, went to wrack ; resembling herein the like Commotions of the Jews, and altogether imitating that Barbarous Tempest of Image-baiting that over-ran *Greece* ; for their Savage Rudeness did not abstain from the Persons of Priests, and Religious Men, but vented it self further on their Books and Sepulchres ; as if this so sudden a Rebellion (for other it cannot be called, there had been one general Agreement, to set all the *Netherlands* into a Combustion : in some places the Magistrates by either Civil or Armed Authority hardly prevailing : Onely the Inhabitants of *Antwerp*, *Brussels*, *Luxembourg*, and those adjoining to them, kept their Faith and Allegiance, both to the *Roman Church* and the King, unspotted and untainted, in the midst of this Horrid Contagion.

In some places, the *Magistrates*, to prevent the Licentious Fury of the People, did first begin to remove and take away Images ; to some of whom boasting of their Service, *Floris* said very ingeniously, *That they too were mad, but with a short Reason*.

Many things which were thus stolen from Churches, the *Teachers* urged, might be restored, but without any effect, so the great Scandal of their Religion, which by these means had contracted new Infamy.

The Lady *Margaret*, in this great Perturbation of Affairs, being vehemently affrighted, was not able now so well to obey the King's Commands, who, though too late, had heard all these things at a distance, in regard of the imminent danger, because she was forced to give place to the Times, and

submit

submit to the Counsels of the *Confederate Lords*; without whose Authority, they could not endure to hear of any thing.

At length therefore, though with much Reluctancy, she was drawn to this; that she promised the *Lords*, that none of those former Actions should be drawn into question. They, now one, now another, as long as they could have any Security, renounced the *League*, under this condition; That *what slighted the Name of the Romish Religion, or ministering thereof, should not be denied Pardon.* And now, while the People lay aside their Arms and Faults together, they are allowed to have Sermons in those places, which even till that time, they had had for their Instruction; and the Edicts were laid aside, until the King and the States should take other Order in that behalf. Presently *Messengers* were sent to several places, to prohibit any further Force; who did affirm, they had obtained this by *Treaty*, which in truth they extorted by violence.

First, the Prince of *Aurange* sent to *Antwerp*, being then troubled with a dangerous Sedition; where, having obtained the Name of *Viceroy*, or *Sheriff*, as due unto him from his *Præfessors*, he quickly brought that most strong City to his own Will; where not so much minding the necessity of the time, as to shun the *Royals* displeasure, he caused not only the new Discipline, but Sermons also to cease; not only in the Fields, as in other Places, but within the very Walls. The same also did Count *Horn*, and others, whose Brother being now returned out of *Spain*, related unto him the Kings implacable Anger. But the *Letters* sent to the Lady *Margaret*, and by them surprized, troubled them beyond measure, they being thereby destined to Accusation and Destruction; whereupon they all went to counsel at *Dordrecht*, where Count *Egmont* was the chief man looked upon, as being well-skilled in *Warlike Affairs*, and well-beloved of the *Souldiers*.

But he, whether allured by fair promises, or mindfull of his duty, affirmed he would not in any thing be wanting in his Allegiance to his Prince, let him do what he would, he would rather seek to appease his mind with good Counsel and wipe away former errors by future fidelity. Unwise man that would not take notice, that when great things, in disobedience to Princes, are begun with danger, after the first setting out, the only hope of reward and safety, is in going on, for revenge attends every step backward; But the Prince of *Aurage* had a more prudent foresight, for seeing these begun undertakings failed, he writ Letters to the King, humbly desiring, that he permit to lay down all Offices, and that he might betake himself to peace and rest in some private part of *Germany*.

To whom *Philip* craftily sent answer, (and how far will deceit prevail under the mask of simplicity?) intreating him, that he would not now desert him, while his Affairs were in such an unseized Estate, and when there was most need of his help; withall advising him, that he should for a time send away from him his Brother, who was suspected of innovation in Religion, untill all things should be better considered off. But *Aurage* the more crafty and subtle of the two, still urges for Licence to depart, and in the mean time, going back into the places under his own Government, forbidding all severity, and to prevent his surprise of the fortifications within those Provinces, by foreign Souldiers that might to that end be provided, under the pretence of liberty, he by his single industry and policy, stirred up all the valiant and courageous people to be at his Command.

1567. He set forth also in writing the Counsel which he had given to the King, to this effect, That unless he gave Toleration to these Religions, which the Neighbouring Nations had granted as necessary, it would be a matter of dangerous consequence: for at the last, his Conquest would be attended with great mischief, in exhausting the wealth, and destroying the people of the Country.

But Count *Horn* retreated to his own home, and there betook himself to a private life. These thus dispersed, the Regent, easily perceiving whence at first these perturbations did arise, betook her self to *Viglium* his former Counsellor, which had been slighted, to wit, to break the connexion and band which was between the Lords, and the better and inferior sort of the people; which she brought to passe, either by her self or others, with them that so receded, first by cavilling, by and by more openly, as if she had been terrified thereby, would cast out the falling away of others; for no sooner was she advertised by the private order of the Judges, that they had proceeded against the persons who had committed Sacrilege in the tumult before mentioned, who had gone beyond words against the publick rises, even to the taking up of Arms, the rest, knowing themselves not able to go through with the management of their cause, and likewise that they differed among themselves in point of Religion, broke up their strength. Nor did the confederate Lords, either by hope or fear, divided among themselves, lesse betray the Weal-publick: for Conscience a little accusing for their evill deeds, some of them running over and submitting, obtained Pardon; others dissuade the gathering of Taxes, and levying Bands of Souldiers, as things not fit for private men to undertake; another sort, while thus every one was minding his own particular, are forgotten by all. And now, for the better maintaining the peace of the State, the Regent, beside the *German* Souldiers, under the Command of *Ericus of Brunswick*, commanded another Regiment of *Wallons* to be forthwith raised; for by that name, the people in that part of the *Netherlands*, which borders upon *France*, are called, and are distinguished from the others, by the use of the *French* Tongue, and beside, are more valiant, and not so dull-witted as the rest; And that she might the better choose able Commanders over them, she caused them to take an Oath, to that purpose contrived, that they should take all persons without exception.

exception, for enemies, whom the King should so declare.

This Oath was taken by Count *Edward*, *Charles Arsenius Croys*, a person quite unconcerned in the former troubles, *Charles Bayleynant* and his Brothers; the Count *Pier Mampfeld*, Governor of *Lutzelburg*; Count *Megun*, Governor of *Gelderland*; Count *Armburg*, Governor of *Friesland*; and the Count of *Naricum*; that in *Holland* held the place of the Marquess of *Bryghen*. And quickly did they begin to make the truth of their Oath appear by their actions; *Edward* infesting those in *Flanders*, the safeguard of whom he had undertaken;

The Count of *Naricum* marcheth against *Valencianus*, where were others of the Rebels; and by Siege forcing them to surrender, punished them with great severity: by which examples terrified, the best and greatest Cities, the troubles being thus for a time ended, received their appointed Garrison; the rest destroying and slaughtering all the remains of those mad people, that they could find any where together: onely the Princes of *Arundel* and *Hochstraten*, denied to change their old Oath, by which they were obliged to defend the King and Laws, for any other; *Arundel* adding further, that his Wife was one of that number, which by this Oath were destined to destruction.

While these things were in agitation, the *Spaniards* (as they can see when they have an opportunity) did not sluggishly manage that happy occasion. And first, while the danger was yet scarcely removed, it was agreed almost on all hands, that the Presence and Majesty of the Prince would be very available for the quieting and composing of all parties; the most faithfull and loyall among all the *Netherlanders*, telling and assuring, that if the King should send another, and not come himself, it would produce more hate and lesse obedience; which the Emperour *Charles*, the Kings Father, well knew, when upon a small disturbance, onely in the

the City of *Gant*, he made no delay to come thither immediately, though at that time *France* even yet breathed out Warre against him; But now a great deal of time was wasted in vain and frivolous Discourses, which was the safest way for him to passe by, for they suspected *France* would hardly afford him passage either with or without any Army, and a Voyage by Sea was not judged fit, in regard of the many certain hazards thereof, besides his landing in *Zeland* might be doubted, for they could not tell how far either the Prince of *Aurange*, or the *English* might attempt upon his person. Therefore the Resolution was, that he passe over into *Liguria*, and thence into *Germany*, and there to speak with the Emperour, and to try his pulse.

The Emperour then was *Maximilian*, the Son of *Ferdinand*, who upon consideration had of the *Dutch* Affaires, said, that unless *Philip* would in some measure give place to the present necessity of the times, it would be a dangerous undertaking for him, by reason of the Princes of the *Augustine* Confession, that were bound to the *Dutch* Lords by many ties of friendship, alliance and benefices; but if any way of moderation might be proposed, he offered himself as a Peacemaker between them: but this was somewhat ill received, as *Augustus* Elector of *Saxony* said, who was very great in *Cæsars* favour, and allied to the Prince of *Aurange* by his Brothers Daughter.

Letters now are sent to the Lady *Margaret*, which declared the Kings approach, but not without an Army, for so it befitted his Majesty to keep up his Dignity among Strangers; as also either by the terror thereof, to appease all tumult, or if any durst stand to contest with him, that then he was prepared for the future, not to receive, but to give Lawes. And indeed a little time made it manifest, that the *Spaniards* for content that they were quiet, began to look back for revenge, by making the Kings anger the meanes to compass their private ends and advantages, for they offered as a pretence for

enslaving the *Dutch*, that they were all to be looked upon as Traytors, either because they had begun those novel mischiefs in Church and State, or else because they had not brought the persons that durst do such things unto condigne punishment; There are also that add, the Authority of an Oath formerly made by the *Pope* to *Philip*, when undertaking the Government, he bound himself up to the Lawes, that the *Netherlands* should be governed as *America*, and the greatest part of *Italy* were; And the great credit given to the Duke of *Alva's* Counsels (who was no new fomentor of Tyranny) made all men believe, that unless so horrid an Example of Rebellion were signally corrected with some remarkable punishments, that it would cause others of his Subjects to kick off their Allegiance, and therefore that not only the present force, but fear of like reward should keep them within their bounds: Nor was this so fit time of subjecting the *Netherlands* to be lost or neglected, for all the Kingdoms lying round about, do faithfully observe the peace they have made with him, and if there were any thought of troubles, it was domestick, and arise at home.

Thus were they over-ruled, who perswaded Peace and moderation, Prince *Charles* the Son of *Philip*, offering his endeavour for the pacifying and ruling the *Netherlands*, but so much in vain that it did prove to his harm, by encreasing those suspicions before conceived against him. At last, it was declared, the King having retired, as if upon matters of greater concernment, or else upon pretence that he might not be in danger, that the Duke of *Alva* should be sent thither with most ample Authority, nor is it to be doubted with what Instructions, he being a man alwayes used to Warre and Bloodshed, to whom being in *Italy*, the Messengers reported the Companies of old *Spanish* Souldiers from *Naples*, *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and *Milaine*, to be joynd with the Horse; the Prince of *Arragon* not thinking it fit to stay any longer, goes to *Nassau*, being then possessed by his Brother, protecting openly

penly at his departure, before a great multitude of people that followed him, that he would not stir one foot farther in this difference, unless he were assaulted or damnified.

In whose absence, the Lady Regent commanded *Maximilian*, Earl of *Bosnia*, to take charge of his Lieutenancies. *Brussels*, when he had fortified what was his, and hovered about *Utrecht*, near the *Rhine* and *Amsterdam*, two very wealthy Cities, (the Prince of *Aurange* favouring his first attempts) either by an under-hand assistance, or deceit, is shortly after forcibly driven out of the Country.

Erasm, and some other meaner Lords, whose minds and fortunes could not suffer banishment, were led about with the hope of living, till they were brought to their ends untimely; but most of the Nobles, and many of the Community, for fear of the *Spaniard*, (though part of them fearing punishment returned, being not prepared to fly for Religion) went some into the next parts of *Germany*, some into *England*, and some into farther distant Countries: the Regent, enforcing them by one Edict to fly, commands them by another to stay. So that they being voluntarily departed, who were displeased at the present carriage of Affairs, and other matters, by the notable cunning of a Woman set in order, there was a settled Peace, such, as if nothing further had been covered, might have longer continued.

The second Book of the Dutch Annals.

1568. **B**UT the Duke of *Alva*, retarded somewhat by his Disease, but more by the exceeding coldness of the *Alps*, at last being past *Savoy*, reached *Burgundy*, by a Journey not onely tedious and troublesome,

troublesome, but accompanied with great wants; but there was some satisfaction for the same, by the present amendment of his quarters here, by whose pleasantness and delight his Army was well increased; which, notwithstanding there were therein above eight thousand men, he kept in a most orderly and strict Discipline: The *Spaniards* then being first shewed the way, through so great a Continent of Land. After this he met with no kind of stop, as far as *Luttreburgh*, the chief of whose Governours, he had (the King being wholly ignorant thereof) drawn to his party, for the better upholding the strength of that broken and disjoynted Dominion. At this time, as if it had been by agreement, Warre broke out in *France*, the King having levied and taken into pay certain Companies of *Switzers*, under pretence of suspecting some foul play upon his Borders. And the truth is, *Alva's* Army had been scouring the places thereabout, of all such as took part with, and upheld that new Religion so much hated by them.

All this while, there was not a *Netherlander* stirred, whether out of an extraordinary Panick fear, or too great Security, is doubtful, to resist or withstand this furious Invasion; for though coming as a Generall in Warre unto a quiet People, he was received by the concourse of the People, not seeming at all discontented; for at the beginning, he took to himself no other Title, untill *Margaret*, weary of this empty shadow of troublesome honour, and thought also to have done much harm to the Government, by her feminine imbecillity; and so much the rather, because she had by polite and well composed Letters, presaging many of the future evils, dissuaded the sending of *Alva* with an Army; by her departure thence, wholly left the Regency of the *Netherlands* to his care and ordering, none now doubting, but he would now make himself a Magistrate contrary to those Laws, by whose rule, and with whose safety he could not attain thereto; It being provided therein, cautiously from an-

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tiquity, that none but a *Netherlander*, or a Prince of the blood, could take that upon him.

The first Experiment of his *Tyrannizing Authority*, was shewed upon *Egmond* and *Horn*, who being by Policy brought to come into the Court, were apprehended, and put into Custody; and when they demanded the Priviledge of the *Golden Fleece*, to be judged onely by the Companions of that Order, their *Peers*, it was not onely denied to them, but they were sent out of *Brabant* with a strict Guard, contrary to the *Rights* and *Liberties*, granted even to the meanest of the *Commons*. And from this time, *Garrisons* were set in the prime Cities of the *Netherlands*, which consisted chiefly of *Spaniards*, who were almost the onely men thereof; for other *Souldiers* were made use of onely in times of danger, and upon extraordinary occasions. Nay further, the Troops of Horse, which were mostly made up of the *Netherlandish* *Gentry*, having some *Spaniards* thrust in amongst them, were sent into *France*, under the Leading of Count *Arenberg*, that by a present Supply, they might confirm the *League* made with King *Charles*. In the interim, the Castles are begun to be filled, with unarmed and peaceable Citizens; and which was most grievous to them of all, was, That their *Thraldom* was made use of, to raise *Moneys* for supply of their *Enemies* *Expences* and *Charges*: When Things had proceeded thus far without any gain-saying, there were almost Twelve Judges, the greatest part of them *Spaniards*, the rest but Servants to them, and in that regard, as cruel, if not worse than they, appointed to call before them all such as had any hands in the late *Commutations*, or but seemed to wink thereat, and to punish them as they saw fit; not in the least manner taking notice of them, who, by the Laws of the Country, had a *Jurisdiction* proper thereunto: And this very Thing, of enjoying the Judicial Power, and consequently, that of Life and Death, was the main prop of their Authority; which adding a Majesty to the Religion before violated

Recreminations, as hateful to good *Princes*, as they are com-
modious to *Tyrants*, urge, That all *Guilty Persons* should be
out of the Protection of the Law, and that only the Cruelty
Alva's Name might be sufficient almost to convince them. The
strictness of the Guards, set upon the *Guilty Persons*, was
the cause of the Death of very many People; so that every
place carryed the Resemblance of a City sacked, and taken
by the Sword: For there were not onely Armies, but by rea-
son of the Troubles, many sought Refuge, and here put in
practice their ill-boding Counsels: Here also were some
earnestly labouring for Honour; and others, on the other side
by all means avoiding it, while the slaughter of the Nobles
and all others, whose Wealth or Authority grieved them,
made great Additions by their Deaths to the Authority,
and by their Fortunes, to the Treasury and Prey of the *Spaniards*:
And the truth is, *Alva* never dissimbled his Inten-
tions; for from the very first, he promised, with great
Threats, suitable to the Cruelty of his Nature, that a few *Sal-
mon's* Heads were of more worth than many Thousands of
little Fishes; Thus after a new Mode, making use of the
old Sentence, which teaches, to strengthen a Kingdom, by taking
away some of the Heads of the chiefest Common-wealths Men.

All the Mischiefes which had intervened here, since the
first Breach with *Granvel*, unto this time, were now objected
against *Egmond* and *Horn*, together with a shrewd Suspicion
of a Conspiracy, between them and the Prince of *Orange*, to
throw the King, by Force, out of his Dominion over the *Neth-
erlands*, and then to divide them among themselves. These
two, that by all mens confession, were most eminent men, and
as well Renowned by their Actions, as the Nobility of their
Birth, at *Braxels*, after Divine Service, according to the *Ro-
mans* manner, had been performed, in the publick place of
Execution, yielded their Necks to the Sword of the Heads-
man, and their Heads for a while after fixed upon Poles, was
to the *Dutch* both a lamentable and terrible Spectacle; and

although the Souldiers every where about in Arms, watched but for an Opportunity from the Words, and almost Looks of the People; yet they bearing the same deeply in Mind, the pity of all, but the Revenge of the more valiant, became sealed, when the Solemnities of their Funerals were Celebrated, and their very Coffins washed with the Tears and Kisses of an incredible Multitude of the common People, while others, after the old manner of Mourning, in a wowed Habit, promise and swear, *Never to cut their Hair, until they had revenged the Blood of those Noblemen.*

The Prince of *Orange*, with many others, are tired by a *Proclamation* to appear; and because being absent, and out of their reach, he laughed at their Threats of Punishment; all his Goods are confiscated, and his Son which was bred up at *Leuven*, in the Study of the Arts, is seized upon, and carried Prisoner into *Spain*.

It was a very sad thing to take notice of the Desolation and Wast that was here made, partly by Slaughters, and partly by Flight: Some few, whose exceeding Poverty would not bear out their Banishment, retired into the Woods, and there hiding themselves, where they lived like *Savages* upon the daily Spoils committed upon *Priests*, not taking Notice of the *Magistrats*, who came to suppress them by Force, but robbing and Killing them, as they could find advantage; until at last they were destroyed and driven away by the greater and more powerful strength of *Alva*: So also, at the Rivers *Muse* and *Rheur*, a few unadvised persons being scatteredly met together, and having sworn the Dukes death, at the very first Rencontre, were all overcome and slain: And to cut off all thoughts of hope, the *Messengers* and *Carriers* from *Spain* brought word, that there was nothing of moderation more to be expected from the King than from *Alva*, for that a publick punishment was there inflicted upon *Montaigne*, who was sent thither, in vain bearing with him the Name of an Ambassador, as to *Exempts*, which among all Nations is sacred, and not to be violated;

lated; for it was not thought fit for Subjects, to treat or deal with their Prince after such a manner, and so positively denied, The Marquess of Bergen, by a reasonable Death, prevented himself the like Fate, though not without Suspicion of Poison: But the very Thoughts of such a thing was condemn'd as a Crime, because *Alva* had a hand therein.

There was about the same time a louder, though more mystical Rumour of the Death of *Charles* the Kings Son: It was evident, that he, though the Heir of so many Great Kingdoms, was put into Ward; whether his too much forwardness in his Youth, had rais'd a Suspicion of him, that he was ambitious of Rule, as if his Care for the *Netherlanders* had been too great for his Interest there; or whether the *Tax* Crime were laid to his Charge, which had taken off his *Step-Mother*, is uncertain: But this is sure, that shortly after he died, though still very dubious, what Causes could so provoke the *Fathers* Wrath to that height, as to work his *Sons* death.

The Exiles, who now, though at distance, were ever where against their Wills, and in Poverty, being much grieved at the Oppression of their Country, did earnestly solicit the Prince of *Orange* to take up Arms, which of his accord, he was not at all propense to do; willing rather, that the *Spaniards* should over-run all, until all his Counsels were laid open, and there might be hoped a more safe Opportunity for the Distressed to gather and unite a Force, while the King should, for the most part, be taken up with other Wars. Nevertheless, some of the Exiles, at present, being drawn together, under the Leading of *Lewis* of *Nassau* broke into *Friesland*: There, by the Death of *Arminius* there slain, whom the heat and reviling of his Soldiers compelled to fight (though he thought it more Prudent to weary them out by Delay) by the Rout and Overthrow of his Forces, became *Companions*; but staying, with a fruitless Expectation of some Towns falling off to them, their Mo-

tell them for the *Souldiers* Pay, so that all *Discipline* was neglected, when suddenly by the Surprize of *Alva*, they were almost all slain, *Adolph*, the Prince of *Anrango* his Brother, and *Lewis* his also, being killed in the former Skirmish, they had tincted the War alternately, both with their own, and their Enemies Blood.

The Prince of *Anrango*, being thoroughly moved with this *Carriage of Affairs*, that he might be the better able to relieve his *Parties*, both by *Strength*, and the *Justice* of their *Government*, he sets forth in *Books a Narrative, the Reasons, Causes, and Justice, of their taking up Arms*; refuting, at once, both the *Judge*, and the *Crimes* objected against him; not dissimbling, *That now being taught better things, he had left the Church of Rome*; yet calling God to Witness, *That he took Arms for the Publike Weal, and freeing his Countrey from Slavery*: That this was the Duty of every good Citizen, much more of a Noble-man: Of *Philip* he spoke honourably, *whose Goodness* (he said) *was perverted by the Spanish Counsels*; and that he did not yet despair, but that he would, at length, resume better thoughts of his faithful Subjects, and uphold their sworn and settled *Laws*. In the mean while, according to the Law of *Brabant*, in regard of his many Errors in Government, Obedience was due unto him, as to their Sovereign. Lastly, that which seems to make most for the Justice of their Cause, was this; *The Brabanders, as they had a more special and wary care than the rest, for the maintaining their Liberty*; so likewise to prevent the *Incroachment* of their Princes, who, under pretence of the Publike, did not stick sometimes, to break up and dissolve their *State-Conventions*; they used to Covenant of their own proper Right, that when any Prince infringed the *Laws*, they should be free from the Bonds of their Fidelity and Obedience to him, until the *Wrongs* so done should be removed and satisfied. And this confirmed by many Examples of their *Ancestors*, who, when formerly some of their Princes, either through their own weakness, or the Delusions of *Flatterers*, had been drawn

away, they drew to more moderation (among whom the most remarkable was, *John the Second of that Name*) either by *Force*, or strong *Desires*, by them drawn up; which before they would conclude any *Peace*, they made the *Princes* freely promise, *That they would without any violation confirm and establish the same.* Now, the Prince of *Aurange*, though born in *Germany*, yet had obtained many most Noble *Hereditary Jurisdictions* in *Brabant*; to the *Lords*, or *Possessors* whereof, antient Custom had given the Dignity of being *Peer*, or chief *Governour*; by which Right, he urged, *That it did belong to him, not only to see the Laws well executed, but also to defend and maintain them.*

But here it is not to be omitted, that the same Right was claimed by the like Customs, by divers other of the *Netherlandish Provinces*; and also, that the *Decrees* of *Maximilian of Austria*, and *Mary of Burgundy*, were to be taken notice of; which had made them, by the same Sanction of the *Laws*, individually equally with the *Brabanders* themselves. And this appears, by what the People of *Friesland*, *Utrecht*, and *Gelderland* did, in the time of the Emperour *Charles the Prince*; when, among many other peculiar *Agreements and Covenants*, there was this one common and general, *That they might never be divided from Brabant and Holland.* While these Matters were argued *pro & contra*, *Maximilian* the Emperour much troubled thereat; and also taking into consideration, the Prince of *Aurange*'s Condition, so suddenly thrust out by violence from such great *Estates and Prebendances*, (though that Design of his, wrought no milder Temper toward those Dominions) sent his Brother *Charles* into *Spain*, to inform the King in his (to wit, the Emperour's) Name, and the rest of the *Princes of Germany*, *That they thought it not convenient for the Publike Good, that the Netherlanders should be used so harshly any longer.*

But *Philip*, as well as he could, dissembling his Anger, yet churlishly commanded, to be returned for Answer, *That*

the Care of managing his own Affairs, belonged properly to himself; who, as he knew when it was fit to shew Mercy, so likewise he was not to learn, when to use Severity to such, who having first laid aside their Duty towards God, would, in a short time, not fear to strike Hands with Obedience to their Prince; and that it would be an Action more safe and honourable for them, if they would desist to intermeddle in Affairs, in which they were altogether unconcerned.

There were some, that counselled the regaining of those Parts of *Lower Germany* by Warre, which had been torn from the Body by the strong Hand of their Lords: But the Emperor, of his own Nature, always loving Peace; and being lately allyed to the *Spaniard*, by a new Tye of Affinity, sat down, and meddled no more: But a few of the *Germans*, either out of their regard to Piety, Envy of the *Spanish Greatness*, or Hatred of *Alva*, too well known among them, did aid the Prince of *Aurange* with Men and Money; and it may be also moved with Suspicion, that *Alva* had a Design upon some Cities, near the Rivers *Rhene* and *Amasis*, to subject them to his Master, because they had been *Receptacles* to many of the *Netherlanders*, banished for their Religion: Many of the Neighbouring People, had bound themselves by Hostages, to be true to, and assist the Prince of *Aurange* in his Expedition; and something also was given by the *Netherlanders*, who now being compelled to inhabit abroad, either the Desire of return to their Country, or private Wishes of enjoying Liberty at Home, prompted: But many of those Promises failed in their Event; so that having, by the Dictates of his own Judgment and Fore-sight, gathered together Six Thousand Horse, and Fourteen Thousand Foot, chiefly, and the greatest part out of *Germany*, where great Multitudes of Men, caught with the Bait of present ready Money, never thought of the future, nor minded whose part they took, but were ready for any that would hire them best, the remainder of the said Army was made up partly of *Netherlanders*

the *Netherlanders* themselves, and partly of *French*: These Forces, letting slip the first Opportunity of fighting *Alva*, at the Passage of the *Maas*, being then unprovided, were afterwards by him easily weakned, and brought to nothing, by not fighting getting the more noble sort of Victory: Which Policy of evading Fight, had before that been fortunate to him in *Italy*, when he stood in opposition to the Duke of *Guise*. Therefore, for three and twenty days together, he lay in the Rear of them, as they marched, with his Camp so circumpectly, and with Prudence, fortified toward the Enemy, that they could never force him to fight with their Desperation: Then was put in practice that Villany, which will never be left off; to wit, that both Parties should maintain their Right, by Countries living in Peace; for whether a Passage was given, or denied, through the Lands of *Cler*, or *Lige*, always the one Party would revenge it self, either by robbing the Country, or burning it: However, at last the great Army, being neither admitted by one City, nor relieved with any Provision, in a short time mouldred away through an extreame want of all things, but chiefly of Pay with the slender Remains whereof, the Prince of *Aurage* being hardly able to march into *France*, carryed thither together with it all his Hopes; where, for some time, 1569. finding Employment in that *Forreign Warre*, though the cause thereof were something his, (for *Alva* had sent thither Forces also to help the King) yet by the suddain making of *Peace*, he was disappointed; and not only so, but Traps laid to insnare him.

The Army being thus broken, whereby, without doubt, the *Nassavian* Strength was much impaired and exhausted, he grew very wary how he ran into Dangers: So *Alva* great now with Success, esteeming himself a Conquerour of those People, whom he had yet never felt as Enemies, did ambitiously desire the Glory of his Authority, thus won (as he supposed) by Conquest: And under this Notion, and

Name

Name of *Conquerour*, he is presented with a *Consecrated Sword* from the *Pope*, with an *Inscription* of his Deeds, as Fame had reported them: which being a Piece of most excellent Workmanship, he placed in the beautiful Castle of *Amstcrp*, that serves to no other use, than to keep under the People; as the Scituation thereof, averted from the River, doth plainly testifie: Moreover, he erects a Statue in his Honour, with a large *Eulogy* thereon; to wit, that by appeasing the *Sedition*, destroying and punishing the *Rebels*, and promoting of *Justice*, he had restored *Peace* to these *Provinces*.

At this time he setled many things, no lesse profitable than specious, as concerning money, Merchandises, punishment of vices and enormities, and rash divulging of Books, works in themselves so good, that they will never be forgotten; unless by the *Olimus* of his name, who was the first settler thereof: But now the Inquisition, as to matters of Religion, the Acts of the Council of *Trent*, the new Bishops, and things hitherto winked at, if not utterly repudiated, were received willingly as it were, for otherwise it was in sight that would compel them; their hatred being now grown to that height, that who ever had been baptized by the *Protestants*, according to the Rules of Christianity, should yet be re-baptized, though contrary to the institution and practice of the Antients; Nor did this new *Tribunall* grow lesse furious against the old crimes of Treason, to the number of whom, were added all such as were but suspected to have wished good success to the late undertakings of the Prince of *Aurange*, or to have grieved at the ill fortune and miscarriage thereof; yet while these things are thus doing, there was a way studied, how to make their Victory seem more honourable, by the report of Clemency; which was this, By setting out an *Edict* in the Kings name, wherein a Pardon should be granted to all that would come in and confess their former misdeeds, but still excepting and reserving to punishment, all Teach-

lars and Ministers of Religion, and those which did assist or harbor them; all those whose impious villainies violated the Sacred Possesses of Churches, or holy places, and all such as bore Arms, took preferment; or were consenting to the confederacy of Nobles: certainly, a goodly Company of Exceptions, Liberties also of Towns and Universities, and whatsoever the Kings Treasury was indebted to any man, being referred to the Kings pleasure.

Now having thus laid aside all fear and shame, the utmost intentions and designs of the Spaniards were laid open in their open boastings, for the bringing to passe thereof that not only the charges of the Government, but if need were, Wars should be maintained at the charge of the Provinces; and to make this good, *Alva* commands forth present, the hundredth part of all the Revenues of the people to be levied; which in it self was very grievous, because was forcibly commanded by the Souldier, which ought have been collected according to the Custome of the Country; nor did he exempt the Priests from this payment: after this he takes the twentieth part of Lands, and the tenth of all other things whatsoever, sold upon every alienation, affirming to the Spaniards, that it was necessary thus to tax the *Netherlanders*, that they might the rather think themselves bound in equity to obey, being bound by the Law, and conquered by Arms, and not otherwise capable of Pardon.

It may easily be imagined, that these Impositions spoiled Merchandizing, and broken the connexion of Arts and Trades, by the flight of so many, so that the chief support of the People was utterly gone; for the profit of screwing by buying and selling of Wares, used to be disposed into severall Channels, if so great a burden should be come to be a part of the price, there would be no Chapmen found to buy, when in another place, they might have them so much cheaper; And if any durst be so bold as to find fault, freight they were seized on by Souldiers, and most exquisitely

ely punished. Nay, some Provinces and Cities being somewhat stubborn and self-willed, were sometimes majestically summoned and questioned, both what they had done themselves, and what they had suffered others to do against the Kings Edicts, being objected against them; and though the madness of some private persons, for the common cause, were not compelled to their evil deeds, yet were they sentenced, that they should be out of the protection of the Law, excluded from all publick Counsels, and for the future, be governed by no other Law than that of the Kings will. Nay, some were punished for appealing to the King, and the intercessions of the Magistrates were restrained by a mulct, which they should pay out of their own Estates upon forfeiture; with the severity of which examples, the rest being terrified, did endeavour to redeem themselves from this infinite oppression with a certain sum of money. And yet for all these so many and great afflictions, the wrath of God was not yet appeased towards these people for their sins; but as if the cruelty and avarice of men had not been sufficient for the persecution of a Land, most flourishing and opulent, both in Wealth and Inhabitants: the Ocean breaking over its bounds with such an overflux, as the like hath

scarce ever been seen before, by its inundation, made one great slaughter of men, and foretold another. For this was the time, in the small *Punthillia* whereof, the basest of servitude, and the highest point of liberty being divided, by both names continued equall miseries and misfortunes: And now anger suggesting unto the oppressed, the desire to free, or revenge themselves by Arms, they were taught, there was no concord so firm and stable, as that which is contained within the Bond of private concerns.

And now that Nation which had so patiently seen her Citizens burnt, her Governours slain, her Laws, Religion, and Common-wealth almost to be violently taken away and devoured, first consented to take vengeance for the former, and to

to prevent and keep off these evils that immediately hang
over their heads.

And so in the City of *Brussels*, though *Alva* himself were
present, and with a strong Guard did sternly exact the penalty,
yet everyone shut up their Shops and Ware-houses, scorning
to own or confess their slavery, though with the perill to
their Heads. Now were Gibbets and Hangmen prepared
for the Rebels (as they were termed) when news came of the
Commoions in *Holland*, which I shall presently declare to
you, and put a stop to their cruelty; The fury and indignation
of the People increasing, infused new Courage into the Prince of
Orange, that he might once more try the fortune of Warre, though
yet his Confidence flagged, till his Resolution became fixed, by con-
sidering, that part of Philips Forces were imployed against the
Turk, and that Spain it self was yet scarce quiet from the distur-
bances and incursions of the Moors; if therefore he could but get
an Army, himself would be Captain, and he hoped through their dis-
fensions, he should be able to find or make a way.

1571. To that purpose, he sends choyce persons to all
Princes, that professed themselves Reformers of Religion,
praying them, either publicly to take his part, or at least to
grant him private Aids towards the support of the common
Cause.

The *Duke* and *Suade* positively deny him, as fearing to
cope with an Adversary more powerful than themselves; nor
durst the Queen of *England* disturb her Neighbours great-
ness, although the *Pope* had given Her over to be a prey, and
Alva for the *Genoa* Merchants money, detained in *England*
for present use, and under assurance of repayment; begin-
ning a difference, and bringing it almost to Pledges, sought
long agoe a Cause of Warre against that rich Island, as was
suspected; and now lately, when there were some troubles
in the *North* part of that Kingdom, he sent some to view the
Ports, that might, if opportunity succeeded to his desires,
upon such occasion be leaders; and without peradventure he

was a great encourager of the Endeavours of the Queen of Scots against *Elizabeth*; the knowledge of all which things, were for the present so dissembled, and *Spain* so far obliged, that the *Nassavian* Messengers were commanded without any delay, by a certain day, to depart out of the *English* Territories: But in *France*, they who had laid aside the Rites of the *Rome* Church, that they might give credit to the Peace they had, were admitted into the Grace and favour of the King; and therefore, that they might be the better able to assist the Prince of *Aurange*, they add fresh fire to the old *Burgundian* fuel, repeating the Controversie that first arose in the Council of *Trent*, between these Kings for priority of place; urging also against *Philip*, the poisoning of his Wife *Elizabeth*, whose murder ought to be revenged, and that he was in Honour obliged to the like for satisfaction of those *French* Subjects, murdered by the *Spaniards* in *Florida*, a Province of *America*; which Counsel, King *Charles* listening to with greedy ears, would have to believe that he was sensible thereof; another motive wherewith they enveighed him, was upon the Marriage of his Sister, agreed with the King of *Navarra*, they gave him cause to think himself deceived therein: It was good Counsel, to meet a powerful Foe with the Conjunction of Neighbours, and here the ingenuity of the *French*, found it needful to have Warre that they might keep peace.

It was cast out as a Secret, but with great diligence, the League being broken, what the Emperour *Charles* said to the King, being his Prisoner, in reproch of the name and Honour of *France*, That the old limits of *France* should be restored, and the Empire extend even to the *Rhene*; what was beyond, the Prince of *Aurange* in words had already assumed to himself, as the reward of all his pains. By these inttigations, the King was so wrought upon, that moneys are speedily dispatched to him, together with Counsel and advice by *Lewis*, who went between them; whom *Caspar Colimac*, a chief Leader in the new

new Religion, had brought to treat and discourse with the King.

The Kings Navy also, upon the Coast of Guyen, was fitted and prepared, and Prizes taken in Spanish Vessels were publicly sold in the City of Rochel; The Spanish Embassadors in vain complaining, made their confidence increase by their deceits: In the interim, the Prince of Aurange was fraught with the fame and repute of so potent an Allye, either by Embassies or Letters, promiseth to the banished *Netherlanders*, resettlement in their own Country, and to those that are oppressed at home, Liberty: and doth perswade many Governours of Cities, either to mutiny or revolt, not valuing either the force, fear, or hate of *Alva*. Thus relying on his strength, and the industry of his People, he made a good sort at Sea; for every banished *Netherlander*, who had any Courage, and all those more indigent people, that were afraid of banishment, got aboard into some kind of Ships, and taking others, which they mer, by force from their owners, they much increased their number, they hovered to and again upon the Coast, and not onely there, but even in the very Ocean or high Sea, as *Pyrates*, got their Living, by robbing all they could seize on.

The Prince of Aurange had the shew of Authority and Command over this insolent multitude (though indeed, there was neither civility nor Government among them) by Letters missive, and the like, authorizing them as by Commission.

The Admirall of this Fleet, *William Count Marquis*, Sur-named *Louwy*, of a disposition that rather inclined to cruelty then Courage, which was accounted his chiefest vertue, his Counsel to most of his Companions and followers, as well as his own minde, intended nothing but depredations. Thus accoutred and followed, as it seemed good to the Supreme Providence, whom it had pleased hitherto in the Affairs of these Countreies, so to frustrate humane Confidences,

and

and Counsels, that great and over-blown hopes should never be attended with happy success.

1572. Twenty four indifferent Ships, being Com-manded off the *English* Coasts, Sail towards *West-Friesland*, to try their Fortune in the beginning a Warre against the chiefest Potentate of *Christendom*; but the Wind being against them, drove them through an extreame scarcity of necessaries, on one of the biggest Isles, they call it *Vorne*, and there is the mouth of the River *Maze*, where the Souldiers and Seamen between fear and Courage, with a sudden fury set upon the Town of *Brill*: not that they intended to make any long stay there; but onely intended it as a place of refreshment for a few dayes; But the more prudent of them, together with the conveniency of the place, desired that they might become sensible of their Victory, in the retention of the place: Thus all things among them hapning by chance, except difference in opinions, insomuch, that when some Bands of *Spanish* Souldiers entered the Island, under the Command of *Maximilian Bossu*, their Captain, who then was *Governour* of *Holland*; the *Invaders*, as if they had been distracted by a suddain fear, fled, not one of them daring to go against him; and this, forsooth, because the Townsmen had set fire upon their ships.

Bossu, in his return from hence, required passage through *Rotterdam*; which they, sensible of the Mischiefs of a Garrison, granted; but with this Proviso, that the greatest part of the Souldiery being sent away, the rest should enter: But contrary to these *Covenants*, the Souldiery forthwith broke in, and made a great slaughter of the Inhabitants within the Town.

This *Barbarous Treachery* so incensed the injured Minds of the *Hollanders*, that most of them voluntarily, part forced by the violence of the People, the appearance of their Neighbours in Arms, or else by the necessity of Commerce, openly declared their great Affection to the Exiles, and their willingness

lingness to admit them: For the Duke of *Alva* had no Castles here, believing himself safe enough, in the right simplicity of the People, who having hitherto been quiet then all the rest, did now, being abused, break out in the greater Fury. Besides, part of the *Spanish* Forces, a little before, had been drawn thence to punish *Utrecht*, for her Warlike Injuries done them; for that City, under Confidence of her Religion, had most vehemently withstood the commanded Impositions: And *Alva*, at the first News of this *Tumultuous Insurrection*, had sent for those who were in *Rotterdam*, vainly fearing they should have been Betrayed there.

The Town of *Flushing* followed the Example of *Holland*, being greatly disturbed with the sight of the Castle, which was in Building, to keep them in awe, and not willing to receive a *Garrison*, which was intended to be placed among them: These having seized *Basis* a *Surveyor*, the most excellent *Surveyor* of *Alva's* Works, and hurried him away to punishment, they Declare Themselves for the Common Cause.

In like manner, others in *Zeland* turned out the *Spaniards*, so that now from this new Face of Affairs, and the Assistance that daily almost came to them, out of the Kingdoms of *France* and *England*, they began to hope for Liberty. *Count William*, who was by affinity related to the Prince of *Orange*, rather trusting to the Honour of that Name, than to his own Strength, assures *Gelders*, and *Over-Issel*: Hereupon *Admiral Winter*, and shortly after *Schoneberge*, make Incursions into *Friesland*, being admitted into their strongest and best Cities, with the free good-will of the Citizens: The Prince of *Orange* did not much rejoyce, when he received News of these Commotions of the People, complaining, That he was prevented by such a Chance, and that his Force was not as ready, as his Consent with them. In this disordered and unsettled Body, some of the Nobles of *Holland*, and Commis-

sioners

honors of the Chief Cities, meeting at *Dordrecht*, assumed and put on the first Species or Habit of a *Common-Wealth*: Hither did the Prince of *Aurange* send, whom the States of *Holland*, although absent, because his Lieutenantcy and Government was taken from him, without any lawful cause, chose to be their Governour, as also to be the General and Manager of the War, against the proud Domineering of

Now there began to be daily Fights both at Sea and Land; wherein, as to the Land-Fights on Foot, the *Spaniard* was too hard for the other, being rude yet, and undisciplin'd, but at Sea was not able to meet; for it was their proper Sphere, in which they were as it were born. The *Zelanders*, in these parts, got many notable Victories thereby, and by their *Depredations* at Sea, relieving the Publike Wants. And the Duke of *Medina-celi*, being lately named Successor to *Alva*, that he might be made pliable to Intreaty, by Repentance, his Fleet being happily taken, wherein he was brought from *Spain*, and himself hardly escaping, refused to meddle in the Government, lest in so great Differences of Affairs, he might reap to himself the blame and disgrace that another had merited.

Alva not at all moved with these Dangers, was as outrageous as ever, and would neither look upon them as Enemies, nor take notice of their strength; but when at any time he got any into his power, he exercised his Malice upon them, as upon *Rebels*: And now *Revenge*, and a like Cruelty, raged upon all Prisoners on both Sides without Differences; so long as mutual Necessity, which of old had taught People that were Enemies, made them also know, that to spare the shedding of Blood, was not available to the finishing of the Wars. Being now thus well acquainted at Land, with the use of Arms, the *Nassanians* contagiously kept possession of the Sea: A space of Breathing is given to these of *Holland* and *Zeland*, whereby they may unite the stronger, while they are left to themselves,

selves, and the greatest part of their *Garrisons* drawn off *Alva*, to the Siege of *Mons* a City in *Hennault*, which *Levin Nassau* had taken by a *Military Stratagem*; the *Souldiers Valenciennes* turned out of their Neighborhood to them in *Castle*, being also come to the *Spaniards*: For the Relief *Nassau*, who defended *Mons* in *Hennault*, there came over *France* Five Hundred Horse, and Five Thousand Foot, the King taking no notice thereof; which was them looked on as a Confirmation of their private *League*: The Prince of *Aurange* came likewise out of *Germany* with an Army greater than that he had in his first Expedition; It was probable, that this War might have spread it self far abroad with greater Terror, if the *Spaniards* had not intercepted the wary *French*, in their well-known March, by Surprize, whereby they took Prisoner their Captain *Jenlisius*, the General of the whole Army, and divers other Nobles, for whose Safety King *Charles* earnestly interceding, was the last Act of this *Jained Devise*: for suddenly a *Messenger* brings the Prince of *Aurange* the terrible News of the *French Treacheries*, and informs him also of the Imprisonments, both of *Navarre*, and *Cande*; and that the *Confederate Power* of the Faction of *Guise*, having first seasoned it self with the Blood of *Colignac*, proceeded thence over all the Kingdom, whose only Law then was *Murder*; and the Hatred of the madding *Vulgar*, doubly aimed against the Followers of the new and abominated Religion.

This was the end of that *dissembled Peace*, of that *deplorable Marriage*, and of all those *Delusions* of their Friendship and Society.

Being thus deprived of his main Hope, the King of *France* having thus broken his Promises, to clear himself to *Philip*, and regain his Friendship, he pays off some of his Troops, and by such Counsels and Actions getteth it: The Prince is forced to Disband his Army, and scarce avoiding a Mutiny, with what *Fortune* had left him, goes into *Holland*, where being

being disappointed of all his Hopes and Endeavours, he accepts of what they, beyond his Expectation, had freely cast upon him: The *Surrender of Mons* follows not long after, with which Victory flesht, they insulted over *Mechlin*, and other Cities, which had either assisted the Prince of *Aurange*, in his passage by them, with Money or Provision, as if they had been absolute *Conquerors* of them: Thence the Terror of them spreading further, all those Places, that we mentioned before to be seized in *Friseland*, and near the River *Issel*, were, by the Cowardliness of their *Governors*, left to be new Garrisoned by the *Spaniards*: *Zutphen* also is taken by *Frederick*, the Duke of *Alva's* Son, while they were about to surrender; where raging in Blood, after the committing of all manner of Villanies and Rapes, upon the Inhabitants of the Town, they slew all, without any regard either of Sex or Age.

Not long after, *Narda*, a Town of *Holland*, receives the like Barbarous usage, and their Walls are pulled down besides, after the method of *Revenge* taken by the *Antients*: The *Spaniards* were wont, in other Wars, to do thus; as believing these Cruelties were convenient, for the accelerating and speeding their Victory; when, on the contrary, *Experienced* officers, that men are overcome by no means so soon as *Chimæry*, when the other doth rather heighten mens spleen and courage, when all trust and hope of Pardon being taken away, they fear the Mischiefs of *Peace* greater and heavier than those of *Warre*; by which means, their *Desperation* carrying them beyond *Hope*, their Counsels are more deliberate, and their Actions valiant; so that after this, no City ever will be rendred, until it hath suffer'd the uttermost Extremities.

I suppose it very convenient, to take a View of all the Parts together, of this growing *Commonwealth*, when in this *Tempestuous Storm*, there is a strong Contention begun by *Warre* for *Liberty*, which then no mortal man could judge;

would be so long time before they ended. The *Hollanders* only and those of *Zaaland* continued still in Arms, the Situation of which People, together both with their *Antient* and *Modern Names*, I will declare, that they may the better be understood, throughout the whole *Series* of this *Discourse*. This was, in *Elder Times*, the most famous Isle of the *Barons* in the middle between *Germany* and the *Gauls*, most fitly situated, for the transmitting and carrying over of *War*. The *Inhabitants* took both their Name and Original from the *Cassi*; on the Out-sides and Skirts thereof much frequented by the *Romans*, and partaking of their Civility, which the rest wanted: For their Skill in Horsemanship and Swimming, and the Fidelity and Valour of their *Auxiliary Forces*, most famous: Nor were they less than eminent in the *Warre*, which beginning in the Emperour *Vespasian*'s time stirred up the *Gauls* to seek their Liberty. After which sometimes the *Franks*, other whiles the *Saxons*; and lastly the *Angles*, or *English*, seated themselves in these Parts: some others, the *Slavonians* and *Varni*. The *Rhene* distinguished into two Channels, one of its own Name; the other called *Wals*, and running chiefly in two great Streams to the Ocean, surround this Island: That on the Right-side, was not far from *Leyden*, of old but small; but after obstructed with Sand, brought thither by the Force of *Tempestuous Waters*, turned his Waters into the *Lock*. On the Left, the *Wals* being mix'd with the *Maas*, was kept in by Banks: At the day, before it comes thither, by the interposition of sundry Islands, and its often overflowings, it may almost pass for a Sea.

The Third Mouth of the *Rhene*, which from the Right runs further into the North, *Drusus* opened; for a River being brought by the *Souldiers* Labour, in the Flood of *Iffel*, whence drowning it self in a Lake, which bounded the *Frisians*, and incurvating it self toward the Island *Flie*, runs into the Sea by this same first received Name.

But the Face of Things and Places here are now so chang'd, that there can be no River seen; but on the contrary, the Sea hath broke in upon the Land; and though at first it seem from a narrow Entrance, but a little to increase, yet a little further, you may presently see it open like a great Gulph. The beginning therefore of this Country of old, called *Batavia*, retains in part its old Name, and is called *Geldres*, whose Lordship growing into wideness, is bounded by the River *Maas* and *Issel*. *Over-Issel* joyns in Neighborhood to this; having on its side the *Greater Frizeland* running out as far as the River *Eemts*, then turns about its back to other Parts of *Germany*: Below *Geldres*, where it is called *Wilans*, is *Stricht*, with some Neighbouring Towns, which are under the Rule of a Bishop, as likewise all *Over-Issel*; untill the Emperour *Charles* first of all added them to his own Government: Next, we find *Holland* now most plentifully stored both with Cities and Villages, running out with two Corners in the *Wale*, and the before-mentioned Gulph, by little and little getting from the Water on both sides: It spreads a large Shore to the Ocean, whose more Northern Parts, were sometimes part of *Frizeland*; but partly by Arms, and partly by Agreement, now joyned to *Holland*; who lying over against the *Fris* on the *West*, have kept the Speech of *West-Frizeland*. All the Country of *Holland* is full of many Arms of Rivers, and Inlets of Lakes, and Water-Courses made by Art and Labour, and is more fertile in Pastures than Corn; there no is Country abounds more in Fishing and Navigation, both in Rivers and the Sea, than this. *Zeland*, divided into several Islands, borders on this, being environed with the two Rivers *Maas* and *Scalde*, on the Back also joyned with *Brabant* by *Henta*, and by the River *Scalde* divided from *Flanders*; which, among *Forreigners*, hath merited to give the Name to all the *Netherlands*: This Tract of Land, lies all upon and open to the Sea, even unto *Calais*, and is that part of the *Netherlands*, which is now

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under

under the Dominion of the *French*. Some have conjectured, that the *Danes* plying up and down these parts, as *Pirates* have left some Reliques of their Speech behind them, in the names both of *Holland* and *Zeland*; but I having perused many Monuments of Antiquity, finde this a common name to all the Islands; but I believe it was a more proper and peculiar name, to a small Region, not far from *Leydes*, bare and rough, by reason of thick Woods, for the name signifies so much.

This is clear, that when those Northern Nations raged over all these parts of the World, committing Rapes, Murders, and daily depopulations, it made these people for their own safety, advise together concerning the choosing and accepting of Princes, which they did by the name of *Earls* or *Counts*, who at first were bound to observe their duty with so much strictness to the *French*, and afterwards to the *Emperours of Germany*, that they had no Lawes of their own distinct: Very uncertain it is, of what House sprung our first Princes were; There is an Opinion vulgarly received, that they were sent out of *Armenia*; but there are better and stronger proofs, that they were Natives, who of old in the same place, now known by the name of *Holland*, had but narrow limits to their Dominion, till by little and little, they became so much enlarged, as they have been, while by Claims from the Female inheritance severally descended unto the Lords of *Hennalt*, *Bavaria*, *Burgundy* and *Austria*; of which last is come King *Philip the Second*, but in the number of *Earls* is reckoned the one and thirtieth.

At this time the greatest difficulty and evill that attended the Warre, was that *Amsterdam* in *Holland*, and *Middelburg* in *Zeland*, two most flourishing Cities, were both repugnant to all the undertakings of both these *Provinces*; their business making them beyond Command of the yongling Commonwealth, especially because all *Alva's* care was fixed

for their preservation; not onely placing in them choyce *Governours*, but strong Garisons of Souldiers. On the other side, the Isle of *Bommel*, belonging to *Geldres*, encompassed by the Rivers *Wale* and *Maze*, was drawn into the association, and fortified for the defence of *Holland*: Certainly, there was not any thing could have fallen out more happily to the management of these Affairs, then the coming of the *Prince of Aurange*; for he being well skilled in what was necessary for a good Government, made a quiet settlement of whatever was out of order, and by discretion, and his innate moderation, kept their strength together, which otherwise would have quickly come to nothing; which vertues his very enemies applauded in him; for *Marquins*, while he managed the Government of *Holland* in his absence, by his cruelty towards *Priests*, and all other kinds of immodesty, had brought a great scandall upon their now growing Liberty, for being of a cruel nature himself, he spurred on the *French*, who being accustomed to blood and licentiousness, revenged the evils, which they escaped at home, in forraign Service: for this Cause, as also, for some Act of disobedience, by the *Prince of Aurange* his Command, he is suddenly taken, and accusations framed against him; but the times would not permit him to have any further punishment.

But the *Prince of Aurange* laying aside his Name of *Prince*, and embracing his Power, began, with a selected Counsel, to bestow Commands, set forth Lawes and Constitutions, to order and direct the Affaires relating to the Warre, both by Sea and Land; and in brief, to settle all things in the *Common-wealth*; and if any matter of greater moment then ordinary fell out, it was taken into consideration by the great Assembly of the *States*, among whom he sat *President*. Whose frequent meetings, besides the shew of a popular State, were very advantageous in this, that more of the whole number might be knit together by parts; & to that end, where before only six Cities of *Holland*, together with the Nobility, did

consult of most matters ; which six Cities were, *Dordrecht, Harlem, Delfe, Leyden, Amsterdam* and *Gant*, now the Prince of *Aurange* did admit of twelve more less Towns which without doubt would be faithful to him, by whose favour they had obtained the Priviledge of a Suffrage : Nor truly was it without great foresight, that these were made Partners in Counsels, in regard they would the more willingly help to bear that burthen, of whose use and necessity themselves were Judges ; their Names and Order follow thus.

In the South part, *Rotterdam, Gorrichem, Seydam, Schiedam*, and in the Isle of *Maze, Brill*. In the North, *Alcma Horn, Enckhofen*, and also in the Marshes there, which is called *Waterland, Edam* and *Monkdam*, and not far thence *Medemlick, and Parmeren*. In the place of them that refused to come, by publick Judgement and Choyce, he appointed other Substitutes.

There was a great scarcity of men, that did either desire or deserve these favours, when most of them, seeing a smallness of their strength, or out of scruple of Conscience would endeavour to exempt themselves from these matters which seemed to them troublesome and unsafe : And so they might avoid the *Odium* of falling rashly from their obedience, being underpropped by no allyance, the name of *Philip* is used in all Cases, though positively in opposition to *Philips* Commands ; Nor wanted they a *President* for the even from the *Spaniards* themselves, who being beyond measure oppressed with Taxes, when the *Emperour Charles* was gone into *Germany*, opposed the Kings Deputies, or *Viceroy's*.

By such and the like practices did the *Germans* at first strengthen and associate themselves in the *Smalcald League* for the Cause of Religion ; After whom, the *French Nobility* had by many Writings declared, that inferior *Magistrates* did not falsifie their Allegiance, when they fight

the defence of Religion, and the Laws, and to protect the lives of Innocents, although therein they not onely disobey the Kings Command, but resist his Person. This did in some small measure help the *Nathurians*, because they took Arms against *Alva*, the King being absent, which they would have forborne, if he had been there; But they, who, in defence of the Kings Power and Greatness, boasted, that they would lay down their lives, were, by a more fatall necessity, compelled not onely to bear Arms, but to fight many bloody Battels against the same.

Now were the *Roman* Ceremonies quite cast out of their Churches; and who were of that Judgement, were not easily admitted unto any great Offices or Employments; not that there was any Law against them, but it was so ordered out of common Prudence, least they bearing a grudge to all that differed from them, might, by that Licence, probably disjoyn and separate their own from the publick Cause, and the Discipline which was taught at *Geneva*, and here and there dispersedly in the *Palatinats* of *Germany*, was publicly received and owned; but with this difference, that many of the same Religion vary in the toleration of divers things; for the teachers in this say, not onely that Cities and Magistrates were ordained of God, for prevention of injuries, either to mens Persons or Estates, but that he commanded in what manner he would be worshipped; but that saith, it is enough to worship at large; of which duty, many being negligent, had drawn upon themselves the punishments due for the impieties of other men. But on the contrary, those people judged it not onely fit to give them all ayd, but all of the Religion voluntarily did abhorre the very name of the Laws of the Inquisition; and from thenceforth did dispute, that no man would willingly go astray, neither could any man be forced to believe against his will; And that a true opinion in matters of Religion, was onely by God infused into the minds of men; no devotion being acceptable to

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him,

him, but what is voluntary. And that it hath been found true, that erroneous opinions have not been stifled so well by force and humane Laws, as eaten out by length and process of time; Under these pretences and vizors, not only the publick Rites of Religion were despised without punishment, but sometimes absurd and impious discourses were published among these evils of too much liberty.

Now were the Tributes and Revenues of the *Princes, Princes* and *Monasteries*, together with the Estates of all such were fled, and lived in the Enemies Country, and also the Prizes taken at Sea, brought into a common Treasury for the publick use.

1573. Then were found out the severall names of Taxes imposed on mens Heads and Estates; then were invented exactions under the names of Loanes, and Impositions laid even on those things which were consumed by use; and all these increased more and more, as the Warre grew more fierce. They bore so great a spleen against Tyrannical Sovereignty, that they had rather part with all, then pay the Tenth before spoken of.

There was also found out a new way of gaining from the Enemy, which by selling Licences, that Provisions, and other Commodities might be transported; and this profitable Custom is used yet, both publickly, and privately; and though many times forbidden, yet never left off.

There was some what also payd out of Merchandizes, for Ships of Convoy, when *Merchants* Ships were attended at Sea for their security by Ships of Warre. All these things thus settled, the lack of money notwithstanding was the main matter; because the *Spaniards* might make incursions into the *Hollanders* Country, first by *Utrecht* and *Amsterdam*, and then through *Narde*, (for that is the way cut of *Gelderland*.) Most matters were achieved by the valour and industry of the Citizens, not by hired and forraign Souldiers; for there was hardly Provision enough for those already in Ser-

vice:

vice: The Captains were yet not skilled in managing their Men, and the Men were untoward to be commanded: This only helped them, that they had as much skill in the assaulting and taking of Towns, as their Enemy: Hence it proceeded, that Sieges became so long, and the main force they used, was to starve the Enemy out; till by many slaughters and wounds, they became more expert, having out of each others blood learned perfectly the art of Warre.

Great was the over-sight of *Alva*, that he did not bend all his force against *Zeland*, in the instant, while all things were discomposed and out of orders; but he was frightened by them, as being ignorant of the way of such fights.

The Spanish Army lay seven moneths about *Harlem*, a City of *Holland*, loosing many thousands of their men, as well by the sharpness of the Winter, as by the Sword: and that time both strengthened and confirmed the minds of men, and the State of Affairs; and though by a long Siege, yet at last, after a late and unhappy relief, the besieged fell into the cruel hands of their enemies; a great part of whom they either hanged or drowned: But by this it appeared, that it was impossible to overcome them, who had been so long getting a Victory; and least their Successes should have gone on, while the amazement for the late loss continued, their own dissensions put an obstacle in the way, by a mutiny for want of pay: which was an unavoidable evill in those parts, though in wages under a most wealthy King.

By the sufferings and punishments of the Inhabitants of *Harlem*, the Peoples rage was again set on fire, in which fury, *Alcmar*, a Town of *Holland*, lying to the North, first made a breach upon the Spaniards strength, by beating them off from their Siege; and afterwards, they received more comforts in their misery, for the Nassavians took *Geertruydenburgh* by force, a Town of *Holland*, extending it self to *Brabant*, and *Bosch* himself, with his whole Fleet, was taken, while, both at Sea and Land, he daily did infect *West-Friseland*

land with Warre. The *Spaniards* had given this Fleet, name of the *Prætorian Inquisition*, arrogantly thereby him with scorn at the Cause of the Warre.

Alva now grown old, and solicitous to preserve his Fame upon his humble Request in that behalf made to *Philip*, let him recalled, perceiving that his violent proceedings did little good, and that as long as his memory remained, would be an obstacle to any other meanes that should be used, without any notice taken of his desire, that his Son might succeed him, who was partaker as well of the hatred contracted against his Father, as of his actions.

1574. Five years and a little more, he governed being wont to boast, that in that time, he had caused the execution and slaughter of eighteen thousand men: His Act especially that for the Tenth, the King durst neither openly approve and confirm it, nor positively repeal it. He remained in the Court, without any question, and with Honour, until after some years, he was, together with his Son, who had committed a Rape upon a Noble Virgin, thrown into Prison, whence he did not get free untill the *Portugall Warre* required the presence of an expert and knowing Captain.

Lewis de Requesens, was sent to succeed him in the Government of the *Netherlands*, who insinuated divers by cunning and more remiss dealings; Liberall and milde beyond the *Spanish* guise, but nothing so subtle as *Alva*. He was quite ignorant in Military Affairs, as witnessed that famous Victory obtained at the *Echinades*, in the Honour whereof he had a great share; and his bringing under of *Granado*, and breach of promise there with his enemies, when they grumbled against the *Inquisition*, the same whereof went before him; but the first thing by which he endeavoured to get the favour of the *Netherlanders* was, the pulling down *Alva's* Statue.

About this time, *Middleburg*, by a long Famine, which did almost afflict the *Beiegers* as besieged, and the *Spanish* Fleet

Fleet being broken and vanquished in many sharp Conflicts, surrendered to the *Zelanders*, and regained thereby her wasted Wealth. But *Leuis of Nassau*, endeavouring to draw the Enemy off from *Holland*, was slain near *Nimwegen*, together with the Troops which he brought to his Brother, which did happen by the folly of the Souldiers; for just as the Enemy was upon them with drawn Swords, they began importunately to cry out to their Captain for money. This was the end of that Captain, who, both for Valour and Policy, might be ranked among the most prayse-worthy; as also of his Brother *Henry*, and *Christopher*, Son of the Prince *Palatine*.

The same mischief, which had been the ruine of these, fell upon the *Conquerour's* Army; for they likewise began to mutiny against their Officers, and to command their pay, the wages due for their blood.

This madness fell upon *Andern*, a City of *Brabant*, most happy in times of peace, in the enjoyment of a great Trade by *Merchants*, and the acquiring of what naturally flows thence, Wealth, which is the whole work of Peace, while on the contrary, where Warre hath once given a liberty to all things, the basest poverty cannot sometimes secure her rights; here did they insult by all means, till by force and threats, they extorted from the Citizens there four hundred thousand *Florins*; which it was thought, *Don Requens* was well enough content with, because he Commanded they should not be resisted or denied. And in a very short time after, he granted them a generall Pardon, rejoycing as it were, that money was any way gotten, though it was not improbable he might have had it willingly, if he had but demanded it; for while the States of those parts refused to pay any Taxes toward the Warre, unless the Tenth might be taken away by a solemn Edict, it happened, that either by the Kings obstinacy, or the Governours, their Designs in both were frustrated. Which covetousness of Reward, or rather
Indeed,

indeed over-pay is greater among the *Spaniard*, than any other Nation almost: For this, they will mutiny in a notorious manner; and yet, as it were by a certain Providence, still stick to the *King's Interest*. Thus by an underhand Confederacy of the Commanders, they fall to pillage and Robbery, which the Souldier calls his Wages, or Hire, and the People name it Necessary: Neither were these Subtleties here first used; for in others Wars it had been customary with the *Spaniard* to use the same Trade.

This Violence and Injury, had mightily turned the Loyalty of the People to the Prince of *Aurange*; and in the year 1575. at the next following Council among them, made his Requests, and their Desires, to be as it were one; for they began to mention a Treaty of Peace before *Alphonso de Cardenas*, who was a Prisoner, (but a man of great Learning and Ingenuity, and withall very intimate and prevalent with the Prince of *Aurange*) whom they would send with Letters to that purpose, associated with *Campaigny*; between whom, and his Brother *Granvel*, there was a Domestical Quarrel, and such an Enmity, as in like Cases uses to be between Relations: At last, the Legates on both sides met at *Brussels*, whither the Emperour sent Count *Swartzburge*, a Kind man of the Prince of *Aurange*, to be a Moderator between both Parties.

The Prince of *Aurange*, and they who were under his Authority, had given these Instructions; That they were accounted, without desert, Rebels and irreligious Persons, by their Enemies; for that they understood the Nature of their Duty, both to God and their Prince; That they had never taken up Arms against Philip; and that the only cause, that hindered the Peace, was, that they were governed by Strangers; And that if the Spanish Souldiers might be removed away, which was very necessary, both as to Matters of Religion, and all other things; that they would Declare themselves satisfied, by the Judgment of all the States of the Netherlands.

Here

Hereto it was answered, *That they had not well done, in choosing rather to stand upon their own Defence, than to submit themselves; That yet they should have free Pardon and Impunity, so as the Disturbers of Religion, might, within a time limited, be Banished the Country: for they conceived unjust, that so great a King should be denied the Power to settle Religion, which to the poor Princes of Germany was never scrupled; And as to the rest, that the King would willingly agree, so as they would first deliver up to him the Cities and Castles; as also all things, with their Furniture, and other Engines and Provisions of War, which they now had in their Possession.*

These Conditions were not at all pleasing, as being more rigorous than they could enforce by Arms; whereupon they desired a Truce, that all Acts of Hostility might cease, and that for some years there might be a Toleration of Religion: But neither could this be obtained; yet *Requesens*, by a few late Successes, being more than ordinatly puffed up, prolonged the Treaty, that in the mean time, he might the more easily get an opportunity to do them a mischief, while they yet neglected, and thought nothing of War: For at this very time, wherein they were Treating of Peace, the Spanish Armies had strange and strong Designs on foot, which in some places succeeded well, by reason of unexpected Celerity; but in other, were with admirable Valour and Resolution, broken and brought to nothing: As particularly, in *West-Friesland*, where several Companies of the King's Souldiers making Inroads, the Country People meeting them dispersed up and down, which hapned by their ignorance of the Places and Wayes, took, and without mercy killed them: In this variety of Affairs, the Siege of *Leyden*, begun before, continued a little while, making all things tremble for fear; for the Spaniards were then in the very Heart of *Holland*, nor had they any Forces to resist them, but onely relyed upon the Divine Help, and the never-to-be-reconciled Hatred of the People, against this Treacherous and Tyrannical Government;

ment; which in this troublesome time appeared so evident, that there was a *Spaniard*, or *Marriner* found, who having torn a *Spaniard's* Heart out of his Body, bit the same in pieces with his Teeth: Therefore, after they had quite wearied their Hope, and Famine as yet had wrought nothing upon them, many of them being consumed, either by the Sword or Sicknes, according to the Example of *Medona*, the Befiegers making use of Birds for *Messengers*, digging through the Fortifications, opening the Banks of their Rivers, and forcing the Sea overflow the Land; which hapning at a Full Moon, made the Water rise much higher, the Wind also wonderfully favouring the Design, they preserved themselves. Nay, the Ruinfulness of their Walls, which to other Countries is a great Evil, was an Advantage to this, thereby the Noise of a great Eruption coming to their Enemies Ears, was both frightened and deceived them.

The Siege being thus raised from *Leyden*, and the Soldiers taking with them one *Baldus*, a Captain whom they had taken, coming to *Stricht*, a City of their Party, which they had destined to be a Prey to them, under the pretence of a Meeting, they were over-master'd in their Design, and beat them from their Assault. Then the *Spaniard* attempted to pass into *Holland*, on the left side, by the *Maas*, and the *Leu*, where having taken some Towns on the Banks thereof, among which *Oudwater*, (so the Town is named) the North Victor shewed his Cruelty: Nor could they be repressed or beaten back, until they had harraled even to a place called *Coblenre*, near which there is a Village named *Crypen*.

At the same time also, *Peter Millendas* a *Biscayan*, the Conqueror of *Florida*; but by a most villainous piece of Treachery, and infamous amongst his own Countrey-men, when he had with little Judgment compared the *American* and *Netherlandish* Affairs, boasted, that he would easily bring both *Brill*, and other Ports, into their subjection: And now some

ships being made ready, an Embassie was sent into England, to desire the Friendship of their Shore, and Entertainment; if their Fleet should chance to be driven thither, by any Impetuosity of the Winds or Seas. But a suddain Contagious Disease scattered their *Mariners*, and the Captain himself being told of the Vanity of his promised Undertaking, dyed, as many think, for shame, but more for fear: And the *Spaniards* that had been drawn together, being by the *Hollanders* Forces dispersed, and their ships destroyed, that kept Guard at *Antwerp*, and a new Face of Affairs presently following, made them lay aside their Sea-Coast Design for many years.

After this, the *Requesenians* enter an Isle of *Zeland*, called *Schoonwan* (of old *Scaldia*) in the Confines of *Holland*, and is so named from the River that runs by the left side of it, by ships partly, and partly through the Fords; but whether with more Fortune or Courage, is more questionable: However, they, to make the Action more famous, feigned *Miracles* (such as they had heard mentioned in old Wives Tales) giving out, that the very Stars gave more Light than ordinary, to guide them while they went abroad. Here winning by Assault, the Port of *Bemmenede*, which was a place kept by a small Garrison, after a valiant Defence, they afterward got into their Power, by a Nine Moneths Siege, *Zyricon*, the chief Town of the Island. To this grievous Mischief, of having an Enemy in the midst of two Provinces united by *League*, and they both in want of Men and Money to repell them, was added another, as great as the former; and that was; That they did in vain pray the Aid and Friendship of Foreign Princes; Either for that the Example did not please them, or else because they stood in fear of the Spanish Power: For the Queen of England, refused either to make a *League* with them, or to take the *Sovereignty* over them, which they offer'd her, it belonging to ano her; although they boasted, Her Alliance in *Blond* to the former Princes and Rulers of *Holland*.

and

and that they had but one common Religion, and that she was Lady and Mistress of the Sea. Yet all this notwithstanding she supplied them with Money sometimes, but for what she asked unseasonably, it might rather turn to their greater Damage.

Henry, the Brother of Charles, was then King of France, who well knowing before the *Spanish Treacheries*, and intending to meet him in the like sort, was pleased to assist those who endeavoured to break his strength, but with privacy possibly imaginable; wherein is not to be forgotten the Subtilty of that almost *Piratical Invention*, by which was agreed with the King, That the *Nassanian Treasure of Warre* at Calais, a City of France, should sell Commissions, or Licenses, to sail in the Neighbouring Sea, to get Satisfaction for the Injuries, suffered by both People; and who was so gotten, they might freely sell there: for hitherto, whether they went with any Prey gotten from the *Hollanders*, either to their Enemies, or elsewhere; yet they were brought to Tryals and Examinations, and many times were forced to run the hazard of a Damageable Suit before strange Judges. And the Covenant of preventing Danger (commonly called *Insurance*) frequent among *Merchants*, added a Shadow of Law; whereby the incertainty of the Event is usually transferred to another, with some certain Reward. And the Money growing from this one *Tribute*, was not much inferior to the great Expences of the *Warre*; unless the whole Race of Sea-men, a sort of *Creatures* to be kept under by Law, should return to their old Liberty, and take their proper profit out of all Prizes: This unexpected good Fortune, restored Vigour to their Affairs, which were almost grown desperate, when by a suddain Disease *Requesens* dies; by which the Administration of the Government did revert into the *Senats* of those Parts, under the King's Dominion. *Jacobus Hopper* a *Frison*, whose Power, being then an Agent in *Spain*, did increase; because Counsels by him rejected and

disallowed, had ill succeeded; so that, though a *Netherlander*, he had gained the Name and Repute of a Wise, in the esteem of the *Spaniards*, thought that would be pleasing to the People, for the retaining of those they already had, and for the pacifying of those that were fallen off: But no man was ever so wise, whom *Fortune* at one time or other hath not deceived: For the Prince of *Aurange* had before this, by under-hand Policies, and insinuating Intelligence, gain'd the Hearts of the *Brabanders*, declaring, *That he desired nothing, that might singly tend to his own particular advantage, but wholly minded the Publike Good.* And they again, of their own accord, consented, while *Requesens* was busie abroad with his Forces, or dissembled Lenity, with intent, to raise his Authority higher than he had ever abated it: For the *Regent* himself very indiscreetly commanded the Countrey-men to take Arms, to repress the Tumultuous Mutinies of the Soldiers; which very thing, was the first beginning of their Liberty in those Parts: For now the Names imposed by *Alva* being forgotten, the Laws, and the Rights of the *States*, were cryed up by the Voyces of all Men: *Flanders* also from hence learned Wit, a People very unquiet, and hardly able of old to endure their Princes, when they were only Princes.

These confidently denied *Tribute* to *Don Requesens*, because there was exacted from them, more than was necessary: But as there were in that *Senate* some *Spaniards*; so were there also many *Netherlanders*, from whom the Prince of *Aurange* hoped, that he might desire, that they would rather bestow those Monies to defend their Country, than betray it. And this Counsel, so full of sound Care, did greatly help forward in that Case: For this War had so extreemly drained the *Spanish* Wealth, though very great, that the King being greatly indebted, was fain to take by force his Possessions from the *Usurers*, under the pretence of a general Discharge, by common Authority, of all Debts and Bonds

before that time, without any payment or satisfaction for the same. And by chance, the *Turks* (whose Power hath ever grown greater by the *Christians* Discords) while *Philip* turns all his strength against the *Netherlands*, enjoying the Kingdom of *Tunis*, fell violently into all the rest of *Africa*, both by Sea and Land, which the *Spaniards* held: By means of which straits, it came to pass, that the *Spanish* Souldiers in the *Low-Countries*, had no Pay for many Moneths; who thereupon, according to Custom by them long received, ceasing off Obedience, become Licentious, and with for nothing more than for Pillage: Wherefore *Bruxels*, the Metropolis of those Dominions, was destined for Plunder, and so had been, if the common People, mindful of former Villanies, and almost astonished at the greatness of the imminent Danger, had not betaken them to Arms, and advertised the Magistrates, and those who had the Management of the Laws thereof: These presently summoned the *Senate*, to whom, we told you before, the Administration of the Government was fallen, to condemn these impudent Souldiers, as Enemies to the Prince and Country; which being openly done, the Sedition was believed to be privily fomented by the Counsels of a few, whose Wealth grew from *Foreign Tyranny*.

But when the *Confederate Regiments*, turning out their Commanders, had forcibly entred *Alost*, a Town in that part of *Flanders*, which of old stuck to the *German Empire*, and was never, as the rest, subject to *France*, and thence had wasted the Country round about them, there being none to take Vengeance of them; some of the Nobles of *Brabant*, not by any publike Advice, but struck with the Fear and Memory of the Example of *Antwerp*, sent some who should keep together the *Senate*, (that is, the Head of the *Commonwealth*) in their Courts and Session. Anon, lest the Government should fail, for want of a lawful Authority, they discriminated the Innocent from such as were Suspicious, restraining all whole

Treachery

Treachery or *Sluggishness* would produce the effect, that no *Strength* should be made ready against the insulting *Envy* and *Avarice* of the *Spaniards*: And not onely so, but the *Natives* that were *Souldiers*, were, as much as might be, picked out, and sent into several parts, and then joyned in *League* with *Flanders*, and other *Cities*, against them, as against a *Common Enemy*. Nor did they onely think of these new *Disturbances* of the *Publike Peace*; but called also to mind the *Oppressions* in *Alva's* time, such as the *Tents*, *Inquisition*, *Punishments* of the *Guiltless*, *Robbing* them of that by *Force* and *War*, which they laboured for in *Times of Peace*, and their frequent *Slaughters* and *Executions*, by colour of the *Edicts*.

And now Matters began to seem not onely to take notice of such as had traduced the *Government*, but of the whole *Spanish Nation*: Whereupon, one *Rode* made himself *Captain* of certain *Companies* of *Spaniards*, that now went out of *Holland*, never to return thither again; part of the *Senate* before, and which then was gone over to the *Souldiers*, assuming to themselves all *Right of Government*: But now the whole *Colledge* as it were re-uniting; The *German Souldiers* too joyned their selves, hoping to do what they listed; & being thus joyned together, they sacked *Utrecht* by the *Maze*, a most noble *City*, and not long after, pouring themselves out of the *Castle* into the *City* of *Antwerp*; where, for some days, having beaten out the *Defendants*, they glutted their *Wrath* and *Avarice* with the *Slaughter* of the *Townsmen*, the burning of *Houses*, and an exceeding great *Booty*. Among all which *Miseries*, the *Netherlanders* durst not rely upon the *Strength* and *valour* of their new and unexperienced *Souldiers* against those *Weather-beaten* and old ones, who had also *Fortifications* and *Castles*: not knowing well therefore what to do, and considering, that it would be too tedious, to move other *Princes* to aid them, they resolved at last to accept of the next *Forces*, which belonged to the *Prince* of *Aurange*,

&c were by him freely offered them, being conscious to themselves, that they should be looked upon however, as guilty of the like Crimes, and that they must either purge themselves together by Force, or suffer together: Wherefore, resuming the *Treaty of Peace*, which was broken off at *Breda*, as is before related, and as Fellow-Citizens, consulting against *Common Enemy*, they easily agree; and it was provided, that for the obliterating the Memory of former *Differences*, no one should be questioned concerning Religion; nor that any *Judgments* should be confirmed, which were given concerning the same, but that all things confiscated, should be restored to their Owners; or if they were sold, certain select *Apprizers* should set a value both upon Possessions, and other things wrongfully detained, and to restore to the one the thing it self, to wit, the Possessions; to the other, the value or price thereof, that every one for the future might use what Religion he pleased; and so as to those things, which they of *Holland and Zealand* took, detained in the time of the War, which belonged to the King; and they also agreed, That what Money the Prince of *Aurange* had expended in his two Expeditions, or so much thereof as belonged to him, the rest of the Provinces should be equally contributory to the reimbursing, after the Commonwealth was freed from Forreigners, according to the Judgment of the General States of the Netherlands. In the interim, Trading should be encouraged, both Parties should use the present Form of Jurisdiction, and the Religions they already held: And that it should not be lawful for the *Hollanders*, or their Associates, to alter any thing in Religion, without their own Bounds; only granting the Prince of *Aurange* Power of ordering the Cities belonging to his particular Government.

Upon these Agreements, a Peace was concluded at *Genn*, between the *Nassanian Party*, and the People of *Brabant, Flanders, Artoys, Henault*, and other Provinces, only *Leunenburg* excepted, whose *Governours* were privately obedient and affectionate to the Name of *Spain*, and the Peo-

ple ever most firm in their Fidelity to their Princes : But the *Felices* came in, having imprisoned their Governor *Caspar Bole*, a *Portuguese*, because he resisted them. Thus throwing down the Cattles every where, they threw off their Yoke of Slavery : And because *Antwerp*, being possessed by the *Spaniards*, hindred the mutual Commerce of the *Provinces*, they made great Banks of Defence near the *Sceld*, that under their Safeguard ships might pass safely. Afterwards, this

League was entered into again at *Bruxels*, and the 1577. *Agreement of War* against the *Spaniards*, confirmed

by the Oath of the Clergy, Nobility, and Commons, and fully assented to by the *Senato*. And this was the only time, from whence any one might with Reason, hope well of the *Low-Country* Affairs, if they had laid aside their Feuds, as well as their Arms : And, to speak clearly, the Emulation and Ambition of the Lords, was the undoubted Fountain of all their Evils ; and the Fault of the People was not much unlike this, for such was their Frantick Zeal in their Religion, that they would never stick to any *Agreements* or *Covenants*, nor be contented with their present Condition ; and while these Vices keep their Footing, there will never be Persons nor Instruments wanting to undermine Liberty.

Therefore King *Philip*, when these *Conditions* were brought to him, being informed, that they were approved by the general Consent of all, and that they would have *Foreign Aid*, if he should continue to deal harshly with them, thought it fit to yield to Necessity ; and so making a Law in confirmation of the said *League* and *Agreements*, in the mean while, under-hand, he determines to wait all Opportunities, either to break, or at least distract this Alliance, and kept the Prince of *Orange's* Son, who, according to the said *League*, ought to have been set at Liberty, as an Hostage for his Father's Actions.

Now is *Don John of Austria*, base Son of the Emperor *Charles*, sent Governour into the *Low-Countries*, that so, being a young man of a sharp Wit, famous for a Sea-fight against the *Turks*, and high in the *Pope's* Favour, he might divert his Mind from the thought of higher things: And that also he pretended he did, to shew his Intent, for the future, of maintaining the Laws, when he sent one so near to him by *Bloud*, to govern them: And indeed, in publike, he would own nothing, that might seem to intrench on the *Peace*, though privately he commanded, to follow *Rada's* Counsel, who was (as we before declared) the Leader in the *Spanish* Seditious. But not cunning enough, to conceal these Matters long, for the Hatred which he had drawn upon himself, the impetuosity of the Age, together with some intercepted Letters, made publike the most secret of all their Counsels and Designs. Which the Prince of *Aurange* considering, and earnestly the *Exercers* might not damage so increasing Fortune, he counselled the *Netherlanders*, that weighing how much they had offended *Philip*, in the *Peace* they had made, they should by War keep out, that manifest Officer of his Wrath, while yet he was without strength, and upon their Borders. This was gain-said by many of the prime Nobility, that did not heartily love the Prince of *Aurange*, either out of an old Grudge, or for some new sprung Envy; many in this Tempest of Affairs, who were by Advice intermingled in general Parties, for Reverence of the Prince, continued in their Arms, under the pretence of Necessity to defend themselves.

Thus *Peace* being made, in a Town of *Luttenburge*, call'd *Marsa*, the Government was granted to *Don John of Austria*, if he would first Disband, and send away the *Spanish*, and then all other *Foreign* Souldiers; although the *Hollanders*, and all that of their Party, did earnestly labour the contrary.

All fear was now banished, and an incredible joy surprized the hearts of all, because the *Spanish* Army was by

Covenant to go out of their Cities, although carrying with it many barbarous spoils, and the Rapines of ten years; and boasting, that within the last six months, they had killed thirty thousand *Netherlanders*, of the meaner sort questionless, when they denyed, that within the same time, that they had lost above threescore; nor were they long gone, or far, some of them being stayd at *Millayne*, and others nearer, till *Don John* might recall them to a War prepared for them; For this *Austrian* being received into the Government, with the highest Honour possible; but youthfully impatient of all delay, suddenly besets the entrances of the Country, and in short time breaks through them, taking *Namur*, and some other Towns on that Border; and further, solicites the *German Bands*, which were not yet gone out of the *Netherlands*, for want of their pay, to render up the Cities they were in: and their treachery was easie enough to be wrought on; But, whether they were either frighted with threats, or tempted with promises, the dulness of their Spirits, or flexibleness of their Natures, quickly broke off their design.

By this meanes, most of *Brabant* was preserved, the Soldiers not onely delivering the *Garrisons* into the power of the *States*, but their *Commanders* also; the *Embassadors* of the *Provinces* at the General Council, used the name of the *States*, to whom, after the Power of the *Regall Senate* was abolished, most of the business of the *Common-wealth* was brought; And yet there was no War, but the *States* did accuse *Don John* to the *King* and other *Princes*, that he had publickly broken the Peace: He again casts the blame upon the *Prince of Aurange*, that he would set up new Customs, contrary to the Covenants of the League in the Cities, which subjected to his Dominion, by *Contracts* and *Agreements*. Notwithstanding which Calumnies, he was by all the Cities of the *Netherlands*, looked upon with an high esteem, as the *Author* of their liberty, and of such a noble disposition, as is wont to win all mens affections. He strengthened by com-

placence, that power which he would seem to diminish, so great was his prudence and moderation; and because by diligent inquiries and pains, and by intercepted Letters, he had demonstrated, that the *Austrian* Snares were laid first for him, and his, and afterwards for all the rest, by breaking the Band of the League; he so won the favour of all the people, that he was by the *Brabanders* chosen to be their *Governor*.

This was taken very ill by *Arscot*, who at that time, was President of *Flanders*, *Lalayne*, *Chempigny*, and divers others, who could not digest that the chief management of all Affairs should rest in the Prince of *Austrage*, with whom few were equall in birth, none of them like him in Wisdom and Authority. Therefore because they see themselves never able to compass the Peoples love, as he hath done, and that they must come far short of him, they begin to fear, that if he should come to enjoy that Dignity, that he would bring Religion to his own bent; and to prevent that, they seek to prevent his glory, by the splendor of a greater name.

Rodolphus was chosen Emperour of *Germany*, in the stead of *Maximilian* his Father who was lately dead: His Brother *Matthias*, they by many great promises, inreant from the Court, not by any open consent of the *Emperor*, for fear of offending the *Spaniard*. These men, because they had strong Cities and Arms in their power, imagined they could easily bring to passe, that by their bringing in of this young man, who must be beholding to them for that great Honour, they should have all things in their power, and might in his name execute their own Commands, and do what they list: all which, the Prince of *Austrage* foreseeing, he removed some of these guilty persons from that Council, and assured them, that they might more confidently hope for a just Government in the lawful Dominion of the States, than the particular power of some few. And by chance also at this time it fortun'd, that *Arscot*, the chief *Emulator* of the House

House of *Nassau*, swolne big with vain hope, offended the *Commonalty* of *Gauant*, by some insolent Speeches; the people of which City, being the most noble of all *Flanders*, but the most averse to Nobility; threw him and all his Train into Custody. But the Prince of *Anrange*, although *Matthias* was called in by his Enemies, and had come contrary to his desire, and that the rest of the *Netherlanders* had a greater respect towards *France*, yet having regard to the moderation of his Carriage, he himself moved the *States*; that they would accept the young man, eminent in his Brothers Majesty, and of Kindred to the King, to protect their Cause; wherewith they were thus far pleased, that the Government of the *Netherlands* should be in *Matthias*, but that the Prince of *Anrange* should be *Deputy Governour*, which at length, though unwillingly, he accepted; by which means, their fury, who had sought out *Matthias*, onely with hope to have made themselves great by his Dignity, was more enflamed. The Regency of *Matthias*, is bounded and limited by Laws and Counsellors: nor had he power to use any thing suitable to his greatness, besides the State and splendor of his life.

The third Book of the Dutch Annals.

ALL matters being in this manner settled, Warre is proclaimed against *Don John*, at which time, the Monethly Revenues arising from Provisions of Victuals, amounting to six hundred thousand *Florens*, was brought into the publick Treasury; the free disposing whereof, as also of *Musters* and *Councils* relating to the Warre, that they might be the freer from discovery, were by the *States*, left wholly to the *Senate*. Then at length, the Queen
of

of *England* began to think the forces of the *Netherlanders* worthy of her favour, though yet she was not without a peculiar fear of troubles in her own State, because *Don John* moved a Marriage with the Queen of *Scots*, by which, and the help of his Arms, he hoped to get to himself the Kingdom of *Britain*, and this was evident by no small demonstrations; wherefore she promised them both men and money, for their assistance, they giving caution for repayments: but yet still they should stick to their pretence, that the *Netherlanders* Provinces would be obedient to *Philip*. And so she interwove her self into that *Common-wealth*, that no matter of any importance, could be done without her knowledge and approbation, endeavouring also to strengthen these new Settlements by an universal Concord, (though some of the *Netherlanders* laboured earnestly, but in vain, to provoke the Queen against the Prince of *Aurange*;) and perswading now one, now another, by laying before them the greatness of the danger, lest they should incline to re-settle the old Possession of the *Roman* Religion; She therefore would give them aid.

When She had effected these things, She sends Letters to the King, desiring him therein to hearken to peace, and to moderate his Government by the Rule of the Law; but if he would compel his Subjects to take Arms, he should not take it ill at her hands, the *French* long since being intent thereto, if she prevented the *Dutch* alliance with that People who were her Enemies; and in the interim, she did with great pains strive to clear her self from affecting the Sovereignty that belonged to another.

Henry King of *France*, *Sebastien* King of *Portugall*, and the *Emperour* himself, were, in like manner, solicited by the States, to move *Philip* to moderation towards them, the last also being sued to for assistance in their Cause, which at that time was in vain; In the interim private grudgings and discords, increased among the great Ones, so that many went thence

thence into Castles, and strong Holds situate in *Lutsemburg*, upon various pretences; but the true cause was, they interpreted, the Honours given to others, to be an affront and disparagement to them. But *Don John*, being recruited with the coming of the *Spanish Forces*, and a great many Companies of Souldiers brought to him by the Duke of *Parma*, the Son of *Margaret*, late Governess of the *Netherlands*, out of *Italy*, overthrew the *Dutch Army*, which was daily 1578. weakened by the going away of their Captains, and retreating into *Brabant*, at a place called *Gemblins*. Nor was the Prey gotten by the Victory small, especially, if we consider it in the success, because *Leuayn*, which layd open *Brabant* on that side *Limburg*, a famous *Dutchy*, and the Metropolis of the Dominion, bearing the same name, using to make excursions even into *Germany* and *Phillippolis*, which City, the Prince of *Anrange*, when formerly he was General of the Kings Army, had fortified with new and strong Bulwarks against the *French*, when onely forraign Warres were feared; as also many other adjacent Towns, came in and submitted.

The King having thus conquered them, yet thought fit to try them with the hope of Peace, the *Baron Selles* carrying Conditions out of *Spain*, far differing from those made at *Gannt*, and from which *Don John* would not alter a title; which then was enough to make it seem reasonable why they should be denyed; for now the *Netherlanders* began first to know themselves, and several Princes did augment their confidence, by striving who should first offer them Souldiers and other ayd: Here *Francis* of *Valois*, Duke of *Anjou*, and Brother to the King of *France*, both before the Peace made at *Gannt*, and after, was often sued to by the *Belgick Nobles*. There *Casimiro*, who possessed the *Palatinate of Germany*; both of them by reason of their yonger Birth, being laid aside at home, and therefore the more desirous to augment both their Fame and Wealth by forraign Service and acquisitions.

Francis,

Francis, who was of a disposition not to be despised, but altogether unrestful in spirit, offered himself to be their General in the Warre, which was said in *France*, to be for the restoring of liberty, against the wrongs and oppressions of the Court, and for the settlement of Religion in peace; which he did either out of hatred to his Brother, who, though weak and barren, yet kept the Kingdom, or else he was an Instrument of his Mothers subtilty; for averting the feuds of parties; and surely he might have gained the love of the People very much in the supporting that Cause, and would, upon a Peace made, have had most ample Possessions. But he becoming the Minister of anothers cruelty, in a short time soyled all his Renown, by turning his Arms upon his Allyes.

About which time, *Margaret of Valois*, the King of *Navarre* Wife, that she might be clear of the Warres of her Husband, and her Brother, and veyling the desire of her absence, with the pretence of going to the Waters at the *Spa*, as she passed by *Cambray* and *Metz*, taking hold of opportunity, She highly commended the Duke of *Anjou*, in those two strong places, that differed not much either in Customs or Speech from the *French*, and very little in Religion; But *Casimire*, who had at that time been a great support to the party of *Navarre*, remitted the Agreement that privately had been made with him, thereby giving the testimony of a just and Religious mind.

The *Common-wealth*, like an indigested *Chaos*, was now on every side in confusion, nor was there any Symmetry in its parts, while each one catches at the Government, as if it were void, and in the prosecuting thereof, steer a severall way; And truly, the main use of Arms by all, was against a Kingdom; but some praised the Principality and Laws, others admired and preferred their forces before those of the *Venetian* or *Switzerland*, without any consideration of their inequality or disproportion; And thus under the name of Noblemen, they distracted and tore in pieces the Government,

ment, or else because they fell short of others in dignity: the *Plibyan* strength also approaching, stirred up the vulgar by words, whereby becoming unruly, and not to be led, their suspicions egged them to cruelty, so that nothing would content them but free liberty, without any exception; within and without, abroad and at home, there was nothing but faction and sedition: Nor by this was the Warre lessened, onely it was delayed, and not vehement enough for the time, because the Armies were ordered according to severall Opinions.

Amsterdam, which, as we told you, was one of the greatest Cities in *Holland*, and had not stood up for liberty as the rest, was then much favoured, because it inclined to *Don John*: But because the *Nassavians* had environed, and in a manner besieged, that City, and in regard there was no hope of relief in a long time, they came to Articles, whereby all that were banished for Religion were restored to their Country, but they should not have the exercise thereof within the Walls: But when the men of the *Roman* Opinion, who wavered in the performance of their promises, seemed sometimes as if they would become enemies again; the Exiles driving out the *Magistrates*, and all those that professed Religion, enjoyed all in publick.

The same at divers times, and for the like causes almost happened in divers other Towns of *Holland*, as at *Utrecht* and *Harlem*: taking occasion by their breach of Faith, from *Magistrates* instituted in this, that whatever they approved should never be contradicted by the City; which among themselves was very conducing to concord among them, but was offensive to the stomachs of their fellows, who adhering to the *Pope*, suspected that strength would suppress them.

John of Nassau had the Government of *Guldres*, the Prince of *Aurange* appointing him to that charge, that so he might stand the more strongly guarded: But in *Friesland*, whereof

whereof *Ramerberg* then was made Governour; the old Defensions of *Groningen* City, and the Country adjacent, began anew to flame, for the carrying forth of their *Reverends*, though for the maintaining their *Peace*; questionable, if not with the *Governours* Desire, that he might the more surely Command.

The Commons of the City bound the Deputies of the adverse Party to themselves; and the same, after both Sides had shewed their Valour, in their private Darings, came off Victor: However, all *Prisoners* taken were set at Liberty, yet did Animosities remain, untill they came to be intermingled in the Publike Contention; although both *Matthias*, and the Prince of *Anrangs*, interposed to settle them. *Ramerberg* also commanded some of the *Senators* of *Friesland* to be removed, and diligently watched, who had shewed themselves well pleased at the *Spanish* Victory, and substituted others in their Room; the like also he did by the Bishop of *Leuwarden*: For these Merits, and good Works, he is chosen Captain, particularly for the Ruling and subjeeting *Oost-Issel*, for the *German* Souldiers, hired by *Don John*, held both *Campea*, and *Daventry*; both which Cities, were soon after yielded: But the Army taying something longer at *Daventry*, *Casimire* came to them with a fresh Recruit of Eight Thousand Foot, and almost as many Horse; For the Queen of *England*, instead of the Money she did promise, sent Souldiers, whose Number, he of his own free Will increased, as if he had been obliged: Which the Chieftains of the *Roman* Religion looked upon as very ominous; and therefore they forthwith laboured by all means, to increat and win *Francis of Valois* to be the Head of their Sect; which the Prince of *Anrangs*, as well as others, saw, but would seem to take no Notice thereof, because they would not draw new Suspicions upon themselves: Wherefore *Francis*, by the Decree of the *States*, is named, *The Defender of the Belgick Liberty*: And moreover, Provision was made for Imbursement of all Charges,

Charges, by giving to him, as a Reward or Gratitude of their Alliance, whatever Towns the Enemy held beyond the *Maze*.

While these things are doing, and the Inferiour differ about Fancies in Religion, and the Great Ones quarrel about Realities in Dominion, the Followers of the *Innovated Religion*, obtain a Power very safe to themselves, but hazardous to the *Commonwealth*; for the Right of Ruling, being in the hands of many, there was no higher Power to restrain or keep under particular Animosities and Feuds; They *Petition Alantius*, and the Prince of *Aurange*, who was not ignorant thereof before; wherein they set forth, That they never having been Servants to Tyranny, but rather Marks for the Cruelty of the Spaniards, who had designed the Ruine of the *Commonwealth*, by robbing her of the best part of her Citizens, were not more maligned by her Enemies abroad; Though they had this most certain Pledge of their Faith, that their only hope rested in the Publick Safety: for if the old Ceremonies should return, as the rest of the People can expect nothing but Penury and Slavery; so they are sure to have no other pity, than that of Torments, Fire, and Death; Meritedly therefore, they desire an equal share of Liberty since nothing can be by them expected from a Kingdom but Tyranny. They looked not after rich Benefices, and ample Revenues, but were content others should enjoy them; only they begged they might not be banished both from the Church and Court as profane Persons. That they never were Apostates, either in their Piety towards God, or their Fidelity towards their Country.

Some doubt there was a while, how to Resolve; but at last praising the Examples of Germany and Poland, agreeing many old Customs, it was concluded by the Counsell of those, who had put forward these things: That it was very necessary, for the maintaining of Unity and Concord, that these just Desires should not be rejected; for they could not have an Army of any value or strength, but it must chiefly consist of them; and they

they found by Experiment, that no Persons might be with safety trusted with the care and management of Affairs, they.

In this Vicissitude of Affairs, it came to pass, that some of the *Romans* Opinion, especially those who took to themselves the Names of *Jesuits*, could not be drawn to take Oath against *Don John*; and no small part, whose hopes depended upon the King's Success, voluntarily defended them: But many of the *Magistrates*, though so instructed, if they had fore-seen the Rising Authority of that Side, embraced that Form of Worship, which the *Nassauians* held. And for these Causes, Honours were communicative to them, and in some places, no less than a hundred Families fixed they might have, by Command, places set apart for the Publike Worship, on the same Condition, That the like should be granted to those who preferred the Doctrine of the *Latin Church* through *Holland and Zealand*, which yet was never effected. The things which followed after this, are now passed by, without Compassion or a sad Remembrance: Such Commotions, such Hatreds, and such Troubles, one hating another: For as the *Romanists* would grant nothing at all to the other, so they not satisfied so much now with their Impunity and privacy, upon their own private account took by force the Administration of the Law, from the violent and stubborn *Magistrates*; and after they had thus prevailed, they began to look at *Revenge*: So that they but lately wished ill to the *Spaniards*, now of a sudden both their Purses and Counsels against them; Citizens against Citizens, standing armed in the very Cities; who being free from their Publike Enemies, they endeavoured to drive away their private Adversaries; there was not need here of the Souldier his help, being onely necessary to preserve *Domestick Peace*. And as they which labour under a Deadly Disease, for the most part despise all Remedies, here, they who were Lovers and Promoters of Peace,

and Concord, were on all hands hated by these strong Promoters of Sedition. And indeed, they ought to have studied nothing but Patience, to see such persons, by whom the common Plague of this Age was scattered into both Parties, and the Names of all things inverted: So that a blind and perverse Obstinacy in Discord, was called a Holy Zeal, and Modesty and meekness of Mind, Sloth; nay, sometimes Treason.

The People of *Gans* now grown to that height of Egotism, that they could not hope for Pardon or Impunity, but from the monstrous Greatness of their Villany, being still egg'd on further by that *Bontefeu Imbu*, who had crept up into Power by a Threadbare Journey formerly to openly detract the Government: They protest, they will no longer so much as see those *Romane* Superstitions, that have invented so many Wickednesses and Cruelties; not that the Authors or Fomenters of the Sedition esteemed much of any Religion, for they would raise Tumults under the pretence of both; but only they prefer'd Novelties, before things received from *Antiquity*, and their own Fancies, before any Truth that could be taught them; and having by chance convicted some *Monks* of detestable Sensualities, first they expelled that Order, yet groaning under the Weight of their fresh Malice and furious Hatred, and afterwards all Priests. Then being conscious to themselves, of what they had begun, they begin to fortifie their City with strong Bulwarks and Rampires; which being of a vast compass, equal almost to the greatest Cities, was not totally inhabited; for having been often besieged, and fearing the like again, from the vileness of their Action in time to come, they inclosed many Fields within their Works or Wall: And the more their Fortification proceeded, and came nearer the finishing, so much less they did hearken to the Commands, either of *Mathias*, or the *States* or take notice of their vain objecting their Crimes against them; seeking backward still for new

Princes, out of those very things which they had stirred against themselves: Neither could the Prince of *Aurange* Authority any whit prevail with them, though by his Intercession the same People of *Gant* had obtained against the Ancient Laws, which they had before forfeited by a Rebellion against the Emperour *Charles*: But the Mischief rather increased and spread into other Cities of *Flanders*: On the contrary, those of *Artoys* and *Hennault*, were more constant and steadfast to the *Roman* Religion, for most of them were of that Judgment: And the Lords being averse to the Prince of *Aurange*, with a kind of civil Objurat[i]on, refused to hear of the New Law; for they said, that it was specified in the *League*, that nothing should be altered in Religion, while the War continued.

Some did advise, that the City of *Gant*, being by the Section lyable to Treachery, should by War be compelled to Obedience: But neither the Prince of *Aurange*, nor several other of the Nobles, would consent to that, to turn the Arms or Forces against Citizens, how ill deserving soever while the *Spaniard*, their Enemy, with a powerful Army lay almost in the middle of their Country; for that, indeed were to make good that, which some of the wisest of the Enemies had fore-told of them, that their own Discord would destroy them. But while it was dangerous to enforce them, they slighted all Commands, Counsels, and Intreaties, looking upon them onely as predetermined Malice. At this time *Bossu*, whom we formerly mention'd to have been taken in the Sea of *Friseland*, when he commanded the scatter'd Remains of *Holland* under *Alva*, was General of the Army of the *Netherlanders*, the *States* having taken that Honour from *Lalaie*; because at the unhappy Battel of *Gent* he forsook the Camp, without their Leave or Commandment. The Viscount of *Gant* was Commander in Chief of the Horse; *Lamoy*, who had won great Renown in the Wars of *France*, was Camp-Master General.

Don John assaulted their Camp, situate not far from *Mechlin*, at a Village called *Rimmenen*, and was onely Repulsed, there being, as many both believed and said, a great *Error* committed, in that they did not follow them in the Rear, as they marched off; which had they done, that onely Day had scatter'd and broken all the *Spanish Forces*. But that Year might have been spent in the Believing of Towns, if the Captains Prudence and Fore-sight had provided *Pioneers*, and such other like *People*, as are fit to attend an Army for such Work.

Among all these Changes of Affairs, there intervened some Discourses of *Peace*; for some *Forreign Princes*, being desir'd to propose some way to make a *Peace*, did perswade *Don John*, that in regard the Forces of the *Netherlanders* far exceeded his, he might yet go off with an unblemished Reputation, and let his hope hereafter wait for more happy opportunity; and as to the King, that he would do much more discreetly, if he minded to win the love of so Valiant and Warlike a People, and not rashly to cast away so large a Dominion, that he would now accept of them, while they were willing to come to reasonable terms; that it was necessary, for the obtaining thereof, (to wit, of *Peace*) that the *League* made at *Gant* should be confirmed; and in that, the Clause particularly, that Religion should be left to every Man's free Will: That it was most just, that all *Prisoners* should be set at liberty, and among them chiefly, the Prince of *Aurange's* Son; That whosoever intended to make a *Peace* with the *States*: must comprehend therein all these particulars; by which means all might be reconciled.

To these, *Don John* answer'd, That unless the Prince of *Aurange* might be banished into *Holland*, there could be no hopes to make *Peace*; That he would grant nothing as to matter of Religion, onely he seem'd to incline to a *Truce*. The truth is, *Peace* is generally made, according to the pleasure and liking of the Strongest; and to the Weaker, every Delay in point of

War, is very advantageous: but when he was re-inforced with Thirty Thousand Foot, and Six Thousand Horse; so that he believed himself in a manner as strong as the *Netherlanders*, especially as they had Discords among themselves, pitching his Camp in the Mountain *Bonga*, which is near to *Namur*, he broke off the *Treaty*, all thought of Pacification being laid aside in his Commanding Breast. *Casimire*, in the mean time, by a stay longer than ordinary in *Gelderland*, being unfurnished of Money, though very slowly, yet at last got together a great Army: By his Conjunction, the Army of the *Netherlanders* consisted of Forty Thousand Foot, and Twenty Thousand Horse: with which strength, it was resolved to stay for the Aids of *Francis of Valois*, when (but too late) they intended to besiege *Don John*, being full of hopes, if they could but once begin it, to bring it to perfection: But the sins of the former Time, too much greediness and Ambition, after Wealth, Honour, and their Licentiousness, in the abusing both, which had before been the cause of the *Netherlanders* Slavery to the *Spaniards*, was now again the main Obstacle and Diversion of the Liberty, which was even in their sight, and almost come to their possession: For the Differences of those of *Hennault* and *Artois*, with them of *Flanders*, was come to that height, that without any Care of the Publike Good, the particular People of each *Province*, would reserve and keep all Taxes and Tributes unto their proper uses: And this Example spreading it self further, certain Bands of Souldiers, lately grown wanton with Ease, being a little defalked or delayed in their Pay, left the Service of the *Commonwealth*, by a secret plotting and contrivance of the Captains, who thought they had not preferment suiting to, or proportionable with, their Worth and Merits: These Souldiers therefore seizing *Mays* (a Free Town in *Flanders*) forrage and rife all the adjoining Country.

Hitherto it was hoped, that this Storm would have been kept

kept within their own Bounds, when of a suddain *Montigny*, a Man of great Authority among the Captains, undertook the Government, and went over to the *Artoysian* Faction: The *Ganings* lifted divers Companies, to repel the Injuries offered by those: But these Souldiers, though at Home fierce and untractable, yet unexpert in War, were not of Strength sufficient to hinder the Enemies depopulating the Country: For they gave it out in Speech, that the *Priests*, which by Force and Sedition were thrust out of *Gant*, lived in Banishment among them; and that they could not reasonably deny nourishment to so great a Company of poor Supplyants, either for the Sanctity of their Order, or the meanness of their present Fortune; but also, since there was no place left for Equity and Justice, to demand and regain by Arms those things whereof they were robbed by those *Barbarous Spoilers*: Under this pretence of War, (for now these private Quarrels were broke out into open Hostility) great Spoil was daily made, until the *Flandrians*, at the intigation of *Casimire*, received Souldiers from him, promising Pay out of his own Store, for then the whole Country was even brought to Poverty: It was supposed, that he hoped for the Government, but he was deluded therein by the Peoples Inconstancy, as well as other Events of Matters.

But in all these Vicissitudes, the Towns of *Henault* received *Francis of Valois*, who knowing by whose means it came to pass, gratified *Lalain*, the Governour of that Province for it. He had with him, something more than Eight Hundred Horse, and Six Thousand Foot, the Refuse and Remains of the *French* Troubles and Tumults; whom, after a very hard Journey, and Plunders committed every where as they passed, having first taken some Castles; and *Autumn* now coming on apace, he brought to the Town of *Bingen*. This came under his Subjection by Storm and Siege, but proved a very mean Reward for the Expence of his time: He staid for the most part at *Monts*, a City in *Henault*, but

but not without great Indignation, that the Townsmen refused to deliver up the appointed Towns to his Souldiers to be Garrisoned; and when he was desired to come to the Army by the *Netherlanders*, he at first denied it, until *Casimere* did the same; with whose progress and success at *Gant*, he was greatly offended, so much, that being before his Friend, and afterwards his Competitor, now he hated him with so much Malice, as could not forbear to vent it self in contumelious Speeches: Nor would he be removed from the same, although both the Regent *Matthias*, the Prince of *Aurange*, and the Queen of *England*, declared themselves unsatisfied, in the Actions both of *Casimere*, and the *Flandrians*, but that he willingly suffers his Souldiers to run over to the Companies and Troops of *Montigny*.

Thus these two Captains, both promising generally Aid to the *Netherlanders*, came both into their Dominions, rather to damnifie them: But not long after, the Duke of *Anjou* departed to *France*, and *Casimere* went to *England*, both leaving this Commonwealth, whereto they had no Right, to her own good or evil Fate: But the *Netherlanders*, upon the departure of this great French-man, (though himself, and some Princes in his behalf, had accused them of Ingratitude) promised, That if they could compass any Peace with *Philip*, they should have Statues, Orations, and other things; in truth, but empty Sounds, and meer Trisles of Honour; but if he would come to other Resolutions, that he should, before any others, have that respect which his Dignity and the well-weighed Advantage of the Commonwealth, in that exigent of time, could require.

This was the state of Affairs, when the Violence of Death suddenly snatched away *Don John* of *Austria*, which might be hastened the more easily, in regard that with Grief of Mind he repined at his Fortune: For when he endeavoured to make out, that he gained the Victory by his own Valour and Conduct, not the Debates or Failings of the Enemy, nor his Glory impeded, and darkned by his Foes, which

the *Spanish* Court were many, he grew Cholerick, beyond either what his Nature, or the strength of his Body would bear: And surely, in some intercepted Letters, there appeared contumacious Desperation: And a little before, *Philip* had privily commanded *Scovello* to be killed, that used to take care of his private and most secret Affairs, as being dangerously subtle, in the managing of the Intents of that Noble and great-spirited Young-man: For being known to have aimed at, beyond the condition and quality of his Birth, formerly the Kingdom of *Tunis*, and afterwards that of *England*, and also to have had intercourse of Counsels with the most powerful *Lorrainers* in the *French* Court, he was privately feared by *Philip*, lest he should not opely continue against his Person, but seek to confirm to himself these *Provinces* of the *Netherlands*; from whence arose a great Suspicion of Poison, though but uncertainly pressed, who should cause it to be given; there being some *Priests* of the *Roman* Religion, who stuck not to cast upon the Country an Imputation of endeavouring such a thing: Others, suspected some *English*, who were sent from thence against him, and were therefore called *Murderers*.

The Duke of *Parma* took the Conduct of the Army, and the Government of the residue of the Cities and Towns; first, at the Desire of *Don John* himself, and with the good liking of all the Souldiery, and afterwards by the King's Command: He was of a more reserved and close Nature, bringing out of *Italy* with him, the practice of making large Promises, and the Art of Dissimulation: He knew the true way to catch the *Dutch* to wit, either with great Words to fright, or with smooth Words to seem to excuse them: Therefore, as *Spain* was not so much beholding to any mans Arms, yet he gained more by the Favour of the People. By this man's occult and close Provocations, he mightily augmented the Differences among the *Provinces*, which began to burst out more and more, especially after there had been some punishment in-

dicted upon divers Citizens; who, to reduce to Unity the City of *Artoys*, durst make an *Intestine Commotion*: Nor did the Prince of *Aurange* leave any Stone unturned, to find a Remedy for all these Mischiefs: He becomes more sharp in punishing those whose Crimes grew great beyond his Envy.

And now he had perswaded the *Ganitors*, that restoring and receiving their *Priests*, they should return and submit to the *Covenants* and *Articles* of the *League*, then he turned his Endeavours to *Montigni's* Souldiers, and the *Artoysians*, for the reconciling of them.

But it appeared, that the chief men had willingly laid hold of the Causes of this Defection, and therefore that they were implacable; which so instigated anew the Minds of the *Flandrians*, that *Imbis* took to himself by force the chief *Magistracy* of *Gants*, and after bestowed, on whom he pleased, the rest of the Names and Titles of Honour. In the interim, the Duke of *Parma* gave safe Conduct and Passage for all *Casimire's* Horse to go out of the Country, so that taking himself thereby to be secure from any Enemy, he besiegeth *Mastricht*, that had never been weakened with any Garrison, and makes Approaches to assault it.

During the Siege of this City, the *Emperour*, to whom the Treaty we before mentioned, was submitted, had sent his *Embassadors* to *Colen*: Thither came also with the King's Commands the *Spanish* Duke of *Terranova* in *America*, and for the *Netherlanders* *Areschot*, and others. But the Prince of *Aurange*, who ever was of Opinion, that all Peace made with the King must be to the hazard of his Head, in this Division of the *Netherlands*, he being in the midst of so many Parties, and hated by all, did not vainly fear, lest he should be delivered up a Prey, both to his Enemies, and to Strangers.

But it would be resented grievously, and redound much to his dishonour, to hinder the meeting and Treaty, or to impugne the *German* Moderators; but that it might be covertly brought to passe, he urged the points concerning Religion, to be firmly insisted, and severall others, whereto there was no hope the King would ever condescend: Many did believe that at that time, Conditions moderate enough might have been obtained, but that some for their private advantage, had broken the publick Peace; And the Duke of *Parma*, though intent upon Warre, yet never ceased to admonish all desirers of novelty, that they seek to regain the Kings Favour and Pardon, by speedy repentance and submission.

The first of all that reconciled himself to *Philip*, was *Lamot*, which he did, by surrendring the Town of *Gravelin* in *Flanders*, whereof he was Governour, to the Kings Power; and having accepted Power of Covenanting with the other, he allured over many others, manifesting himself a mighty applauder and example of the Kings Clemency. Afterwards, *Montigny* bringing over all his Forces (which were eight thousand) added no small strength to that party, though his men were very poor; and this he did as well for that reason of poverty, as for fear of punishment, which he knew he had meritedly deserved from the *Netherlanders*, *Lamot* being ready to fall upon them. They of *Artoys* and *Hennault* for a while were in suspence: at length, prescribing certain Conditions to the rest of the *Netherlanders*, which they would should be used if they listed, they notwithstanding came to an agreement with the Duke of *Parma*; the like did *Isel*, *Doway*, and *Orchan*, Cities in that part of *Flanders*, which the *French* a long time possessed, and afterwards returned to the obedience of their own *Princes*, but yet they retain the *French* Tongue; with whom this was the cause of their private falling off from the rest of the *Netherlanders*,
because

because they could not obtain a proper voyce, or suffrage
 Council.

The Articles of the Peace contained these Heads, *The*
Latins or Roman Religion, their accustomed duty to their Prince,
and the approbation of the League made at Gaunt, and that
might be perfect, the forraign Soldiers to be sent away within
short time, receiving their pay out of the Kings Treasury,
which the Provinces subject to the Regency, should be contributory
and in all things where any defence was required, an Army of
natives might be raised; The King would consider of a Regent,
in the mean while, all to obey the Duke of Parma.

Thus the *Walloons* made a great addition of power to the
 Kings party: A People taking delight in Warre, and whose
 the *Spaniards* might safely make use of in all dangers; And
 this was altogether the conclusion of the *Netherlanders* against
 forraign Dominion: Certainly, that Society must needs be
 firm, which hath the same hopes, or more Obligations to
 agree than causes of diffention. There is scarce any thing com-
 mon with the *Netherlanders*, which the *Spaniards* hate not;
 by which meanes, as enforced, they made the Peace at
 Gaunt, the *Priests* being the chief perswaders thereunto;
 notwithstanding all which, anon, every one endeavours to
 draw to himself as much power as he can, though by contrary
 and indirect meanes: For the Prince of *Auvange*, and all
 those, who with him were conscious to themselves, to have
 deserved the same thing; that the Counts of *Egmond* and
Horn suffered, durst not to trust the King: Hence it was,
 that they sought after all Counsel and Advise, which
 might establish themselves and the Sect of their Religion; as
 also to attain favour with forraign Princes.

Another party there was, whose Crimes had been no causes
 of the beginning of the Warre, who willing to preserve their
 Loyalty to their Prince, and their duty and zeal to the *Roman*
 Religion, were very much in fear, least by others violence
 they should be hurried from the same.

It would be an easie matter for *Philip* thus to break asunder these rash and ill co-hering People. If he would remove but this one thing, from all such as should be employed therein, to wit, the dread of the *Spaniards*. Where he gave satisfaction to the desire of these, the rest would follow of course; for all those things that for a long time continued among the *Netherlanders*, as bare suspicions, were afterwards converted into Hostility, nor ever after did the severall Religions increase, or cement again together.

At last there hapned, when once they came to divide into parties, a thing not very strange, that who would not submit to Citizens, should, without any regard of Covenants, be compelled to serve under a forraign Power. But the Prince of *Orange* did easily foresee, that while the minds of men were inclinable to Peace, by the imprudence of some persons, the *Common-wealth* would be destroyed, unless timely prevented: Wherefore using his wonted diligence, he goes to *Utrecht* in *Holland*, and there with most wholesome Counsel, he bindes all the States, being there called together, as well of that Province, as of *Gelderland*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, and that part of *Friesland*, which lies near the River *Leike*, and the other part, between the same River and the River of *Eem*, each to the other, in a more strict League and Bond of Alliance; the sum whereof was this, *That they would remain joyned and inseperable, have no other Common-wealth than as if they were one People; and that they would neither make Peace, Truce, new Warres, pay nor raise Tributes, but by the generall Command and Consent of all; That in making Leagues and Alliances, and other matters of Consultation, the greater number of Voyces should be binding; and if any dissensions did arise, they should be referred to the judgement and determination of the Council or Deputies: That all places in any danger of the Enemy, should be fortified, and no man should refuse to give his assistance in his Arms; and that they should every one jointly and severally endeavour, that equality be observed in rating of Taxes, and all other*

other things relating to the raising of money. To the *Hollanders* and *Zelanders*, the use of their Religion (one being common between them) was freely granted in publick. To the rest of the *Provinces*, Toleration either to use the same, or any other, or both, was allowed according to their pleasure. The Governours were set forth in these words, *The Magistrates, Council of every City and the Commonalty*: for by an ancient Law, the chief of the *Townsmen*, whose Age made them able to bear Arms, were wont to be enrolled into certain Companies, like Bands of Soldiers; and this in times of Warre, was for Garrison and defence, and in times of Peace, for a Fortification to maintain it; when yet the art of Principality had not arrived to the Confidence of relying on foreign helps: This Custom and Badge of neglected Vertue, yet remains, and the use is by these late Commotions in some manner restored, while their faithful pains hath been employed oftentimes against the Enemy, and for the allaying Seditions.

In this manner, the *Provinces* which I mentioned before, took their Oath for performance of these Covenants, agreed on at *Utrecht*: And that they might the better be able to judge of their strength, they commanded all the people, between the Ages of eighteen and threescore, to be numbred, as well of men inhabiting in Cities and Towns, as in Villages, and in all other parts whatsoever of the Country.

But among those *Provinces*, which were not present at the making this League: what, and how great troubles and dissensions had they, while some part will concern themselves in the care neither of the common Religion, or their Country, and others are drawn away by the vain hope either of approaching Peace, or the desire and love of contention?

The *Romanists* held *Boisledune*, deserted by the vain fear of the other party; they that remained, contracted with the Duke of *Parma*, that he would grant them that proper Covenant of the Peace, that they should never be garrisoned without their free consent: It hapned quite contrary at *Antwerp*,
for

for the common people of the adverse faction remained their Superior, in a threatening posture, setting upon all such as had been employed in the Solemnities of punishments: Nor could the Prince of *Anrange* restrain his People, or hinder them from throwing out the *Priests* by force; though his Enemies interpreted to have been acted by his consent and will, what he could not by any means resist or withstand: for he was not given to cruelty, but was one, who would wisely make use of an occasion given, and for the gaining mens love to him, would lay before them long before the advantages they should thereafter receive: But this made many of the people, who were deprived of their way of Worship in Religion, to wish evill, and combine against the *Common-wealth*, because they believed the Servitude they underwent to the King to be more moderate; nay, some of the Nobles from hence also took occasion to go over to the King. Among whom, *Charles*, the Son of Count *Egmond*, was one, who when he endeavoured to take *Bruxells*, *Mathias*, as was said, not ignorant thereof, by the unlucky help of those that followed the *Roman Religion*, the rest inclosed him in the Market-place, as if he had been there besieged; where then his own guilt, the Image of his Fathers death, and unrevenged Ghost, were all become tormentors to him: for there were them who objected, (and not without some admiration of the chance,) that in the same place, that very day, eleven years before, the Father dyed by the hand of the Executioner, through the cruelty of that people, among whom the Son was now come as a Traytor to his Country: but at last, by the pitty of the Townsmen, he got thence away, and came safe to *Nieuvve*, who being received by the *Dutch*, was after by the power of his own People, as we shall relate, made Prisoner.

At *Bruges*, there was a sharp and dangerous tumult, so that Arms were taken, and bloodshed very hardly prevented; both the parties having set forth Souldiers that belonged to them,

them, the Bands of the United Provinces came first, being hastned by the Magistrates; and this was the end of the defence: the Tumults of other Cities were prevented by Garrisons: *Ipre* of its own accord, came and joyned it to the League of Union, and the like did *Gant*; and a little after the Prince of *Anrangi* came into that City, by the favour and good will of all the multitude.

So great inconstancy was there in the resolutions of the vulgar rout, and their levity being the same both in good things and bad: there, removing such from Authority as by violence intruded themselves, he gave the Honour to others: Most of the Prisoners, which we mentioned to be there detained, being carelessly looked to, had broke out; the rest that remained, the Prince set at liberty.

And another thing, which proved as well to augment his Honour, as revive envy against him, was, That the Government of Flanders was put upon him, notwithstanding his many refusals to accept thereof: In the Embassey to *Colen*, there was nothing done, but what the Spaniard was well pleased with to wit, that minds distracted to the hope of Peace, should never advise well concerning the publick good: The Embassadors of both sides complaining mutually, that their Collegues, by private agreements, were solicited against the peace, disturbed by new Confederacies, not minding the Repute or Esteem of the Treaty; But the Dutch, because of the present danger, for that the Duke of *Parma* had gained much upon *Maestricht*, a City partly belonging to *Brabant*, and partly to the Jurisdiction of *Loze*, as being situate upon the Confines of both; and they could not get an opportunity of relieving it, either with Souldiers or Provision, they desired the time of the pacification might be freed from War, and they hoped the Emperor's Embassadors would assist them herein: But the Duke of *Terranova* denied that he had received any such power.

Thus while a Truce is asked and denyed, while Conditions of Peace begin to be offer'd, while the Instructions of the Duke are found fault with, as being not free, but bound up to new Orders and Commands, the Duke of Parma had crept under the very Walls of *Maestricht*: when, after a four months Siege, he took the City by force, though the same were valiantly defended, and his own strength not very great: But at Winter, he sent away almost all the *German*, *Spanish*, and *Italian* Souldiers, retaining onely the Captains, and one Wing of *Italian Cavalry*, though later than was agreed by the Covenants made in *Artoys*; but yet this gain'd to him *Mechlin*, with *Valenciennes*, and the City of *Mabou*.

In some convenient places, he set Garrisons of *Wallons*: Of these, as every one was grievously annoy'd, or else of his own accord had offended his Neighbour, so was he esteem'd not safe from danger: and for this benefit, they confirm'd on the Duke of *Parma* the Lieutenancy; not throughly understanding, that a General of an Army might, when he pleas'd, recall to their Assistance any *Foreign Souldiers*: But the Consideration of Death, though by the conjunction of so many People and Cities, had lost all hopes of Peace; yet that they might seem not so to hate it, as to despair of it, they sent the Articles of Composition and Agreement, offer'd by *Philip*, unto every Town, that they might be consider'd of in publike Council: Which being objected against, as unjust and fallacious, were these:

The Acts of *Matthias* were not otherwise confirm'd, but as they had no Relation to the Supreme Authority of the Prince, or the Injuries of others; That whatever Regent *Philip* should appoint over the *Netherlanders*, to him constantly should be deliver'd all Cities, Castles, Magazines, and Instruments of Warre: He, together with the Senate, should take Cognizance of all things, (there was no mention of the States) That all displaced and ejected Priests,

Priests should be restored; as also, all others that had been
famous of Honour or Magistracy.

All which things seemed to tend to this: That the Law
 being restored in them by the endeavour of them, who were
 enjoy the Benefit and Trust of the *Commonwealth*, they should
 shortly be abrogated, and the People being disarmed, reduc-
 ed to slavery; for there is no servitude, for maintaining
 of Liberty, so weak as that of Kingly Jurisdiction.

As to matter of Religion, the Settlement whereof was
 the matter of greatest Difficulty and Controversie, it pleased
 the King to grant, that there should be but one Religion
 throughout all the *Netherlands*, which should be confirmed
 by the Authority of the *Pope*, unless in such places, where
 at this time other Rites were used; and this confirmed in
Laus made at *Gant*. Without those Bounds, a time was
 limited to men of different Judgments, wherein they might
 settle their Affairs; and after their departure out of the
Netherlands, their Goods should not be meddled with, so long as
 they would commit the Administration thereof, to the pro-
 curation of such as were of the *Roman* Religion.

But this was looked upon, as very hard by all; and in a
 manner convenient for the *Publike Peace*, because it would
 turn upside down the present state of so many Cities, towns
 and expel from their Country so many Thousand Men: Nor
 should it be free for any man to believe, what his Conscience
 bore him Witness was the Truth. And what Country was
 able to receive all that should be Exiled? and if any could,
 yet what safety could it hope for in such Multitudes? Where
 could they, whom their own Country thought fit to expel,
 hope for quiet in a strange Land?

But the Governours and Chiefs, without the deep
 Brand of Ignominy and Villany, could not consent to be-
 tray, for fear that Religion they were taught to be true, in
 what manner soever it first brought forth.

Neither

Neither the *Hollander* nor *Zealander* think that Proviso sufficient for them, for they had some strong Cities which distanced from the *Common-wealth*, in the use of that Religion, to be revoked to those very times : From whence they might well doubt new Tumults, and their good will to become suspected, that their Cause was separated from the rest. They also laboured to work upon the Prince of *Orange* apart, and by himself ; when, though seemingly aloof off, there was offered to his Son, not onely Liberty, but the Governments belonging to (him) his Father, to himself, as many Goods as he had ever before possessed, so as he would go out of the *Netherlands*, and spend his Old Age quietly in *Germany*. Besides, the other cause of Diffidence, his Mind, that never was greedy after Wealth, and, in that respect, unsullied and upright, was greatly satisfied, to perceive, with what great Expence the *Spaniard* would gladly free himself from the Dread of him,

The Treaty at *Coleu* being ended, *Areschot* and some Priests set off to the King, from some of those Parts, whence *Legates* had come ; for understanding, that they must for the future be Enemies to the King, being reconciled by *Letters*, and accepting the same *Articles*, which they of *Artois* had : But all those Councils, either of *War* or *Peace*, which they had Registered and taken Notice of, were scorned by the *Spaniards*, and by that Nation (that never likes any Foreign Thing) made a meer *May-Game* of. In that Treaty it plainly appeared, how great a Difference there is between the Aim and Intentional Designs of the Prince and the People. Of old time, when first the Nobility here made *Injurments*, for fear of *Foreign Lords* and *Tyrants*, the Evil was incurable : But afterwards, being more obstinately oppressed, they drew the *Commons* into Parties, under pretence of Religion ; and the Vulgar Rout learning, that they were they that kept Kings in awe, or made them to be Reverenced, and that they could be caught by nothing but *Credulity*,

lity, profently imagined, that *Despair of Pardon*, was the first Step to *Liberty*. Hence they did not act indifferently, or moderately, but would onely do such things as were too good to admit of Repentance, and going back; and by this means they arrived at that height, that afterwards they would desire the Commodities of *Peace*, but never mind the Hazards of *Warre*. They go beyond the wonted Custom, with Domesticke and Innefigne Arms, while thence ariseth and springs the unlimitable Thirst of *Rule* and *Revenge*. This makes a kind of Pleasure even in Danger, and there is somewhat of Honour in the Depth of Misery. But then surely, there was not one general Army, but the *Warre* was scattered here and there by small Parties, and every several Nation almost had his own distinct *Warriers*.

This Fault of the *Commonwealth* did quickly shew it self, for there not being a Sovereign Power vested in one chief City (as there was in the *Ancient States*, both of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, and is at this day in most flourishing Dominions) but an equal Power residing among many Cities, it comes to pass, that what should be proper to the care of every one, from the Nations Industry, exercised in the getting and keeping of Riches, under the false Name of the *Publicke*, the Common Benefit is perverted, and carryed into a wrong Channel. Thus Moneys could very hardly be gotten, by reason whereof the *Netherland*s might have been in great danger, had not the Enemy been infected with the same Disease; for *Portugal* eat up all the Kings Money, as well by War, as by seeking to win the Love of the Nobles. For *Sebastian* the King, being lost in the great *African* Battle, and his Successour *Henry* being dead, the People had Elected *Anthony*, who was sprung from the Royal Stock, to be King, because they were infected by the *Castilians* according to the Evil Custom of Bordering Nations. But *Philip* advancing the Propinquity of his Bloud, among and before others, sent thither the Duke of *Alva* with an Army, to con-

out and bring into subjection by Force, those that would not submit willingly ; and, at last, by his Endeavours, the Kingdom of *Portugal* was added to the King his Master : By whom, before he had lost the *Netherlands* ; so much more easy was it to win a Kingdom. Nor indeed, could any thing have fallen out more happily for *Philip* ; not onely because all *Spain* was now reduced under one Government, but because the *Portuguese*, who had by long Navigations, compassed the greatest part of the World, possessed the great Islands of the *Mediterranean Sea* ; and, by Command, on *Tiassite*, was Seated and Inhabitant on the Coasts both of *Ethiopia*, and the *Indies* : By the Event hereof, the *Netherlanders*, who might hope for some Ease to themselves, while the Wars in *Portugal* lasted, besides the increase of their strength, found also another greater discommodity, which was, That the *Spaniards* would now hinder all the Trade thereof, wherein the main Wealth of their Cities did consist ; for although hitherto the Ports of the Kingdom of *Castile*, had not forbidden or denied them, as if there had been no cause of Arms or War, out of the Bounds of the *Netherlands* ; yet there was from the Clergy great danger, and injurious detentions of Ships sometimes used by Kings, even toward Strangers, dis-incouraged them, which the *Portuguese* had promised they would never do : Nay more, there was Provision made, that they should be bound to appear in Judgment, before suspected Judges, or forced to any long Suits. But after both Kingdoms were joyned in one ; and yet the Necessity of the one not at all lessened, by the enjoyment of the others Trade ; both having the same King, by various Names of Extortion and Force, the Sea-men and Masters of Ships were defrauded of the greatest part of their Gain ; but yet not by a continual Trouble, but by such Intervals and Breathing, that under hope of amendment, and by the unconscionable Avarice of the Merchants to get all,

ever some new Booty came in afresh. In the mean time, by reason of the want of Money, there hapned many Seditions, on both Sides, in the *Netherlands*: But the *Spaniards* had the advantage, in the more easie appeasing and suppressing those on their part; because, in lieu of Pay, they gave them Licence to do what they would, and Impunity for the same: However, the Duke of *Parma* got some 1580. small Towns in *Hennalt*, which the *Confederate Provinces* had Garrison'd, and not long after surpris'd *Courtray* in *Flanders*: *Alpen* delivers *Breda* also to him, the Castle on a suddain, whence he easily set upon 1581. and got the rest. *Lamoye*, on the other hand, in

whom the chief Care of the War, in those Parts, was committed, regained from the Enemy *Nieuve*, and other places in *Flanders*. At this time it fortun'd, that some eminent and brave men were taken prisoners; as *Edmond* and *Selley*, in Towns that were taken; and contrarily, *Lamoye* himself, who was taken at an unhappy Fight, in a Siege, before a certain Castle; and was esteem'd by the Enemy of so great quality, that they would not exchange him for two others.

The *English* who were in Pay with, and fought for, the *United Provinces*, took *Mechlin* by Storm, whose Avantage was so prophaneely expressed in their Victory, that they did not spare the very *Sepulchres* of the Dead, the Stones whereof they took away, and afterwards openly sold them in *England*. Many other Counsels and Resolutions, of sudden Actions, the more powerful Enemy diverted, very few Tokens of Victory remaining to the *Dutch*, by reason of the penury of them that fought in their Defence.

At this time, the Duke of *Parma's* Mother came to her Son at *Namur*, being sent to take the Government (where she had formerly been skilled); being by her Sex more mild and gracious, and, by the use of her Age, a crafty *Moderator* for *Peace*.

But he, who had cut off the Follies and Enormities of Youth, to follow after Fame and Honour, telling her, *It was in time for talk, there rather wanted Men and Arms, and that his Industry and Care was sufficient to win and keep the good-will both of the Souldiers and People.* The Lady therefore went back again, and by that means did wipe away the impious Difference that otherwise might have fallen out between her self and Son. But in *Friseland*, and the adjacent Regions, the Inconstancy of *Rennsberg*, made, as it were, a particular War burst furiously out: This Man having with great Fidelity, and an undanted Courage, long taken the part of the Nobles, together with all the *Frisons* at *Utrecht*, subscribed the *League of Union*; and, by a Siege, compelled the refusing *Groningers*, whom he had made hated by those that were present, to swear to perform the same: But after, being overborn by the Authority of his Kinred, who had all of them Revolted to *Spain*; who, the better to kindle the Coals of Dissension, suffer'd the Country-people, who inhabited round about the Country, to repel the Injuries offer'd to them by the Souldiers: Upon a Sign given, a great Multitude of the *Boers* met to take their *Revenge*; and they were the more cruel in what they did, because now they fought in Defence of all the Remains *Fortune* had left them. But *Hobenslo*, sent thither by the Prince of *Aurange*, after some small Fights, dispersed this disordered Multitude not fit for War: And the *Frisons*, suspecting their *Governours* Fidelity, set upon the Castles that remained, and, in little time, made them equal with the ground: The Prince of *Aurange* himself, being constrained to go with strong Guards to re-settle *Over-Issel*, that had likewise bin solicited to Revolt, and through Home-Discords stagger'd, not Resolved what to do. Then he, (to wit, *Rennsbergh*) laying aside any further Dissimulation, delivered *Groninghen*, which he then had the possession of, into the King's Power.

Thence waſting his Forces over the *Rhine*, they carried thither with them frequent and mutual Slaughters; and a terrible miſery of fifteen years continuance.

For the regaining of this Town of *Groningen*, firſt *Ban ſon Entes*, formerly the Companion of *Marques*, whom, after the taking of many great Prizes, by Sea and Land, while his Thoughts were filled with the hopes of great Matters out of theſe Troubles, Death nipped all in the Bud at this Siege. The Duke of *Parma* ſent *Schenck* to relieve him, who had formerly been a Soldier in theſe Parts, to which he was now returned, when he could not obtain the deſired Rewards of his going away: But then he employed his whole Study and Endeavour for his General; for by his Valour and Judgment, the Siege was broke up, when the great Commanders were all in deſpair thereof, and all *Holland* men ſcattered and ſlain; whom afterwards, as they were enforcing their Fortune, by ſome of the diſperſed Troops, *Renneberg* again utterly overthrew; and having thus deſtroyed the Enemy, he over-ran many of their Fortifications, both at Paſſes and Rivers: But when he ſtood to turn all the whole Fury of the War, for five Months, upon *Steinwic*, a City of *Over-Iſſel*, he was Overthrown and Conquered by the *Nabaſſian* Commanders; when conſidering with Regret, his Miſery, with how great Loſs of his Power and Reputation, he had reduced himſelf from great Wealth, to a horrid Incertainty, he was ſeized by a Diſeaſe, which quickly brought him to his End. *Verduge*, a *Spaniard*, ſucceeded him, and got the better of *Norris*, in a certain Fight; but it advantaged him nothing, the Fields now growing up with *Autumn's* Dews and Foggs: Now were the poor Soldiers plagued both with Hunger and Sickneſs.

Now there lay open to the Duke of *Parma*, a Poſſeſſion large enough, and worthy to be taken care of, if he had pleaſed to make uſe of ſo many Victories in that part; but while the Forces were employed elſewhere, and long ſcattered

here and there, they who then might have been forced to submit, had now drawn the ambiguity of their fortune into bet-
 ter times. In the *Interim*, some tumults there were, and they
 such as might almost be called a Sedition, both in *Brabant*,
 and also in some Cities of *Over-Issel*, plotted in the Kings
 behalf, by the design of that multitude, which followed the
 Rites of the *Roman Church*; whereupon it came to passe, that
 all Images, wheresoever they remained, were taken away
 from publick use; nay, they were hardly suffered to meet in
 private, for the exercise of their devotion, for fear of Con-
 spiracies.

The Warre therefore being spread abroad on every side,
 the number of Souldiers for defence, was by the States in-
 creased, as much as the Tributes were decreased, and fell
 short; and which was most difficult of all, the Souldier in-
 clinning to richer Pallage than his Pay, neither the Country
 could be freed without money, nor money be raised, while
 the Country was thus beset; for now the Cities began to
 dread their Garrisons: the Captains could neither shew their
 Authority, nor uphold any Discipline within their Castles,
 but are like an incurable Disease, while they esteem luxury,
 and all other licentiousness, as Military Gallantry. By rea-
 son of which great streights, this Government of many be-
 came hated by the Citizens, the Prince of *Aurage* having
 ordered many things, as well concerning Law as Tributes, and
 the Souldiery, which were necessary for the present State of
 Affairs, then in the Council of the States, he moved this,
 That because the necessities of the Warre were sudden, and
 would not be delayed, and the ayds of the Assemblies of
 Deputies came in so very slow, they would Elect and chuse
 a Senate, that might among themselves consult of the chief
 matters of State.

Affairs being thus settled, as he saw all things incline to
 him, by the tie of that Religion which *Philip* had condemn-
 ed, and that the valiantest of the dissenters were revolted to

the other part, he began to discourse to them, the Reason why hitherto, while they had any hopes of peace, they made use of the Kings Name; but now, since he is grown incable towards them as to Rebels, and that it was evident any man was fierce and bitter against the *Netherlanders*, he was looked upon in *Spain* with such favour, that he got famous and honourable thereby; why would they any longer suffer the people to be led blind-fold with the voyd Religion of an old Oath? whence come all these troubles and Commotions, but from thence, that our fidelity hangs ambiguous between our Country and the Prince?

But it is not a strange thing among wise men, who will grant, that all Powers are sealed for the Peoples good by the peoples consent, that though they are greater then each particular, yet they are less than a Conjoint Universality, which perverted, and neglected the care of the publick for the private ends, the People, that is to say, the States rightly assembled, have power to judge thereof, and to punish the same. Not were most Kingdoms any otherwise subject to their present Kings, unless that the People, tyred either with the injuries or sloath of the former, have transferred them on other hands: How much more then should these things prevail in the *Netherlands*; to whom the very name of King is unacquainted, and their manner of obedience such, that they never took any Oath, unless the Prince had first obliged himself according to their desires, to maintain the Law: It is the Law of Nations, that mutuall Obligations are dissolved by the tricks and wickedness of either party.

And having laid aside *Philip*, they would seek them another Prince: And they needed not to doubt those things, which would easily be maintained against the *Spanish* greediness by their Wealth: There was need of a present Captain, and of such a one, who, when mischief raged every where, would, though with the neglect of his own safety, incourage the *Netherlanders*: That he had clearly cast out of his thought

all hopes from *Germany*. There remains then but one thing, and that is, that *Francis* of *Valois*, be chosen to the Government, whom they could not deny already to have given some certain proof: Nor was it a little material, to their advantage, if that young Prince, who was next Heir to the highest Throne, should begin his growth from hence: In the Interest, he was sure of the Brother-hood of *France*, and in probability, the good affections of *England* would not be wanting, against whom, the *Spaniard* of late had prepared a Fleet, which partly by Tempest, and partly by the *Portugall* Warre, had been destroyed; and further, he had newly given ayd and encouragement to the Rebels in *Ireland*, nor had the *English* spared him in the new World of *America*, the Wealth which they took there from the *Spaniards*, and brought into their own Country, having laid the foundation of a future Warre.

After a long doubting, and much hesitation, the Counsel was approved, with a greater fear of the *Spaniard*, than affection or confidence in *Monsieur Francis* and *Philip*, for violating and infringing the Laws, by the States of the Provinces of the Union is thrown off from the Government, and that sentence is brought forth, wherewith, if we may speak the truth, the Warre had now been in labour for the space of nine years; but thenceforth was his name, and all marks of Honours utterly left off and denyed, and the words of their solemn Oath made to him, absolutely altered; so that thereby, he who had of late been their Prince, was now declared an Enemy. The putting in execution of this Counsel, was, to Neighbour Nations, guilded over with the severall excuses of necessity, and the severall fruitless Requests they had made to him: yet the *Spaniards* did not cease highly to brand it as infamous, it seems altogether forgetful, that their own Predecessors had deposed a King from his Kingdom, for his too great cruelty, and that they preferred before him a Bastard, slip-sprung from an unlawful coition.

We

We will not mention old Examples of the like kind in *France*, nor any of fresher memory transacted in *England*, nor those newest of all of the *Danes* and *Swedes*, laying aside their Kings: But to return to the purpose, *Matthias* was dismissed with much affection, and great Rewards; And this being a matter of so great concernment, neither did the greatness of the action it self, nor the Authour, remain unknown to the *Spaniard*; whence perceiving that the life of one single Person was the onely obstacle to his desired greatness, therefore, though he had fair Law against him in the law, yet he, in the first place, proscribes him, and then by the help of Wealth, Honour, and impunity, as well of all former faults, as of that, invites some body to assassinate him: Against this new fashioned Edict, the Prince of *Aurange* makes his Defence in a Book on purpose set forth, as well to the States of the *Netherlands*, as to other Princes of *Christendom*, which Book was penned by the help of *Peter Viskop*, a *Frenchman*, who having the Study of the Laws, wherein he had been bred up, first fell to be a teacher of the new Religion, and thence came to be admitted into the secret Counsels of the Prince of *Aurange*: The Declarations on both sides are yet extant, full of equall bitterness, wherein after repetition of the Crimes relating to the Cause, on the Kings part is objected to the Prince Ingratitude and Treason; he on the other side, retorts on the Kings Treachery and Tyranny, and so intermixing many true, and some false Relations, at length they directly fall to terms of scurrility, like scolding Women; for, because the Prince of *Aurange* being separated from his *Saxon* Wife, for Causes well approved by all her Kindred, and having married the Daughter of *Monsieur*, who had been devoted for a Nun, was accused both as an *Adulterer*, and *Sacrilegious* Person.

On the other, greater *Adulteries* were objected to *Philip*, nor was he forgotten to be charged with the severall deaths of his Wife and his Son, from the guilt whereof not yet cleared,

clear'd, he had married his *Niece* in blood; for the then Wife of the King, was the Emperour *Maximilians* Daughter, by the Kings Sister; which Conjunction, the *Pope* by his Authority, (though many judg'd contrary to the Divine Law) confirm'd. Nor was it smother'd in silence, how formerly he attempt'd by his great Minister of State *Granvell*, to have poison'd *Maximilian* himself, being his near Kinsman by the Fathers side, but then his Father in Law. Whereupon, the States condemning both the malice and insinuations of *Philip*, who lay'd the fault of this great defection onely upon one, by publick Testimony vindicated the *Prince of An-
rpes* innocency, adding moreover, for the safety of his Person, a Troop of Horse to the old Guard.

The Embassie of the *Netherlanders*, was most acceptable to *Francis of Valois*, being thereby called to the Government, and very pleasing to his Mother, who endeavour'd by foreign Honours, to indulge her Sons, already too ambitious by their over-swell'd hope; But the Kings Aye and Consent was requir'd, before it was convenient, and so did not answer their expectation: onely the King wrote to them, that he would not have a respect to his Brothers greatness, but would also give help and succour to himself, and all those which were under his Dominion: which that he might more readily perform, he wish'd to his own Kingdom Peace, and to his Brother all happiness and prosperity.

The present necessity forc'd the United *Dutch* to rest satisfied onely with words, and only to hope for the rest. And presently *Valois*, that he might the more strongly work himself into their Affections, understanding that *Cambray* besieged by Horse and Foot, and fortified in their Camps, had undergone great hardships and extremities; He sets forward thither with an Army, for the maintenance whereof *Queen Elizabeth* had supplied them with a great sum of money, and rais'd the Siege, and thereupon is presently saluted, *Prince of the delivered City*. Nor did he then intend further, because
th^c

the greatest part of the Army was in the hands of particular Leaders, that followed him voluntarily, and would not stay with him.

Cambray is situate in the Borders of the *Netherlands*, the proper Seat of a Bishop, but was reckoned under the Commands of both Dominions, for the *German Emperors*, and *French Kings*, had often contended for it by War: But in the last War with *France*, the *Emperor Charles* detained it, and built therein a Castle; the Souldiers in Garrison whereof imprisoning their Governour, joyned themselves, and became Parties in the League made at *Caunt*. But *Torrey*, a Town in *Flanders*, having been some while Beleagueroed, in the absence of the Governour the Prince of *Spina*, whose Wife, besieged therein, shewed a singular Example of Feminine Contancy, at last fell into the power of the Duke of *Parma*.

The Fourth Book of the Dutch ANNALS

FRANCIS of *Valois* went over into *England*, where, that he might strengthen his Friendship, by a future Principality, either himself, or the hopes from him of a greater Fortune, so pleased the Queen, that notwithstanding the Difference in Religion, there was a Treaty of Marriage, upon certain Conditions, admitted: The Report hereof was very pleasing to the *Dutch*, but it proved vain, being founded either on a Dissimulation akoge her fraudulent, or else hindered by the Displeasure and Wrongs done by his Brother: Or lastly, his own unhappy Temerity, which

which had rather win all things by Force: Returning into the Netherlands, with a Solemn State and Magnificent Attendance, he undertakes the Government, by the Name of Duke of Brabant, and Earl of Flanders.

Besides the Old Laws, there were some new ones added, for limiting the Government, according to the League made at Bordeaux; to wit, That once every Year, the States General of the United Provinces should be Assembled; without whose Consent, no League might be made with the Spaniards, by any Chief Commander in the War; and, at whose Request, all Foreign Soldiers should be Disbanded. In the ordering Matters of Religion, and selling Foreign Garrisons, every Province should be alike concerned: The same should nominate Three Persons, out of whom their Governors should be chosen: And if any Difference happened among them, the Duke should have the Hearing and Determining thereof: That two French-men should be admitted into the Senate; the rest, at the present, to be chosen by the States, hereafter by the Duke; But of those nominated, as is before said: And that the Netherlands should have all chief Offices belonging to the Court. Four and Twenty Hundred Thousand Florens a Year, were promised every Year to the support of the War, out of the Prince's Patrimony, and that what wanted more, was to be supplied out of the private Treasures of the Duke, or the King his Brother.

Now there was some hope, that the Men of both Religions would continue faithful, as well those who were of one Judgment with the Prince of Orange, as they who with Valois followed the Roman Opinion: And these had Toleration, to use their own Rites at Antwerp, but no where surber, until they should take the common Oath of the Netherlands, concerning the New Government: Nothing was expressed in publick, but signs of Joy, and he, with much discretion, carried a sweet mildness in his Countenance, and an affable moderation in his Speech:

These

Those that remained of the Nobility, were inwardly much vexed when constrained to observe in the Throne the *Burgundian Prince*, one of another Nation, and that long been an Enemy to that Family, to wit, their chiefe Lord; and that they should intermingle among the *Hollanders*, with whom they never had any safe *Peaces*, and between whom the Hatred and Animosity even yet continued unto another Generation, and is still attended with dangerous and unlucky *Omens*. And the lawfulness of the former Oath, and the Respect and Duty due to their *Prince* (be what he would) was not easily rooted out of the Minds of the Vulgar. But on the contrary, some there were, who would object to them their New Religion, and that they should not contaminate so pious a Cause, by the help of heresies dissented from them. The wiser sort feared Danger from this Discord, and thence to find the *French-mans* Rigor: when it appeared, that it had been privately agreed, The *Valois* should have nothing but a *Nominal and Temporary* Government over the *Hollander and Zelander*, though he had taken the Government of the Netherlands; then the Prince of *Aurange*, who had been the Original of that Council, was found fault with, as sharing in the Government, and that he had from the first beginning of the Troubles, always reserved the strongest and best Fortified Provinces to himself. *Norwich* notwithstanding, his Name was affixed to all Laws and Publike Acts; not that he barely a *Lieutenancy*, or *Governorship*, but an absolute Dominion and Authority. And the Name of *Earl*, within those Provinces, by most offer'd to him; there wanted but a few *Suffrages*, to win him to accept it, when his Death hereafter, shortly to be related, took him off, now drawing near to receive the Rewards of his long and unwearied Labour.

But others rather troubled hereat, that they should be separately subjected to the *French Power*, had rather choose to submit to the Prince of *Aurange* his Authority; who, because he was unable of himself to Defend all, had therefore

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not unworthily taken to himself a *Partner*. It really appeared, in the time of his Infirmary, how great the Affection of the Multitude was towards him; For when he lay very weak at *Antwerp* of the Wound, which the King of *Spain's* *Assassine* had given him, the whole City powred forth with *prayer*, both *Prayers* and *Tears* in their *Churches* for him, That God would avert his *Fury* from them, as is usual in Cases, where the *Publike* Parent of the *Country* is in danger. And at that time he did recover his Health; yet the Remainder of his Life, was always attended with *Spanish* *Conspiracies* to destroy him, there being many times taken persons, that lay in wait for the Lives, both of Him, and of *Valois*.

While the Duke's Forces drew together slowly, *Parma* led his Army into *Flanders*, where he took *Oudenarde*, (a City so called, from the *Ancient* *Negarii*, who formerly Inhabited those Parts that Bordered upon the *Schelde*) by a Three Moneths Siege, and a Storm; which he effected the more easily, because the Townsmen refused the *Garrison*, which would have maintained it. Thence, after he had encamped in all the Parts adjacent to *Bruxels*, endeavouring to straiten the City, by wasting and consuming all the Fruits of the Ground, wearied out by the sharpness of *Winter*, at last he withdrew, and retired from thence.

In many things, how much doth Expedition prevail; for thereby *Valois*, on a suddain, among other Towns, won *Alost* from the Enemy; and *Parma's* Souldiery, by *Treachery* of the *Garrison*, won *Lyra*: This place was of great Concernment to the War, in regard it was so near Neighbour to *Antwerp*: In the mean time also, were some small Skirmishes, with little Advantage to either side; and not a few *English* turning *Renegades*, and being condemned by the *Spaniards*, were a good Example, to teach others to be faithful to that Party under whom they first served.

Ann Verdugo was forced to leave *Lochem*, a little Town in *Gelders*, not far from *Zutphen*, which he endeavoured to win by starving; because while he was about it, it was relieved with fresh Provisions; but presently won *Staden* (which before had cost so many Lives) without any danger, by the help of Night, and the Townsmens Folly. At the same time *Philip*, having *Valois* his Oppositor, thought he now wanted more strength and care than heretofore, and therefore sends to *Parma* a Recruit of *Spanish* and *Italian* Souldiers, nor durst any be so bold as to contradict the same, notwithstanding the *Artossian Treaty* and *Agreements*; averring, that in that Treaty, the Obedience of the whole *Netherlands* was intended; of which hope he being defrauded, the Bond of the Obligation ceased, together with the Cause. The Summe of this Army upon Muster, was Threescore Thousand Foot, Four Thousand of whom would make good Horsemen: and these Numbers remain, or rather are increased to this very time; whose Monthly Pay amounted to, or rather was supposed to cost Seven Hundred Thousand *Florins*, and that the other Charge of the War came to no less than half as much: That therefore *Philip* sent thither every year, over and above the Tributes there raised, above Twenty Hundred Thousand; so much was consumed by the *Spaniards* upon the *Netherlands*: And that no more Money should be Carried over thither, they, who feared bad Success, by the ill Carriage of Affairs there, were believed to have hindered it: On the other side, the *States*, that they might win Fame to their *Commonwealth* by great and noble beginnings, advanced their Yearly Pensions and Tributes, which were at present but Four and Twenty, to Forty Hundred Thousand; with which Money, they raised Souldiers, and then had in Arms, under the Conduct of *Francis* of *Valois*, besides *Netherlanders*, *French*, *Germans*, *English*, and *Scots*: The Forces, on both sides, were very strong, but the greatest part of them lay in Garrisons; because there being no determined Bounds

they were, as the *Fortune of War* required, put into Towns, which many times even joyned one to another, but still kept their Opposition. Hitherto *Valois* hoped for Succours from his Brother, for the wasting of those Riches, against or for which, the Kings of *France* had for the space of Two Hundred years contested by War, so suffering of much hardship, and the loss of their Bloud, and now, by *Conditions of Peace*, had made their Enemy equal to themselves. But the King himself had no mind openly to denounce War, nor privily to send the expected Forces, although his Mother *Medices* had wished and disturbed the possession of the *Portugal Sea*: And the truth is, *Philip* had prevented him; having purchased a means to make Debate, wherewith he might perturb the then peaceable Estate of *France*: The stronger Party therefore did openly possess the King with fear, advising withall, That he should turn his strength against none, but the Enemies of the *Roman Religion*; another Party being politickly deceived under pretence of more wise Counsel, denyed, that it was either just or profitable for the King, who was yet not satisfied in his Successor, to exhaust and consume his Treasure for the use of strangers, but that he should rather leave both the *Netherlanders*, and the Duke himself too, to their poverty, untill being drawn off, they would fall from their Capitulations, and Contest for Government, and submit themselves to the Laws; as for the *Spaniards*, though he could not be conquered by others, yet he might, in good time, be overcome by a Neighbor Kingdom.

These were the Counsels, but indeed, the King was of his own nature averse to his Brother, not that he was offended by him; but rather had offended him, and mindfull, that he had once committed him to hard and close Custody, more out of suspicion, than for any Crimes.

This cast the Duke head-long upon Counsels, dangerous, and full of desperation, and fatall, both to himself, and the *Netherlanders*; for when he perceived, that they would easily set him at naught, since he could not perform with them

in the promised ayds, and that he was burdened with an unprofitable Principality, not forgetting that he ruled only for pleasure, and that afterward that he was restrained and kept under by the Laws and Authorities of others, (which is very grievous to them that have been bred in a Kingdom) having divers times desired an alteration of the same, but not obtaining it, he resolves to erect a peculiar power by force, to that end, assigns the Towns of *Flanders*, to be possessed and held by the most trusty Garrisons of his Captains; *Antwerp* he takes to himself, as the biggest City, and that which most favoured the *Prince of Aurange*, to whom he knew he did owe a part of his power, by an implicit agreement, in which the *Deputies of the States* were present, who were no impediments of his greatness.

1583. It is probable, the main inciters to this rashness were, not onely some secret spies, that held Intelligence with the Enemy, having their Faith corrupted by money, who offered to the *Duke* an unquestionable right of Dominion by a *Spanish Marriage*; but also the *Frenchmen*, who proposed to themselves the ransacking of Cities, or great Booty, Honours, which by the Laws they were debarred of, which covetousness, there are as many Nations guilty, as the *Netherlanders* had *Allies* or *Confederates*.

The success answered the Design where the *French Garrisons* were prevalent, and *Venard*, *Dendremunde*, *Dixmude* and *Dunkirk*, a Sea-coast Town of *Flanders*, excellently seated for *French Traffique*, were taken. At *Bruges*, both the old and new *Governours*, were outwitted by the extraordinary, and most politick ingenuity of the *Magistrates*, who desiring under pretence of consultation, the Captains and Leaders to go to the Town-house: there kept and detained them, till they had by their Letters, Commanded the *Soldiers* to march out from thence; which they for fear of the Armed multitude, without grudging, did accordingly: The danger of *Antwerp* was greater, though some Signs of blood

bloody event burst forth, and with a dissembled suspicion of somewhat, he did as much as he could hide the concurrence of his People from the *Prince of Aurange*, and the *Governours* of the Town. There was the Army both of *French* and *Spaniards* assembled, that the Fort of *Endoven* being left, and the Enemy fled, the whole possession of *Brabant* might be regained.

To these, the *Duke* going out under the very Walls, as if to number them, with his Customary Retinue onely about him, he Commands the Watches immediately to be killed, and the Ports to be set up and seized, that so the rest of his Army might have the easier entrance. And now seventeen Companies of men fly about the Streets of the City, like *Conquerours*, crying out, *The Mass used in the Roman Religion is holy*, (for this was the Signall of the Combination) when the *Townsmen* running from their Tables (for they were at dinner) lay their Arms against this sudden tumult; the first that went on meeting the *Valoyians*, Body to Body, hindered their endeavour of passing further; And in a moment, more and more gathering together, on every side (fighting in defence of their Families and Fortunes) with notable Courage and Concord, they beat all that entered into the City, back to the Port whereat they came in.

There was a horrible slaughter, for in that straight, they stopped out, and hindred the living, and those that fled could not escape their pursuers: But *Valois* himself, when he understood the infamous madness of his undertaking by the Event, made with shame and terrour of Conscience, and wanting all things, with as many of his Forces as he could get together, among many hazards of his life, and the grievous loss of what belonged to him, he fled by the marshes of the Fields, beyond the River *Dila*.

This notorious and apparent injury, most vehemently incensed the minds of many, who before were no lovers of the name of *France*: Nor did *Parma* and the *Netherlanders* that

were with him, omit by Letters to terrifie them, laying before them their abominable defection and Revolt, and the oppressions of their new Government were more grievous, than of that they shook off; saying further, that they must bear with the dispositions of their Superiours; for a people could be safe, that rebelled among so many Kingdoms: But if now from this sad experience, they would turn to their obedience, he offered them not onely equal just Laws, but also the Kings mercy and Pardon. The Prince of *Orange* was sensible, that this time of appeasing this chief, was too fit to be laid hold on for the *Spanish* Affairs, and therefore, though his Counsel had once proved unfortunate, whereby he had lost the main part of his power, & Peoples favour, yet being asked his Opinion, he declared the same, with many acknowledgements of error to men, and envy the more easily.

If the *Common-wealth* could by its own meanes be governed with the same unanimity as the King: there would be no dispute, but that we might very well be without the Government of a single Person, especially if he be a Forrainger. Neither is it now to be enquired after, if it be lawfull to desert him, who first violated all publick Rights, and Law himself: of which there was so great care taken by Covenant and pact: but they were to minde and observe his strength. 'Tis true, he hath no great Army, but there were in his (to wit the Dukes) Possession, severall strong and well fortified Cities. And the *Netherlanders* were now to advise, whether they had rather continue their Possession to themselves, or necessitate their delivery to the Enemy. That it was much more convenient, since they were by both abused, that they should be in the *French* than the *Spanish* power: for the *Spaniards* Dominion being well knit together by age, would always find Instruments to oppress and enslave them: whereas the *French*, if they should endeavour such a thing, were not able to fit themselves with properties to serve their de-

signs. It were better therefore, and more safe to assay and try the *French*, who having been once taken caddy, will never hereafter seek such an opportunity; or if they should, would never have impudence enough, or courage to put it into action. They ought alternately to weigh, that in lieu of his own offence, the Duke hath done them many kindnessees, and to remember, that for the last years, his single care and pains had both defended their Cities, and frustrated the Enemies designs. That thus they would not onely revive, but altogether such unity as their Warre required, if *Valois* remembered his offence, and they forgot it.

This Speech was seconded by others, excusing the impudencie and rashness of Youth, adding withall, that it may be the greatness of his minde, being sprung of Royall Blood, and never made stoop to the humility of obedience, and perchance too, incensed by some contumacious persons, he had taken that unfortunate way, not with intent to kill and plunder, but as their wickedness and mischievous Counsel informed him, onely to secure his power and greatness. And the King of *France*, had with his promises, and some implicite threats, commended his Brother herein. That therefore the Duke was to be treated with, to restore the Towns he had in his power, and to withdraw to *Dunkirk*, whither the rest of his men, who compounded for the other Towns they had, should come to him. In the *Interim*, after many and long delays (and while he disputes the restitution of the Towns, and Provisions begun to fail the *Netherlandish* Souldiers, that were with him) for fear of the multitude, who mindful yet of their late danger, doubted newer and greater matters, and were scarcely satisfied.

Biron is sent thither *Generall* of an Army of *French*, to stop the Duke of *Parma's* Carreer, who then by the taking of some Towns, had mightily infested, and did over-run *Brabant*. But yet the Warre did not go on as it should in his hand, who, with much adoe, was drawn to a kind of Treary:

Valois of his own accord, finding fault, that he had onely the bare name of a *Prince*, that the account and disposall of monies, and all other great affairs were concealed from him, so that he was not able to gratifie any person; And it was no wonder, if (after the examples of so many others, who had been called in by the *Netherlanders*, to assist them, and they had found sad experiments of changed desires) they had found him, who, long continuing in suspence concerning it, would now depend upon the beck of another; but he chiefly, and with much regret, insisted upon this, That they denied to him onely, what was allowed to all other *Princes*; namely, that out of the *Senate* he might have a domestick Council. The use of which Custom, *John Bodin*, their Master of Requests, had prayesd above all others, he being a man, whose wisdom and affection was well known by his Writing: but on the other side, the *Netherlanders* feared nothing so much, also the *French* offered somewhat in favour of the *Roman Religion*.

Among all these Disputes, *Valois* being well nigh shut up in *Dunkirk*, when now a new affliction was added to renew his old grief, multitudes dying in the Town by sickness, he goes thence into *France*, either that he might refresh himself by the change of Air, or which is most probable, that he might recover his Brothers favour, between whom yet remained some Seeds of discontent: Certainly, this Journey was made onely for a time: And the *Netherlanders*, as long as he lived, never left off sending to him Embassies to intreat him to send ayd to *Flanders*, in a staggering condition. Earnestly beseeching the King also, that he publicly would own his Brothers Cause; but if he could not do that, yet that he would at least assist with men and money, and that he should stop all the passages from *France*, into the Enemies Country. Which if they might request, they did not fear to foretell to the King thereby, a future Succession in his Kingdom, so that he should according to the Lawes

France

France, for many Ages, nor want an Heir of his Body to govern the same: But these Communications were shortly after quite broken off by the badness of the following times, and the death of *Francis de Valois*. He over-lived his Honour and disgrace not above seventeen moneths, brought to his end as some thought, by his lusts, others by poyson; but most believed he dyed with grief of mind, the common end almost of all, who either before or after him, took a pride to aggravate the miseries of unfortunate people: His Funerall was not attended with any Ensigns of his Belgike Government, all his actions there with himself passing in oblivion, while the King his Brother, avoyded to incense with such toys, whom he durst not move with realities.

As soon as *Valois* was departed from *Dunkirk*, the *French* Companies left there in Garrison, accepting their pay, marched away, not daring to trust a People whom they had so mischieved. Whereupon, the Duke of *Parma*, sends his inferiour Captains to besiege the Town, thus destitute both of Souldiers and Shipping, and anon after, comes himself with an indifferent Army, to strengthen the Siege; *Biron* was commanded to follow the Enemy and fight him: But the *Ganays*, out of an old grudge they bore to *Valois*, and making a shew of tumult, denied him passage; alledging, that it was unjust and unreasonable, to use his Forces, whom they neither took for their Prince, nor scarcely their friends: By the stubbornness therefore of those men, *Dunkirk* came into the *Spaniards* power; by which meanes, the Sea ever after became dangerous and troublesome; for upon that shore, where there were no Havens or Ports, there was scarce any refuge for small voyfts: hence, as they saw it convenient, or for their profit, observing the passage out, the *Pirates* were wont to set upon the *Dutch* Ships, as they sailed by, either to fishing, or with *Merchandizes*, where *England* being directly opposite, doth narrow and streighten the Sea, and they could easily escape by flight, from the great Ships of War, either

either by their lightness and swiftness on the open Sea, or else by helps of the flats and Sands, whereof that part of the Ocean is full; yet this loss of so eminent a Town, could not mitigate or take away their dissensions; but it was necessary that *Biras* with his Army, should be sent out of the Country (though the Prince of *Astorg* most earnestly urged the contrary) for fear least they should betray the *Common-wealth* to their Enemy, now in heart, and attended with success. So much mistrust had all of the *French*. Nay, the Prince himself was scandalized for them, so that at *Antwerp*, they all went to their Arms, upon a lye that was divulged, that the Prince had brought the *French* into the Castles, on purpose to betray to, and command the City. But he to whom nothing was so unusual and bitter, as to live feared of his Citizens, could not bear their changed countenances, and suspicious ill boding silence, instead of joyfull acclamations; but leaving the place, having lived there six years, he went to *Zeland*, and the more assured places of the *Common-wealth*, thence to escape from many eminent dangers, and free from their cogitation. But the Duke of *Parma*, having gotten space for Conquest, gained by surrender, and otherwise, *Newport* situate on the same shore, but to the right hand of *Dunkirk*, and more inward upon the Land, *Dixmyle*, *Voorne*, and *Birghen*, that are called *Wuon*. Thence in *Flanders*, the peoples hatred so increased against the Warre daily, and many so highly reformed the late actions, that they would even take part with the *Spaniards* against the *French*.

About this time, there was a certain base Fellow, he was generally called *Hog*, that by Discourse and Writing began to trouble *Holland*; who, notwithstanding his Mothers ugliness, and his own mishapen Form, yet vainly boasted the Honour and Greatness of his Blood, as being (from his own Relation) Son to the Emperour *Charles*. Hence, fed up with a foolish hope by some *Spaniard*, that *Philip* would acknowledge him for his Brother, he withdrew some led away with

Novices; and others, that were not pleased with the present ordering of Affairs, from their then Principles, to a hope of Peace and Submission to the *Austrian* Family. But the *Conspiracy* being yet green, and but in the Bud, was, by the punishment of its Author, quickly nipped. Now also a War did begin in the Jurisdiction of *Colen*, which was offered, together with the Bishoprick, to *Ernestus* of *Bavaria*, for the *Marriage of Truxiors*: For being Bishop of that place before, and being taken exceedingly with the Love of a Noble Woman, had made hast to lay aside his Vow of single Life, (for by the Rules of the *Latine Church*, No Priest may marry) which in the Heat of his promiscuous Lusts was easily connived at: Wherefore, setting *Humane Decrees*, in opposition to *Divine Laws*, and finding himself unfit for such Charges, by *Casimire*, and *Nienar*, Count of *Nurfa*, both Generals for indifferent Armies, keeps the Cities, until by his Enemies Forces, and his own Mens Treacheries, most of his Garrisons were taken from him; and then making a *Ligue* with the *Dutch*, he fled to the Prince of *Anrange*, whence he revenged him, as well as he could, by laying waste the Country: And this War brings on a greater, wherewith the *Spaniard* was well pleased, because he might thereby the more colourably involve the *Frontier Towns* of *Germany*, which were old *Receptacles* of *Netherlandish Fugitives* in the same: And this every day augmented the growing Fortune of the Duke of *Parma*, especially one *Tasso*, a Captain, winning by Surprise, the Town of *Zurphen*, held by a weak and ill agreeing Garrison, and that by the help onely of one common Souldier that was his Prisoner: From hence all the Country, between the Rivers *Iffel* and the *Rhine*, were daily infested and harrassed by *Spanish Incursions*, nor could they at any time be hindred in their going off; and the City it self was besieged, but in vain.

Thus did the *Netherlanders*, at this time, lose both their Forces, and other Opportunities; And as a further mischief,
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(many of Noblemen and Chiefs, utterly despairing any remedy) privately sought their own Security, from the Grace and Pardon of the King, which they knew was not to be hoped for by some heinous Adventure. Therefore, *William Herimberge*, who by Marriage of the Prince of *Arras*, Sister, was the sole Companion of his Hopes and Dangers, inconsiderately, and without Reason, Resolved to deliver up *Gelders*, which he then Governed, to the Conquerors. But his Treachery being prevented, and Promise taken for his Fidelity, he was dismissed; yet notwithstanding, he led to the Enemy, conferring nothing more of strength to the Party, than that of his Sons, whom he compelled to Revolt with him, though not intangled or sullied with his Crimes, nor insensible of their Honours.

Now was the state of *Flanders* very miserable; *Ips* was Besieged by *Parma*: The *Ganneys* had recalled *Imbis*, for no other Reason, than to revive old Enmities, and come with the Prince of *Arras* and the *French*, who effected attaining the prime Degree of Magistracy, by some peevish and turbulent *Predicators*, did unsettle the Minds of the Vulgar. The City of *Bruges*, now *Flanders* was all a Combustion, had chosen for their Governour *Charles of Cleves*. He was the Son of *Arschot*, and diverse times charged Parties out of Fortune; afterwards forsaking his Father, in a voluntary Exile, he professed to follow the New Religion, and seemed most vehement therein, merely to hide his Dissimulation. By these Subtilties, creeping into the thoughts of those that interpreted the holy Scriptures to the People, he deluded the simplicity of such as were not very circumspect, but well-meaning men, and by them was wrought into the affections of the vulgar.

Now this *Charles* held no less Correspondence, and private Intelligence with the *Romanists*, than *Imbis* did, though openly both of them, imprison some of them, and not let them so much as come together.

In the *Interim*, they had so obliged another part of the People to them, by a feigned zeal in Religion, that whoever did but suspect, or sinistrously interpret any of their actions, was sure to incur a generall hatred: These were the two, who undertook to betray into the enemies hand, all *Flanders*, a most noble *Province*, and then strengthened with so many *Cities*: And first, that they might take the necessity of recalling the *French* they began to talk of *Casimir*, & *Truximus*, making a League with *Germany*, nor that there did any such hopes appear, but that by the losse of time being left remediable, there should remain nothing to be done but to submit.

Thus these Commanders of Peace, first had onely licence to parley; but afterwards, they had Authority to conclude; but they had so ordered their business, and informed the People, as if a Peace had been made, not with the Duke of *Burma* and the *Spaniards*, but with the *Netherlandish* *Cities* which had revolted; for that bayt was more popular, and eaiser to be swallowed; adding moreover, that the King was satisfied therewith, and content with that obedience which was due to him, would not rob God, but leave to him all things Divine.

Now are both Books and Speeches cast up and down, stuffed with bitter railings against the *French* and others, who had so long consumed, as well the private as publike Wealth of the *Netherlanders*, in so unequall a Dispute: That now they had no Forces, nor the hope of any alliance or ayd from abroad, and the Victorious Armies of a most potent King, had in a manner, inclosed them round. That now it was manifest, that God was displeased to have Religion profaned with blood, and that the use of Divine Mysteries should be maintained by force and slaughters: That certainly, the *Primitive Christians* lived peaceably under the Government of profane Princes, even in the greatest persecutions, as a strict Command laid by God upon them, and when he thought fit

to alter their Condition : He took away their Princes, he never allowed a Sword in their Hand to remove them ; Then when the power of *Warre* and *Peace* was once given to Princes, there was nothing left to the Subjects, but *Patience* in their *Prayers* : Nay, that *Piety* it self did rather choose to strengthen it self by *Persecution*, than weaken it self by *Lamentation* : Did there many suffer Death by Law, under the *Emperour Charles*, and King *Philip* ? How many more have perished now by the Sword ? And surely, they are not happy, who dyed not in their sinne : In the Fury of *Citizens*, there is no distinction, all are alike miserable ; as well they who do such things, as they who suffer them : To an Understanding Spectator, there will not appear to be the Causes of a War, as they are called ; but the Ambition of a few, who by *Domestick Dangers*, have exposed their Country to Ruine.

The Duke of *Parma* observing all these Occurrences, took Time by the Fore-lock ; and besieging *Ipre* with strong Works and Forts, that it might want the fewer Forces, he sends his Army under the Leading of the Viscount of *Guns* and *Montigny*, into the North part of *Flanders*, that he might confirm the Minds of the *Netherlandish Lords*, already inclining towards him ; and that they who would not come in of their own accord, might be forced to Submission, all hopes of Relief or Assistance being utterly taken away from them.

There is in the furthest part of *Flanders*, which the there undivided River *Scheld* divides from *Brabant*, and afterwards separated by a Cut or Drain of the same from *Brabant*, a Southerly Isl: of *Zeland*, and inclosed with the Bending thereof, a place called the *Waase*, which then *Steland* Governed, of the same Mind towards his Country with *Archobis* Son, *Charles* and *Imbifius*. Hither, when the Captains of the King's Army were arrived, the *Governours* forthwith deliver to them all the whole Region, together with the

the Towns of *Hulst* and *Axel*, and the Castle of *Rupelmond*, famous in Ancient Histories of *Flanders*. The Original of this Castle's Name was taken from the little River called *Rupel*, that runneth into the *Schelde*, and whence not far off, upon the other Bank, stands *Antwerp*. A little more inwardly is *Alost* seated; to the *Garrison Souldiers* whereof, a pretty Sum of Money being due for their Pay (being *Foreign Souldiers* out of *England*) and neglected to be given to them by the *Flandrians*, they were solicited, as Souldiers, by the Enemies Strength, their own penury, and the Example of their Neighbors, to surrender, which not long after was done: But the *Brabanders* and *Zelanders* presently threw down their Banks and Cawseyes, to let out the River *Schelde*, and beyond it to Repair and Fortifie Castles and Forts, to defend their side of the Banks or Shore, and to offend their Enemies on the other side.

1584. In the mean time, the Duke of *Parma's* Captains, that they might the better be able to blow up into a flame the Sedition of those two potent Cities, pitched their Camp between *Gant* and *Bruges*, stopping up all Passages by Water, to hinder *Commerce*: Wherefore, the *Romanists* on both sides, and divers others who adhered to the *Spaniards*, under the Name of *Peace*, either out of Design, or Simplicity, no longer mutter'd, or sought private Meetings; but being backed with great and publike Authority, endeavoured to draw all to their Opinion, some by perswasions, others by fear: At last these, by the departure of the rest, prevailed at *Bruges*; and the Lord of *Cimace* (*Areschots* Son) broke out at the same time; which as soon as the Prince of *Anrange* had received Information of from the Magistrates, that continued faithful, he laboured, that he might be suddainly taken by the Commander in Chief of the Forces of the *Garrison*: But the Lord of *Cimace* took him off with Gifts, and laying hold on that present Opportunity, by giving out to the Common People,

People, That both himself and the City, were to be betrayed into the Enemies hands.

He conferred all Publike Offices, and the Honours likewise which he took from others, upon those who were with him associated in Council: And by the help of these, he subjected the City to the *Romanists*, and so in them to the King's Obedience. In the like manner, the Town of *Duyn* was surrendered, and the *Free University*, which of old being exempt from the Command of *Bruges*, and other more than some Duties of the Country, is called by the Name of *Frankland*; And in all *Assemblies of State* in *Flanders* had an equal Voice with the best Cities: Nor would *Spe*, the Third City of Bulk in *Flanders*, being next of all to *Gand* and *Bruges*, any longer wait upon the Hopes of a Common Pacification, and endure the miseries of a hard Siege. The *Gaunties* themselves came to Treat by their Deputies, offering Pledges, and desiring a Truce: But *Imbissu* his undissembled Treachery preserved the City; for he would have delivered to the *Spaniard* the Town of *Dendremund*, which *Rikovic*, by the Prince of *Aurange's* Command, stoutly defended; and this, out of a vain hope of greater favour, he acted so openly, that it could not be hid: And when he was hindered in so base and nefarious a Counsel, he would have besieged the Senate House, with the Senators therein, with a Regiment of Souldiers, which he had taken into the *Garrison*, to serve his own Designs: These two heinous Faults, jointly alienated the Peoples Minds from him, that they considered among themselves to punish him; being thus convicted of Treachery, with the loss of his Head: A notable Example, of unfortunate Ambition, that he who was grown old, had been loaden with the highest Honours, and enjoyed so long the prosperous Affections of the Common People, whom Civil Contentions had carried so far beyond Reason, that the greatness of their Crimes had devoured their Com-

passion:

passion: This *Ring-Leader* of Faction was destroyed, though the Tumults were not quite extinct; yet, for some time, they who insisted upon the deceitfulness of the Pacification, grew stronger.

But the Duke of *Parma*, having almost inclosed the City, and besieged it strongly with Warlike Troops; was well satisfied not to assail them, otherwise than by Hunger; and to leave their Fate to the punishment of their own Discords. But he had a better hope, and therefore took more pains to gain *Scildt*, and *Antwerp*, situate upon the same River, the Noblest City of all the *Netherlands*, which disperses all over *Beabant* the Merchandizes brought out of *Zeland*; in regard his Troops were fresh, and that he in breaking up the Siege at *Zurphen*, had much weakened the strength of the *Confederate* Provinces: By this means, the one of these Cities was quickly won by force, the other gained by fear: Sending over therefore part of his Army, he drives away those *Netherlandish* Ships that lay thereabouts as Guards; and on each side of the River plants Artillery and Souldiers. But the *Antwerpers*, understanding that the Enemy did not lye upon the Coast over against *Flanders*, built from the Ground, for the safeguard of their Shipping, two Castles or Forts; the one, below the City, at the Village called *Lillo*; the other, upon the Coast of *Flanders*; on the Backside over-looked as it were *Hulst*, a Town of *Wass*. This, in regard it was not half finished, being assaulted, was taken; but the other was gallantly defended, with a great slaughter of *Spaniards*, by *Teling*, the Son of *Lamve*, a noble Imitator of his Fathers Vertues: But all these imminent Dangers, were by the Prince of *Aurange's* Death too much hastned, and in a time most inconvenient, if we mind the *Netherlanders*; because by his single Counsel and Conduct, all their Affairs, though at the present so full of Trouble and Vexation, would have been brought to a settled Method: But he, to have been in a good Season, as to himself, because thereby he was taken from

from the growing Evils of the *Publike*; to the *Death* whereof, he had most strictly bound himself: For after *Death*, the *Commonwealth*, partly with *Intestine Strife*, and partly by continual *Victories* of the *Enemies*, was brought to the last *Gasp*; nor could it recover, till by the appearance of his Son, fresh *Vigour* was infused thereto, and the half-gotten *Father's Memory*, revived in the *Heroick Actions* of his Son.

He was shot with a *Bullet* at *Delft* in *Holland*, by *Balthasar Gerard a Burgundian*, who moved thereto, with the hopes of the *Reward* promised in his *Proscription*; else by the *Zeal* of his *Party*, with a wonderful *Courage* bare up his *Spirit*, as to the committing the *Fact*, so to suffering the *Torments* inflicted on him for the same; as did there was some, who much applauded his *Resolution*, although the *Duke of Parma*, an *Italian*, being desired that some *publike Demonstrations* of *Joy* might be shewn, because their *Grand Enemy* was gone, fearing to blast *Fame*, and cast an *Odium* upon the *Justice* of the *War*, refused to suffer it.

The onely *Expression* of this dying *Patriot* sent, together with his last *Breath* to the *Almighty*, was this; *O Lord, be mercifull to this poor People*: And all those who were intimately acquainted with him, now growing into years, were well assured, That the many *Varieties* and *Changes* of *Fortune*, which, from his *Youth*, he had for above fifty years undergone, and chiefly the *Burthen* of the present *Cause*, attended with daily *Evil*, replete with many *Difficulties*, fought against the *Passion* and *Valour* of the *Great Ones*, murmur'd against those of an *inferiour Degree*; and oftentimes hazarded by the *rashness* of the *Vulgar*; as it had inabled him to bear the *greatest* of *Humane Affairs*, so it had seiled his *Devotion* on a *firm Basis*. And this was the cause, that he underwent all *Businesses* with a *Mind* so *Resolute*, and a *Body* so *indefatigable*, that he was observed never to be daunted

Adversity, nor elated or puffed up in Prosperity. I do not hold it fit to bury in Silence, as a Token of his Abstinence, and even (as it may be called) Infelicity, that there was nothing so much by him neglected, (excepted the Glory he gained from the Civil War) as his own private and particular Affairs, which he freely assisted the Commonwealth with, but it is much disturbed by the several Issues of a four-fold Marriage. His first Wife was the Daughter of Count Egmont, by whom he had Philip, his Son whom the Spaniards carried Prisoner into Spain, and Mary's Daughter, afterwards married to Count Hohenlo: By another of his Wives, which was the Second, being Daughter to the Duke of Saxony, one of the Electors of Germany, he had one Son named Maurice, and one Daughter. His Third Wife was of the Family of Barban, Daughter to the Duke of Montpensier, by whom he had Children, many Daughters, but no Son: By these Daughters he obtained many great Alliances, both in Germany and France. His Fourth and last Wife, was the Daughter of the famous Coligny, sometime Admiral at Sea for the French, and a Captain in his Party; and she was Mother of Henry Frederick: Never was any Funerall follow'd with so great a Sorrow, even almost to Desperation, of all sorts of People; there onely remained this comfort, that by inter-vesting with the Care of the Publick his Son Maurice, who then about 18 years of Age, follow'd his Studies at Leyden, with a fine Inclination to vertuous Principles, that so by a grateful Remembrance, they might, in some sort, gratifie the first Author and Parent of their Liberty: His Father had assigned to him, in the Division of his Inheritance, among other Possessions, the Town of Flushing, by its Scituation in-estimable, together with Faria, Towns in Zealand, bought of those who held the same by the Title of The Marquess of the Empire; and, by that Name, took a principal place there in the General Assembly of the States: Besides which, those two very Towns had gotten to themselves a Right of suffrage,

as well as *Middelburgh*, *Zwicker*, *Tergoes*, and *Thur*, their *Althou*, who in former days were wont to have the Vote, though by a Right, whose Original was almost lost.

And because the chief Government of all was sought from abroad, the particular Government of *Holland* was given to the young Prince of *Orange*, under the Count *Hohenlo*. A Dutch farmer for many Years chieftains, was Lieutenant or Deputy. But for the greater Honour of that Illustrious Family, whose *Countenraich* had won an esteem among *Barons*, was bestowed on *William* the Son of *John* of *Nassau*, whose Uncle had before him sent into those Parts, although there were some, who had rather have the Governing of *Oran*, being exceedingly covetous of Liberty, though not cunning to manage it, which soon made them run into errors, while taking to themselves the greatest charge of affairs: where the Judges meeting together, drawing Example, a Custom introduced under the *Disputable* policy; there the *Deputies* of the *States* of *Friesland*, newly styled as a *Publick Assembly*, according to the of *Orange's* Counsel, and their Neighbors Example, first, trust only to the strength of their Cities; the last on the Wealth of the Nobles, and all others who are of Land.

But Count *William* behaving himself with an immoderation, kindled the first *Insurrections* of those *some Dissenters*, which seemed to be most eager. And in mean time, was ready at all Affairs on the Borders, where the Enemy got nothing from him, but were rather hurt with his frequent *Excursions*, wasting and destroying *Countrys*. By this means, Opportunity was gotten to compose the begun *Differences*, either by *Arguments* or *liberty*; The *Deputies* of the *States* had time to seek the Execution of all things commanded to, or by their *Assembly*.

and to take care of the daily Affairs of the *Commonwealth*; the Judges were ordered to examine, after all other concerning Debate, about the Bounds of Lands, as they were wont under the *Burgundian Scepter* to do; and also with the Governor, to oversee the Elections of *Burgers*, and *Burgomasters*, that they might be such as were most free from factions, Parties, only *Deputies*, and *Princes* kept to themselves their Right of Free Choice. Those Towns, which long since were more than Villages, divided into three parts, *Ostergow*, *Westergow*, and the *Seven Woods*, had among them but one Voice. Now, by the War, their Use and Authority being lessened they had gotten the Third Part of the Authority, as was in the Sessions of the Judges, as in the New Assembly of *States Deputies*, not so much by the Repute of their Concord and Unanimity: for sometimes there would burst out bitter Feuds among them, especially in Arguments that related to the raising or imposing New Levies of Monies: in which Cases here the consent of the Major Part was of no value, as it was among other Nations their Neighbours; This surely was Custom, brought with much Prudence among them, in time of their Princes, and very dangerous to Liberty; unless it be allowed, that Prudence, and Love of the Publike, should succeed in the place of Claim and Interest; which makes me with the more admiration to behold, through the whole Series of the History of this War, and especially in these Times, the Valour and Courage of the *Hollanders*, whom neither the *Defections* of their *Confederates*, on every side, nor the multiplied *Tributes*, which, among such continual *Slaughter*s they raised were never able to defray, nor the Death of their Chief Support, their *Leader*, bow to desire a Peace; but rather confirmed, by the Attractive of his Name, to a strong Aversion from any Submission: But the Duke of Parma, (as if he had hitherto onely Warred with the Prince of *Antwerp*, whom now (he said) the Divine

Vengeance had met with, for having been the Author of the *Defection*, and breaking so many *Leagues*) advised them to *Repentance*, and consequently, to return to their old Duty of *Allegiance*: Which Offers, when he saw so constantly refused, and that any further Trials, in the like sort, would be in vain, intending to perfect the Siege he had begun at *Leuven*, he raiseth Forts and strong Holds all along the Ways and Passages of *Brabant*, and in some convenient places upon the Banks, to make the River overflow all the Parts adjacent.

Afterwards, departing from *Lilloe*, which he had some time in vain besieged, on a sudden he posts away with his Army towards *Duistend*, (this is that part of *Flanders*, for which the Earls thereof formerly owed no Service nor did Homage to either Kingdom) and drawing the Water from the Walls, he compelled them to Surrender, leaving some of his Army in Garrison, with the rest he marcheth the *Scheldt*; with part of whom, he endeavours to cut all *Communications* between *Brussels* and *Antwerp*, and with the other part takes *Vilvoorde*, which lyes between that and the River *Sinne*: The *Gantoys* too, because the *Holland* Forces were elsewhere employed, and they had no hopes of Assistance, prevent the imminent greatness of their Danger, by a sudden and forward Submission; and this, by the Counsel of the Lord *Campine*, who being Prisoner in that City, was set freely at Liberty, wisely undertook the Office of a *Messenger* on that behalf. But the Policy of *Richardot* is memorable; for he proposing *Articles of Surrender*, being about to repudiate difference of Religion, he would not seem to take any notice thereof, until he had so brought their Minds to the desire of *Peace*, that it was not safe to go back: And this was another *Devis*e of his; He had left some of the Citizens to the Duke of *Parma's* pleasure, to fulfill his *Revenge*; and it was of very great moment, for the Danger

being equal and alike to all, made every one seek, by all means, to save himself: Nor did *Parma* omit, as having knowledge of the former Actions, and provident to prevent the like in time to come, to build a Castle, that might bridle and keep under the unruliness of the City. And now all *Flanders* being Reduced under his Command, (save onely *Obud* and *Salays*, two Sea-Port Towns) he forwards the Increase of Provisions; and, to ease the Passage of all Souldiers coming thence, or going thither, he digged a deep Ditch to that part of the Bank, where he had pitched his Tents: Among all these things, those who had the Cäre of Government in *Antwerp*, implored the Aid of their *Allies*, (as now *Spain*, and raised Souldiers daily, both in *England*, and the *Netherlands*; and certainly, the Besieged had not Want of any thing; for, besides Sea-men, there were Fourcore full Companies of Foot, and Sixteen Troops of Horse, that defended *Brabant*. But the *Senators*, *Magistrates*, *Captains*, and other *Superiour Military Officers*, too great a Number to Rule well, distracted the unled Government of the City: And this Mischief was so much the more pernicious, in that the letting in of the Waters, and other things necessary to be done, for the publick Advantage, were hindered and gain-said, for fear (forsooth) of private Damage.

The *Neighbours*, who were not so nearly concerned in the danger of the City, looking one upon another, let slip the Opportunity of relieving the same, while yet the Enemy was unseated, and not warm in his Seat: When they were at the utmost pinch of Extremity, then too late they pleased to be prodigal, both of Wealth and Life, when it could not advantage any one: Truly, the vain Expectation of *Foreign Aid* did chiefly frustrate the Counsels of the *Neighbourlanders*, who were now driven to such a strait, that they would have subjected themselves to other Kingdoms, but could not be accepted.

The King of Spain's Forces were in a short time much increased, and if he should recover the *Netherlands*, he should be eased of the Toil and Charge of War, they would become Formidable to all near and about them: There was there now a Prince of *Aurage* to support them, fainting under the Burthen, or to erect and stir up the Courages, quite tyred out with Slaughters, unto a more better Times, by his own Prudence and Constancy of Mind. For, in truth, he was of so mild a Nature, and without popular, that he never seemed to be grateful enough to for his Liberty and Honour, nor would he hide Vices were fit to be spoken of: Above all things, he avoided Suspicion of *Cruelty*, for which most did esteem him Judiciously, many customarily, a person admirable, worthy the highest Honour and Respect, in regard of his Stock of Nobility and Experience. He being gone, Obedience vanished; so that it could not be restored, and out the main Pillar of *Foreign Aid* to support it: For the Common People did not only begin to condemn the Authority of the Lords, eminent by no powerful Refulgency, but lately decayed by so many unfortunate Actions; but the Soldiers also grew Refractory to Command, and had lost the wonted Diligence and Duty towards their Leaders. Now all which Mischances, a ready Way was opened to the *French* Subtily, to cover the Slavery he intended, under very specious Names. Wherefore, now Affairs being as it was utterly desperate, both the King of *France*, and the Queen of *England*, sent to them such as should not only come with them, for the Loss of the Prince of *Aurage*, their Captain; but should likewise comfort them, concerning the Sorrow and Mishap of their other Businesses: And this was Noble Argument, that the Neighbour Princes, though they would sometimes leave off to Aid the *Hollanders* with their Weakness and Constancy, yet they would not utterly forsake them in time of danger. But it was much disputed of the

which they should choose for their Defender, for the
 late Rule and Dominion of the *French*, was freshly remem-
 bered in *Italy*; and the Lordly domineering of the *English*, was
 not forgotten in *France*, and *Ireland* tasted thereof to this
 day.

Among these, the People being called to Counsel, they
 were very sparing in imposing and granting Subsidies, for there
 the Laws are of great force, and the Monarchical Power is
 unlimited: But with the *French*, all their Customs are
 corrupted for money, and he that desires to serve his Country,
 must buy the Employment at a great price: The *English* love
 liberty, and their Laws are very pinching upon words: yet
 no longer are evils taken care for, either to be prevented, or
 removed, but immediately, by little and little, the same is balk-
 ed by example: But the *English* Religion was the same with
 theirs, which in *France*, by cruel and perfidious dealings, was
 threatened to be torn in pieces, or utterly extinguished: yet
 on the contrary, there were some hopes from the Family of
Lorraine, that valiantly defended that Religion which they
 professed: but these were suddenly dashed, in the conside-
 ration of the ambiguity of succession there, among the pre-
 tenders whereto was the Queen of *Scots*, that was wholly
 devoted to *Rome* and *Spain*. Thus were present Affairs scan-
 ned, and the events of future danger rationally deliberated:
 The *French* prepared a great Power, almost equal to that of
 the Enemy, the *English* raised but small Forces, but they were
 for Sea-service: *France* is preferred, but by the voluntary
 persuasions of the *English*, who confessing themselves the
 weaker party, offered onely necessary ayd in extremity, and
 received their Pledges.

Thus the necessity of the times prevailed, to the forget-
 ting, or at least, the laying aside those old animosities, which
 had lately been brought freshly into memory by the Duke of
Alençon: And hence a great Secret was publickly discover-
 ed to the World, to wit, That the *Netherlanders* could be

subject to a Lord, but would not bow to the *Spaniards*. For the demands and particulars were by many degrees more moderate and reasonable; then those whereto *Francis* of *France* was formerly obliged; and whatsoever their Legates had private instructions, they quickly declared for fear of offence.

There were taken away also from those things, what their liberty seem hated, to wit, *That it might be lawful for the States to meet without the Kings Command; That the States should consist all of the Netherlanders; That the Generals and Magistrates should be chosen out of those that remained; and that in conferring and bestowing of all Honours great respect should be had to those of that Religion, which were then only received in all those parts.* But some of the *Provinces* would not consent to the obliterating of those things; And many tedious Disputes of these things, and longer Considerations than the necessity of Affairs would bear, at present, as less against the Kings will than the *Netherlanders*, it was agreed, that though they were not as then joyned against the *Spaniard* now approaching, yet they should by one another help, settle and confirm their Affairs and States.

King *Henry* seemed to receive a great deal of satisfaction from the honour they did him, and shewed himself very willing and forward to accept and use the same, but that he was hindered by intestine troubles: for *Philip*, fearing the diminution of his strength, had at this time chiefly by private gifts and Wealth, blown up into swelling hopes the Family of *Lorrain*, whose power had for a long time been envied by all *France*, who, having made a great Conspiracy, and boasting the defence of the *Roman Religion*, the punishment of *Hermicks*, and dissenters therefrom, the easing of Taxes and Tributes, and such like things as were taking with the common people, grew so much more insolent in their content of the King (who was surprized with fear) as he was willing by large concessions, to gratifie their unreasonable demands.

And afterwards, finding that his want of Children, his Brothers death, that his next Kinsman *Charles Bourbon*, was unfit, as well in regard of his Age, as his Priesthood, and the rest being excommunicate by the *Pope*, had made the Succession doubtful; at length, they openly declared, that he, to wit, the *Lorrainer* was sprung from the Royall Blood of *Charles*, whose Issue was put by; and the Kingly Seat wrongfully possessed by the off-spring of *Capet* for six Ages.

Henry pretending by his unwillingness to stir a hope of Peace, to the ambitions of these men, suffers himself a great while to be urged and provoked, untill the debates and quarrels breaking into open Rebellion, he too late learned, that presumption was not lessened, but rather made more heady, by being yielded unto. Therefore, the King troubled by these Impediments, would not consent to that pretence, as his Mother and the King of *Navarre* had appointed, but as it were, minding onely his benefit and advantage, and that by stopping up all the passages of *France*, he might bring his Enemies into a mean and low condition.

The Fifth Book of the Dutch ANNALS

After the losse of so long time, which would have been of great advantage, and the damage received by this delay from *France*, they come again to *Queen Elizabeth*, being much incensed, that she should be put on but in the second place, which might be some cause of their late answer; for so long were the Articles of the League there agreeing upon, that some strong Cities, for want of timely

timely assistance, revolted from the *Commonwealth*: And yet for all this Hostility and subtle devices of the *Spaniards*, Ships are laden from *Holland* and *Zeland*, with Provisions which, as the Wind would suffer, were carryed up the Scheldt to the Town of *Antwerp*, in such plenty, that by an unreasonable frugality of the *Magistrates*, while they abated the prices of necessary Commodities, it was reported, that there was Corn enough to have sufficed for a very long time. The Duke of *Parma*, being weaker than the besieged, was not able, nor hoped to get the Victory, but by Famine, to hinder them of this Relief; whereas the great breadth of the River below the City, where it opens its mouth into the Sea, and the ebbing and flowing of the Tide, which is caused thereby by the Ocean, terrified him from making any attempt thereupon, to hinder the Ships: yet because, it seemed to be the main Reason of the Siege, he resolved to use all possible diligence, and in something to rely upon his Fortune, which he had not yet found averse to him: For while Nature was believed to be repugnant to the design of the Siege, the *Netherlanders* neglected many opportunities of breaking down Works made up against them; and thus it becomes most easie, while it is esteemed most difficult. By making great Dams that extended from each Bank, far into the water, the River was straitned, and the passage thereof grew very narrow between *Ordun* and *Calson*: the middle of it was filled with Boats, which were made fast one to another with Anchors, Cables, and the like, and so being covered over, had the resemblance, and served by use as a Bridge: Besides, on the Banks were raised Forts and Platforms, and for defence of the Work, Ships of Warre. Above and below it in the River, were many pieces of Timber pinned together with stakes standing upright, that if any thing should be offered for the breaking or spoiling the Work, it might be hindered by those obstacles that lay in the way to the same purpose.

It is not to be doubted, but many Inventions might have been found, wherewith this imperfect Work might very advantageously have been dampnified, if the endeavours of such as were *Engineers*, and practised the overthrowing of the *Polick* Inventions, had equalled the diligence of the *Netherlanders*.

But all this whole Winter, the Duke of *Burma* was not disturbed; and the *Spaniards* intending to stir up his diligence and Obligation to him, by some fresh benefit, delivered up to him the Castle of *Placencia*, which hitherto had been held by a Garrison of *Spaniards*.

Truly, a man at first would rather stand amazed at so stupendous Work, than hope to remove it, or beat it down, in regard those thick and strongly compact Damns and Engines on either Bank hindered any access: And the Ship filled with Gunpowder and Stones, and other Experiments used too late, partly by the incertainty of the times and significations wherewith the Besieged gave notice to their *Asses* of their Condition, and partly, by the evill management of those employed, lost the success of what they were designed for.

Nothing more remained now that the *Schelde* was thus bridged, but that they might bring Provisions over the Fields, which the River had overflowed, which Navigation was hindered by the *Caudesine Causey*, which the Enemy got first, and secured by strong Holds and Forts, which the *Netherlanders* ought to have done; because it passed through (and was a little raised higher than) all the watry Meadows and Pastures of *Brabant*. This place was assaulted not onely by the *Hanovers*, but by those also of *Zeland*; and with that Courage, that now they had won it; but while they were thus valiantly fighting, they were cut off by the Guns, at a great distance, and so spoiled with shot, that they were glad at last again to quit the place.

By

By this unhappy event, the last of their hopes were ended, and at length, the City accustomed to Trading plenty, when they saw all their Relief intercepted, beginning to endure the Straights of Famine in the want of Bread when a little before the like necessity, and some Soldiers sent out to disturb them, had reduced *Bruxells* and *Mons* surrendered it self into the Duke of *Parma's* hands; which case was something the harder, because by the abrogation of their Laws, the King had brought them as it were into Subjection: Therefore when nothing now could be looked for *Aid* but extremity, behold it redeemed from that, by *Conquerors* Clemency, who being of himself covetous to be Renowned, and that he might by the example of mercy shewed here, allure other places to more easie submissions, and toleration to many things; only this one he excepted, that they who for the last four years had gone astray from *Roman* Religion, should, having convenient time to settle their domestick Affairs, be commanded to depart the Country. And soon after, the Duke of *Parma*, as a reward of his Victory, was by the Kings Command, received into the Order of the Golden Fleece, and then put on the Cognizance thereof upon that very Bridge, which he had made, and was a work worthy of remembrance in after Ages; and in a little time following, he rebuilds and fortifies the Fort or Castle, which over-looks the City, and had formerly in the quest of Liberty been demolished.

This so renowned City, added as well much Honour and Strength to the *Spaniards* in these parts; but yet not so much, as many thought, who imagined she would carry the greatest matters of concernment with her. Which was so disproved by the Event, that the *Hollanders*, who had taken extraordinary pains, and been at great charge for relief of the City, yet could not escape free from the slander, or at least the suspicion of having betrayed the Faith of their confederates.

Others Alliance, as if they should get advantage, by the mischiefs which others should receive, and

But on the contrary, they layd the fault upon the Lord of *Aldegund*, (for he was Governour of the City) who returned to *Zeland*, whom he had suffered but the first invasion and guards of the Assailers, yet afterwards worthily esteemed, since never employed in any part of the *Commonwealth*; for his disposition being more fit for Peace than War, he, with- out his old Age within the compass of private Solitudes, and the tranquillity of retired Studies. And the Valour of the Souldiers, by so many evils, was quite worn out; for they, when yet there was hope of removing the Enemy from *Amoy*, having under the Leading of Count *Hohenlo*, hap- pened at *Boulogne*, yet forthwith, through fear and folly, lay Red, while they fall upon the Pray, neither minding the Enemy, nor the receiving the Port. But the *Romanists*, aided by the fortune of their party, brought into the Con- querors hand, *Nieuwogen*, a City of *Gualderland*, with the Town of *Densburgh*: and filled all these parts round about with slaughters, which happen'd either through the Captains rashness, or the Souldiers carelessness.

In all which things, nothing more augmented the publick sorrow, than those miserable People of *Brabant* and *Flanders*, banished for Religion, or because they durst not trust to the Articles granted, having such malicious Interpreters thereof, and in brief, for want of Trade, or means to get a Living, scattered over *Holland* and the Isles, who yet increased the Cities and Forces exhausted by War, into a greater number, which shortly proved a great *Omen* of their future good fortune.

In this interim, scarce did the longing Expectation of the League, concluded with *England*, keep up their Hearts: We have already related to you, the Offer of their Govern- ment, made to Queen *Elizabeth*: But that prudent Lady listened

shifted on the Bury of that Dominion, so craftily obtained. Not would she, in that ambiguous Estate of Affairs, loose and wrap up both her Fame and Fortunes in a strict Confederacy and Alliance: It was conceived more agreeable both to Wisdom and Policy, to have some strong Holds in *Netherland* set apart for Her, wherein to settle some different strength of Men, and also to send again some Ships the Coasts of *America*, there to intercept the *Spaniards*, weary fighting, till he should be willing to incline to Peace, to remove his *Armes* so long complained of, and consequently gainst.

But She promised them some Aid, protecting in Writing in a Publick Declaration, *She did it meritoriously of a State Right, by which she was put in Mind of that Custom of France to defend the Oppressed*: and remembered therein, the *Antient Contracts*, and *Leagues of Friendship*, between the *Dutch* and *English*: with some short Hints of *Spanish Extravagance*. Religion also was made mention of: the Security whereof commended to her Care. She had made good both in the Concerns of *France* and *Scotland*, without any desire of what did not belong to Her. The concluded *Articles of the Peace* were for the most part the same, by which the first Alliance had been settled: and that Five Thousand Foot, and a Thousand Horse, should be sent to fight for the *Netherlanders*, to be paid by the Queen: That the *Embassador*, who should be Commander in Chief of these Forces, with two or three *English-men*, should be received into the *Senate*, and be present in all Councils, relating either to the War, or other publick Matters of State: That the *Netherlanders* should send a *Plato* of equal Number with the *Queens*, and to joyn with them: And that for the re-imbursing of the Charges, at the end of the War, the Sea-Port Towns of the *Briel* and *Flushing*, (of whose Government nothing was to be changed) together with the Castle of *Zeburch* in *Walcheren*, were divided into the Custody of *English Garrisons*, as *Pledges*; not with

but fear, for the future, though their present necessity made them call it aside.

Of this *Auxiliary Army* sent to the Dutch, Robert Earl of Leinster was made *General*, a great Pretender to *Virtue*, and amidst the unhappy and hated Spirit of the Family of the *Burges* (whereof he was a Branch) with an acceptable and courteous Behaviour. The Original of the Greatness of his Fortune, began first in a *Prison* (for the Greatness of his Sack, had not exempted him from Troubles) wherein the Lady *Elizabeth* was then also confined, by the Suspicion of her Sister *Queen Mary*. In this place he gave great *Relief* to the young Lady, though not in regard of the condition of her Affairs at that time: From whence, by obsequiousness, and partaking of Misfortune, a commiseration and loving kind of pity arose; wherewith she behaved her self with such a Womanly Indulgence, yet so that he might not forget his more Manlike Care, that his Mind was so elevated into a flattered Conceit of himself, as he imagined she would chuse him for her Husband, being *Queen*; which though he could never obtain, by the Emulation of those who loved him not, yet was he raised even to the highest Pitch of Honour; and though surrounded with Envy, yet amongst the most powerful of his Enemies, he passed without Affront or Molestation. When he first came among the *Netherlanders*, he was followed by the Love and Affection of the People, and courted with the Flattery of the Great Men; for there was a certain pleasant and winning Majesty, both in his Countenance, and Speech; and he was really looked upon as the only *Restorer* of their lost and decayed Fortune. He used an excellent Freedom and Liberality, both in his Letters and *Martiall Acts*; wherewith the *Netherlanders* were so taken, that in all haste, to this person, though a Forraigner, and among his own people, not altogether esteemed a *Virtuoso*, before any tryall of his disposition, the Government of the whole *Netherlands*, as it was in the times of

of the Emperour *Charles*, together with the whole Command both at Sea and Land, and the ordering and disposing of publicke moneys was committed; The *Senate* also were addicted to him, that they suffered him alone to choose Affairs out of those named; and in some manner, he alone disposed the votes and suffrages of them all. But his overzeal in matters of Religion, was the great inducement of beginning his Government with the settlement thereof: And yet fresh hatred of *Valois* for the contrary, made him the more beloved. And there were some, who preferred him before the *Prince of Anrangs*, hoping he would not exert much, in regard the way now to seek their right, was become shorter, in regard of their own Wealth, and the powerful friendship of so excellent a *Prince*.

But these two great Honours, some judged to be bestowed on him, to satistie his ambition; but the more simply honest, only looked at them, as done with intent only to oblige the *Queen* further to them; but it fell out otherwise, for she urged them to excuse her, seeming as if she were afraid that they would unawares in the person of the Earl of *Leicester*, throw upon her the Government, which she had before refused. But probably she had, as knowing his disposition, some higher suspicion of him. Presently, that abundant evil of all power and greatness, flatterers inrolled into his Bosom; by whose insinuations, and his own ambition (as there is nothing more naturall to a man) being enayed, when he was desired by the *States*, to take the accustomed Oath in Solemn manner, and to receive the Ensigns of the *Commonwealth*; he turns their favours against them, and, as he were, going into a *Province*, he enters into Consultation with divers, but chiefly *Englishmen*, how, and by what means he might compass the Sovereignty.

It is here to be understood, that there is very great difference between the Natures and Dispositions, manners and Customs of those two Nations; for the *English*, as they serve
saith

indulently, so when they are raised to Honour, they recompence their former humility with much insolence and pride. But the *Netherlanders* obey and command in one equall degree, no Nation having men of Eminency in greater esteem, nor caring, with a more implacable malice, those who they had condemn them. Which *Leicester* not considering, and not acquainted with the Authority wherewith he was trusted, not taking notice of those who trusted him with it, began to sling off all thoughts of respecting, and to grow obstinate in his Opinion (such was his Confidence in the *English* Soldier, and his present *Grandeur*.) And this was so much the more dangerous, because he himself knew nothing of the languages of the *Belgick* Affairs of State, nor would hearken to such as had some insight therein. Nay, the *Netherlanders* themselves some of them took his part, but they were onely either such whose Estates at home being wasted by their own ill Husbandry, or the Wars cruelty, whatsoever slavery they fell into, chose it rather than poverty, the greatest mischief of all, or else, who in the Country taken from them, having been bred in Honour, were now impatient to lead a private life, and saw no other way than this, again to rise by the rest meerly lovers of novelty, for no reason, but because it is new, to whom, in brief, as it always happens in like cases of Sedition, all the loose and villainous persons joyned themselves.

With such a Company was the *President* of the *Netherlands* followed; and first, they began to cast out oblique scandals against the *States*, which if they saw received with greedy ears, then presently they fell to more open railings, accusing all of the faults, which it may be, some few were guilty of, as if all things had been known and understood by this over-busie multitude, that conduced to their good.

They advised him also to a too hasty and over-weening hope of the Dictatorship, after the Example of the Prince of *Aurange*, and he credulous of every thing, as having his

Judgment weakened by long felicity, and not well discerning how great a difference there was in obtaining the favour of a Woman, and seeking the Sovereignty over a free People. But the vulgar being incited against the *States*, who generally of their own accord, hate the *Governours* under whom they suffer any thing; He undertakes the defence of the Treaty, a very popular matter, when yet in the managing thereof, was as true, that the Earl of *Leicesters* Servants wanted not Policy, as well as himself quickness of understanding and valour in fight. Nor resteth he here, but presently offends almost all the People, by an *Edit*, wherein he not only did forbid Commerce and Dealing with the conquered *Belgick Provinces*, and the *Spartards*, which had hitherto been tolerated, but also upon some Emergencies of Affairs and times: also would not suffer any Merchandizes to be carried or transported into *France*, or the Sea-port Towns of *Germany*, pretending, that he could conquer and distress the Enemy, by a want of Commodities, if he should not be furnished out of *Britain* or the *Netherlands*; but never at all weighing, that there are many kinds of Merchandizes and Commodities whereof the Enemy had no need, and yet the *Hollanders* abounded with the same.

Wiser Heads believed, that he gave way to the covetousness of Sycophants about him, who had already in their minds, anticipated the power that he had reserved of selling Licences, and swallow the gain that should arise from the licence for exportation; and their belief was very much increased, when *Ringaltius*, formerly imployed as *Treasurer* or *Receiver*, both under *Alva* and *Requesens*, and afterwards for cheating the *Exchequer*, but then very high in the Earl of *Leicesters* favour, had Authority given him by an *Edit*, to inquire into the *Letters* and *Journalls* of *Merchants* contrary to the ancient Laws, which looked upon this as a main part of their liberty, that there should be no search of, or inspection into, any mens private Affairs.

There

Therefore, when other of the *Provinces*, that were altogether unconcerned in the *War*, could not be bound from putting to Sea and *Commerce* with the Enemy, this way of Gain and Livelyhood being onely taken away from, or debarred to the *Hollanders*, by which onely hitherto they had been able to carry on all their Affairs; their greatest and best *Merchants*, especially considering their number, went away from their *Homes* to *Forreign Countries* and *Cities*. For the *English* took more loss of Trade more patiently, because a *Nation* more given to *Depredation*; and then going to Sea, under the specious pretext of *War*, assailed and made *Incurfions* and *Rodes* upon the *Spanish Ships*, and other places whatsoever under their *Obedience*: Nor did they spare the very *Hollanders* themselves, if some by chance at any time were set forth under *foreign Owners*, and endeavoured to go towards the *Western Parts* of the *World* by those Seas. From whence it was found afterward, that although they could escape all the mischief for them by *Pirates*; in that vast and scarcely frequented Sea, they should be brought back to the Island of *Britain*: Nor were *Commodities* at Home onely of small value; but those things which were wont to be fetched from far *Countries*, by this forbidden *Exportation*, became of no esteem, in such sort, that the *States* could find no other *Remedy* for this great Mischief, than by a publike *Decree* to lay a *Restraint* upon all *Corn*: By which means, those who had been the main *Promoters* of this hitherto unknown Necessity, and who construed all things in the worst Sense, began maliciously to alleadge, That the aim hereof was to bring a *Dearth* upon *England*. A like *Project* was this: The Earl of *Leicester* was of Opinion, and so determined, that the *Enemies Lands*, though they paid *Contribution*, should be laid waste and desart: This besides the fear of *Revenge*, was very grievous to all; who, though at present, by Force or Treachery, driven from their Native Soil, yet, at some time or other, hoped to return thither again. The Souldiery also began to Mutiny, because

English Captains were put in Command of Companies of Souldiers from *Farrign* Places: But *Hulunda* coming to ther, who hastned those that before hinged upon the *Earl of Leicester's* words: He undertook the Cause, and would suffer a mixture of Officers, but would that each should have the Reward of their Arms and Valour: And neither terrified with the Hatred, either of that *People*, or their *Leaders*; it was not to be corrupted with the greatest *Promis*, he openly took the part of the *Noble-men*, in a generous and heartedness, having Diffimulation; and in a vehemency of spirit, not caring to conceal any thing.

The Cause of the War now beginning afresh to break did; in some measure, lay asleep this new arising *Dispute*. For the Duke of *Parma* having, during the *Winter*, had several small Skirmishes, and several Castles about the *Rhin* taken on both sides; and now, upon the News of the *League* between the *English* and *Hollanders*, Retained from the King both with Men and Money, that he might perfect his Conquest of *Brabant*, besiegeth *Grave*, a Town situated on the Bank, on the left side of the *Muse*, and surrounded the River both above and below; which he often before had and now again experimented, to be fortunate to him in stopping up the Passages, and hindring Dealing. But Count *Hulunda*, sent with a select Party of Souldiers, brake through the Enemies Trenches, and did them great Damage; and not only so, but helped with the vernal increase of the River, relieved the Town, that he deliver'd the Besieged, and from the fear of Famine, as all other wants whatsoever.

But the Enemy nevertheless, with a greater Army, continually continued their Siege and Assaults of the Town, especially one general Storm was intended; which, the Army being upon the point to fall on, *H. merita*, a Dutchman of Noble Blood (and left there Governor by *Holland*) appeared, by an over-hasty and cowardly Surrender, when new Supplies were ready just at hand to relieve him: So

ced and won thereto; as was believed; by the Inticements of a *Hostage*; for the Expiation of which Crime, the Earl of *Leicester* soon after put him to death. They who were Imperial; called this *Discipline*; but others impured it to his Heredof the *Dutch* in general; because *Rensselaer* *Tork* having a hand heretofore in the mischievous Councils of *Imbul*, and many other *English*, of no better Repaire in any thing, at leastwise guilty of *Conardise*, not amply came off (sic) but were looked upon as fit to be admitted into the great Trusts: *Witelo*, a Town near to *Gelderland*, and *Sci* on the other Bank, followed *Grave*, the Common People betraying it, in spight of all the Souldiers Endeavours. In the *beginning*, those loose Bands wasted the *Esse* *Country*, and Prince *Maurice*, for his first Assay, won *Axell* by Assault, which going from *Tornay* (this strong Town the United *States* held in the Coasts of *Flanders*) he got by Night, getting the *citizens* with Ladders.

On the War, in the *Bishoprick* of *Colen*, whereof something was spoken before grew very hot, not so much by the greatness of the Forces as the expert Valour of the Captains: For *Colon* Colonel *Schneck* had left the Duke of *Parma's* Service, and was gone over to *Truxim*; this man won and got *For* *every* where, and destroyed with Fire and Sword whatever was subject to the Command of the Bishop thereof: Afterwards, by the Command of the Earl of *Leicester*, he Fortified the Isle called *Gravenard*, which lyes upon the left hand of *Holland*, just at the dividing of the *Rhine*, and now that is the best Defence of all those *Quarters* under that Government: But the Count *Nicarim*, who was Commander in Chief in those Parts, took by surprize, and on a suddain, *Muse*, a Town famous for its *Antiquity*; for which the Duke of *Parma*, intreated by the *Bavarian*, and ambitious to contend in Honour with the most Fortunate Captains, did contend: For this place repressed and altered the (before that) unhappy Fortune of *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*: But *Par*

more Fortunately Assaulted the same, and obtained a glorious Victory; his Entrance into the City being gratulated with Multitudes of Bon-fires: Anon, after this, *Alphen*, *Croisicq*, and *Marsa*, being taken into his Possession, he makes a stop at *Bergen*, defended by *Schneck* beyond hope, and at length was forced to march off, upon the Earl of *Leicester's* Approach to *Zurphen*, after the taking of *Drenth*. But yet it seemed to him a piece of little less than Cowardice to stop up the Passages, and Fortifie his Camp: No, the Noble Enemy rather he returned, bringing with him all his Provision, by this means giving occasion of a Battel; which in its Issue, proved fortunate enough to the English, had not been sullied by the Death of Sir *Philip Sydney*, a young Gentleman, born with the greatest Advantage of all things, who had honoured the Nobility of his Birth, and increased his Wealth, by the true Splendor of all Beautifying Learning, in this excelling his Uncle the Earl of *Leicester*, to whom, and his Fortune, how great soever it might come to be in the future, he was intended Successour. Not long after this, *Leicester* got a Castle over against *Zurphen*, on the other side the River, which was begun by the *Netherlanders*; who, being forced thence by the increase and overflowing of the River, left it to be finished by the Enemy. The Charge of it, with all the Land of *Helan*, was given by the Earl of *Leicester* to *Roland Turk* before-named; the Government of *Drenth*, which he had before provoked to Madness, by a Garrison of Irish Soldiers, it angers both to Humanity and Civility, upon Suspicion of Revolt, he committed to *William Stanley*; and both these were done against the positive Will of the State, who, for divers weighty Reasons, best known to themselves, and, as the Event proved, feared the Treachery of these Men.

I would not be taken here to accuse the Earl of *Leicester* of any unfaithfulness; but onely will note, that although it were very stern to others, he was easie to Flatterers, and so

that, and would give too much credit to pretended Friendships, without any Trial. Nor were these the only men to be found fault with about him; there were others very intimate with him, and privy to all his Counsels, whose Factioned Designs were soon discover'd. Among whom, *Ringaltius*, once eminent in the Guilt of the Conspiracy, refused all the *Trials of Judges*; until at last, as a *Renegado* and a *Traitor*, he ended his infamous Life among the Enemies, in a miserable poor condition: Wherefore, now innumerable Complaints, as it were all at once, were made to the *General*, returning from the War, to wit, That *Warre* and *Garrison* being not possible to be Governed, without the Injury of the Citizens, against this, such should be put into Command as the People were pleas'd with: And there was added, That the Office and Dignity of *Treasurer*, or *Receiver General*, was given to *Strangers*, by whom it was deceitfully managed; That the Price and Value of Money was unsetled, and the *Souldiers* and other *Charges* of the *Common-wealth*, were not compar'd with the *Treasury*; That the Commands of the Sea was betrayed, by the exhausting the *Navall Revenues*; That *Trading* and all *Commerce* decayed; That *Honours* were bestow'd on those, who in no wise merited them; That the *Authority* of all inferior *Lieutenancies* was destroyed by him; and their Right, so many years maintained, ceas'd and swallow'd up in *Garrisons*: Nor was it pass'd in Silence, that the *Souldiers* at that time hired, did not come, (concerning which, there was a Suspicion, that the *English* had been the cause thereof; as willing rather, that their own Forces and proper strength should be brought in) in regard the Numbers of them were small, when the Covetousness of the *Commanders* or *Paymasters* had exhausted the *Auxiliary Numbers*; so much, that they were necessitated to give way to the *Enemy*, not being able to withstand his *Victories*.

These things were thus related, by Direction of the *States* then *Confederate*, who, from that time, began to Assemble, and meet

meet more frequently than formerly, that those Things might be Transacted without the *Senate*, which should keep in the *Guilty Consciences* of the *English*, as *Hollanders*; and privately complaining of many Things, both in relation to themselves, and to Prince *Maurice*, they took into their Cognizance and Care most ordinary Matters.

This the *Earl of Leicester* took very ill; that Men from *Shops and Taverns*, should come to make a *Judiciary*, and could bring nothing thither with them, but sordid and channick Arts, and Minds prostituted to Lucre and Gain; and that he, a Man of that Birth and Quality, should receive Laws from the Ignorant, and despicable Vulgar, and sit under the Banner and Command of Strangers. Much was hereat, he thought it would be a Work well worth his pain, if he could possibly, to remove such Clowns from the *State Government*; for there is nothing more hateful to *Nobles* than the Dominion of *Peasants*, being generally sharp Oppressors of Oppressors: And this he thought might the more easily be brought to pass, because *Strangers*, and the multitude of *Citizens*, (which is far the greater) having no share in the *Government*, (as was supposed) would gladly hearken to the Equality.

But I revolving in my Mind the worthy *Precepts* of wise men, and ancient Forms of Cities, do rather think, that as many as would exclude that part of the People from Honours, for whose common Utility, the advantage of all things chiefly redounds, do conceit Matters of that difficulty, as are better to be walked after in Discourse, than Practice: For, nor to speak of Nations, Bordering upon the Sea, amongst whom the Commons had the Superiority, the *Spartans Democracy*, as being free from Flattery, equalled almost the greatest Kingdoms: Nor had *Rome* any peaceable or settled Government, untill the Commons were admitted to have a share therein.

And, at this day, in many most flourishing Cities, where the Government is Aristocratical, the Underlings of the Senate, in the Name of the Common People, exercise all Offices; Neither is this Order forbidden in that Commonwealth, who is indebted to the Water for all it hath; and, by the Dignity of Trades and Merchandizing, grown much greater than of old, so that the whole World hath participated of her *Navy*: And all the Wealth is almost in their Hands, whereof an Account is exacted, where Honours are to be bestowed, according to the Judgment of Ancient and severe Legislators. And surely, *Covetousness* and *Wastefulness*, are no where less to be suspected, than where the Dominion is not perpetual, and as it were limited within Bounds.

But the Earl of Leicester, prepared to alter both these, and other long-continued Practices; not so much in a ridiculous Affectation of Novelty, but that by separating the Nobility, and others, for Wisdom eminent, from the rest, he might draw them into Parties. And first he took to him as Chaplains, some *Interpreters of Scripture*, (for in this Age they alone carry the Heart and Affection of the Multitude) such as were eminent for their outward Profession of Zeal, and distinguished from others: For, at first, in the Commonwealth, Religion being less esteemed than was fit, was reported to be the only cause of the Troubles; and things more earnestly longed for, because forbidden, upon pain of punishment, became neglected, when they might be used with Impunity: *Reverence* to Things Sacred, was, to all that shewed it, dangerous: No Honour was given to Priesthood; nay, there were, who would not allow any Right of Ecclesiasticall Censures, but would utterly abrogate it; and all this, when they remembered with Canker'd Hearts, and imbrued Minds, the Lordlyness of Priests formerly; and so, in a venomous Malice to Old Things, they made all Things New. But Leicester, on the contrary, by his Example, shewing to them Authority, and other Advantages of England, which they should enjoy;

enjoy, first won the Applause of his *Preachers*; and by then gained the Affections of the People: committing and settling many Affairs of the *Commonwealth* not to the *Magistrats*, but to those who were in some way or other conversant with things *Divine*, or else concerned among the *Plebeians*; who, though willing, yet could never attain to right use and knowledge of things. And now many whose Counsels had been sound and faithful to their Country, were openly put back from their Honours, because they agreed with the Church of *Rome*, either in all Points, or at least in some; little regarding, how this matter would disturb the *Peace*, if once were published abroad. That they had received such a Religion, which would admit of no Comparisons in the *Commonwealth*, except of the same Gang. This had not long continued, but among the *Frisians*, and in *Niracht*, where the Inhabitants had taken away the power from the *Magistrats* to themselves; and, in other Cities, which had formerly been Tumultuous, and ruled by the too great strength of the Multitude, the Name of the *States* began to be murmured at, and he ceyed up for the onely Vindicator of Religion, the onely *Conqueror* of their *Enemies*, and punisher of intestine Ambition and Covetousness. Moreover, he placed *English* Soldiers in Forts, Islands, in or near the Sea, and other Bordering Parts: Neither had he less Confidence in *Sonajus*, who, for some famous Actions, having merited the Government of *West-Friesland*, under the Prince of *Aurange*, now hoped to confirm the same to himself, by the Favour of *Leicester*, and that he should attain the Command next under his Greatness, and so to tear this Province, and some other *Garrisons*, from the greedy Dominion of *Holland*, and the Charge and Care of Prince *Maurice*, who bridled, and hid in a Resolved Silence, the greatness of his vertuous Disposition, when at the same time he was solicited, to perpetrate most false Crimes, and that under the Vizor of Friendship. Thus prepared, the Earl of *Leicester* having prefer'd many out of his

own Number, and the *Placians* every where were in doubt of Discords, the greater part of them would follow him, he believed now he had not much to do to possess himself of his desired Dominion; especially, if he continued in the Queens Favour still as formerly. Wherefore, lest he might by too long absence, give Opportunity to his Enemies, as knowing the nearest Intrigues of that Court, he goes home. The Reason whereof pretended to the *States* was, that he was called thence to the Council of *England*, where he would not forget to help forward the *Belgick Affairs*: But the *Commons* were otherwise informed; for to them he pretended the Indignities offer'd him by the *States*, were the cause of his departure, threatening never to return, unless the Face of Affairs were new moulded: And this, together with some Letters scatter'd among the people, enraged many; the matters therein contained setting forth either the bitterness of the *States*, or else *Leicester's* Merits, and affectionate Endeavours for the people's good. A Rumour also being spread, that the Queen would not refuse the Dominion and Sovereignty of the *Netherlands*, unless she, frighted from it by the Experiment of the first Confederacy, and innumerable *Laws, Articles, and Covenants*; whereby even the justest Government was eluded, and came to nothing. By these means, it came to such pass, that at *Utrecht* the New Magistrates, and in *Friesland* the private persons, in the name of the Publique, took the Confidence to send to the Queen Deputies, who should not so much offer as receive from her the Conditions and Form of a Principality: But she absolutely refused them, though the *Parliament of England* then sitting, promised, *If she pleased*, to give some Aids of Money on that behalf: Yet for all this, she could not escape the Suspicions of some, that she had rather have received this Honour from the Seditions and Tumults of the *Souldiers and People*, than from the free Consent wherewith it was publickly offered, and by her refused.

The Earl of *Lincoln* now departing, left to the *States* the care of the *Commonwealth*, but not long after, a Writing was produced, wherein he had reserved to himself the Command of all *Garrisons*, and other chief points relating to the *Government*. Hereupon, some were sent into *England*, who should complain of their late form of dominion, and that any sudden stir or commotions should happen, there was no present power to remedy the same. But they stayed 1587. in *England* a long time, in regard of some private troubles, wherein that Kingdom was involved. The Queen of *Scotland*, being driven out of her Kingdom by her Subjects, fled to the protection of Queen *Elizabeth*, as a Suppliant, being related to her, by a near consanguinity, beside the allyance of Honour, as her Sister Queen; Thus she being puffed up with great swelling, to her of the *Rossists*, and believed, or at least imagined to have conceived a hope, not only of regaining her former fortune, but that there was a private kind of danger that threatened the Queen herself from her, by her laying claim to the Crown; first she was committed into strong Custody, but there, the fear and danger of her yet continuing, she was at last put to death. In this mean while, among the *Hollanders*, were bloody tumults, and as either party provided, so were bonds and punishments inflicted: But where *William Stanley* delivered *Dumfries*, and *Roland York*, the Fort opposite to *Zurich*, to *Trevi* a Spaniard, who accepted of the Treachery, but disdained the persons, though both very intimate with the Earl of *Lincoln*; then many of the common people extolled the wisdom of the *States*, and highly condemned their Treachery.

But there were some *Englishmen*, who to take away the Infamy of their Nation, said it was done by the Command of their *Superiors*. Yet there was one *Allen*, afterwards a *Cardinal*, who though an *Englishman*, in a Book concerning the same set out, would seem to defend the villany, by the presence

science of Religion; which notwithstanding his defence, remained still as it was, a most perfidious Treachery; and wickier Example, no less scandalous to it self, than fatal to the *honour* of it. For after falling out between themselves, it was said, that *York*, a Man of an undaunted boldness to do any thing, was paysoned, and that *Stanh*, being removed from *Devonry*, went into *Spain*, with his Company which he carried with him, his Pay being taken away and gone. Nor did he find the Rewards he hoped for there; no one doing, or at least willing to lay any Confidence on him.

But the *Confederate States*, taking in their own behalf, the voluntary submission of the People, as well as of the *Southern*, that the Calamity wherein the *Common-wealth* was involved, though for the present great, might be turned to good; they incited Prince *Maurice* to the affections of his Father, and now in the absence of the chief *Governor*, they give him the whole Command of the War. Besides, they required both the *Governors* of *Provinces*, and the *Soldiers*, to take an Oath to the *States*, which hitherto had been neglected, but was by the *Traitors*, and all other seditious persons, that they might thereby the better conceal their crimes, and by the more ignorant, interpreted to the Honour of the *Est of Linister*, as if it had been the Oath to the *Queen*.

This done, the *Edict* against Exportations was reviewed, and moderated; so that to the peaceable *Provinces*, all things but only necessities for War, might be carried. And to *Provinces*, in Hostility with them, and the places bordering thereupon, they might export any thing, but Materials for War and Corn. And this Law was afterward, according to the necessity of the times required, oftentimes enlarged and contracted.

At this time, many things were done in the *Netherlands*, with much variety and charge of Fortune; for the *Provinces*

of *Brabant* and *Plauders*; by the smallness of Trade, little converse, and the perpetual lying waste of their Fields, being quite exhausted, suffered extreme penury; those men which of late had good Estates, and a sufficiency of Wealth, being reduced to the meanest beggery, ready to starve for want; yet this fear, and the Royalists Forces lying round about them, were hardly able to restrain the People from reveling. On the other side, you might see the Towns of *Holland*, enlarging themselves within their forbidden bounds, and without and in the Sea-Ships lye up and down on every Coast. And really, I think this almost to be the only Nation which but thriven by Trading and Commerce, more in the War, than it could have done in time of Peace, and therefore to be accounted most fortunate, if the beginnings its of greatness had not been held back, and wasted by civil discords (while they had also a powerful Enemy within their bowels) the usual end of old *States*, and decaying Fortunes.

Altipen, a Captain of the Spanish Party, after he had drawn over the Town of *Geldres*, whence the whole Province of *Gelderland* takes its name, with the Governour thereof, by *Cremants*, was slain at *Boiledue*, by Count *Hobenslo*: he left him a Castle to take near the Town, which from that slaughter committed there, took the name of *Crevicour*. But the Duke of *Parma*, with a violent, and almost incredible force of Guns, and other Warlike Engines, mightily weakened and damaged *Sluys*, a Town by him then besieged, in the furthest Coast of *Flanders* by the Sea-side, that fronts *Zeland*, an Isle, called *Catzen*, lying on the back thereof. Which when the Earl of *Leicester* understood, returning without any delay, he resolves but in vain to break into the Haven; but when his mind was altered, going to *Ostend*, because of the Enemy, he pitched his Tents, and fame increasing the number of his Army (whose bigness was not yet known) it appeared at last, that each of them had been afraid of the others Forces more than they needed: The Earl of *Leicester* march-

pitching away first, imputed the losse of the Town, which was very ill received by all, not to the Enemies valour, nor the endeavours of their party, yet not well agreeing, in regard of suspicions: for now his whole study was anew to prosecute and revive the long covered, and almost forgotten dissensions, and to lay the fault upon the States.

To this purpose, he gives out, that when he went about to repell and drive away the Enemy, that both Souldiers, Money, and all things else were afforded him with evill will; and what at last they sent, was hardly enough for Garrisons, and Forts, not proportionable in any respect for an Army: And if their poverty was such they could afford no more, why did they still involve the Common-wealth in such a desperate Case, to the mischiefs of an unhappy and lingering Warre? for now the *Spaniard* began to use his accustomed Policies after Victory, and the Queen her self seemed to incline to Peace: although a Fleet sent out under the Conduct of Captain *Drake*, by wasting and spoiling the Coasts of *Spain* declared to the World, how weak that Kingdom was at home, that was feared so much abroad, and another Fleet under *Cavendish*, had roved over another Coast of *America*, and fallen upon the *Molucca* Islands, bringing away great advantage: But many things now frightened her, being a Woman, and growing into years, as, the frequent Rebellions of the *Irish*, who had now in the *Belgick* Warres become well skilled in Military Discipline; That *Scotland* was suspected as a private foe, while the *Spaniard* declared himself a publick Enemy; That *France* had no kindness for her, and not a few in *England* were desirous of novelty. But the *States*, knowing how much it had otherwise prejudiced their Affairs, throwing off, as much as they could, any mention of a Treaty: if the *Treasury* could be faithfully managed, they denied the annual pay of thirty *Flarens* (for that was properly the Wages of all the Forces, except the *English Auxiliaries*, and Souldiers for Sea-Service) to be despised as such an in-

con-

considerable allowance, when the Prince of *Aurange* oftentimes brought greater matters to passe, with less care and fewer men; adding further, *That wise and confident men know how to make the best use of a little, whereas when men come lightly and easily by money, yet they are never satisfied, though they have too much.*

Afterwards, some *Letters* of the Earl of *Laurefort*, to his Friends, being found, wherein they were accused, that they had forgot their duty, and unjustly busied themselves in matters of importance, not belonging to them; they, to wit, the *States*, do by an *Edict* set forth and declare, that of old, the Peoples Right was in them, and of late, the *Prince's* Right was translated over to them, that they still kept both, notwithstanding the delated *Lieutenancy*, and divers other things they spoke of, relating to the honour of their Convention, and whereby they might clear themselves from the objected crime of ambition. But *Laurefort's* hopes were now grown higher, than to stand upon delaying niceties and policies that were understood; wherefore scorning, that the People should any longer have a voice among the *Magistrates*, with an insatiable over-ruling Confidence, he prepares by *Faction* and *Conspirisons*, to bring under his Yoak, the Cities that stood firm inward upon the Land, and thence to throw a sudden terror upon the rest, not taking warning by the example of *Paris*, whom such an endeavoured violence thrust out of the Government, though sealed therein by Contract and Agreement. But before the danger, the whole Plot laid by the Inhabitant Strangers of *Leyden* was discovered, many of whom, suffered death as a worthy punishment, for seeking to induce novelty in a *State*, where they were strangers. And although perchance some of these might be offenders, rather out of ignorance than malice, yet was that severity towards them very necessary, and broke the whole design of all, either begun or intended, commotions; Thus at last being openly discovered guilty of an unworthy and unlawful ambition; he were

away

they into *England*. And there the Queen, after she had sent the Lord *Buckhurst*, no great Friend of his, to inquire into the Affairs of the *Low-Countries*, that the less notice might be taken thereof in the Council, protected him by her *Royall Power*, yet made him to abjure all *Authority* over the *Netherlands*. But while he yet supported his old *Partakers* with *Letters*, and was after laid aside from *Military Affairs* by *England*, he lived not out a full year, uncertain whether taken off by his Wives Treachery, who, as it were, confessed her *Adultery* in his Life, by her unequal *Marriage* after his death, or by any other means unnatural, or the common Fate. However it was, his death was not so much lamented by the Queen, as it was rejoiced at by the *Low-Country* men, who were thereby once more freed from a Danger, than which, a greater, in all their Affairs, never hung over them.

In the interim of these Affairs, Collonel *Schenck* took by *Surprize Blom*, a City of *Germany*, situate on this side the *Rhine*, and then possessed by the *Bavarian*. Now was there (as one may say) a Cessation of Arms throughout the *Netherlands*; for the Duke of *Parma* did not, as he was wont, wish so much intencion break in by War upon those *Discord-ing Provinces*. A great Design against *England* had taken his Thoughts and Endeavours, it being accounted a more noble, and less difficult Enterprise.

Most of the great Souldiers, who had fought for the King of *Spain* looked upon that Island as the amends of their Merit, and the Reward of their Labours; and as it was near to *France* and *Germany* upon occasion of War, so the Counsel was, That being a *Transmarine Kingdom*, it should be gotten by War: But these Counsellors, every one by his own Fortune, or by Death hindered, at this time, as it were by the Justice of *Revenge*, after a *League* concluded, & Aid sent openly to the Rebels in *Ireland*: A great Fleet was prepared in *Spain* against the next *Summer*; The Duke of *Parma* prepared all his *Garrisons* against that time to man it; and so far

did his hopeful Imaginations carry him, that he concluded this *English Expedition* would be a worthy *Catastrophe* to his Ten Years Victories, and make his Name equal in the *Register of Honour*, with those of the most famous *Emperors*. As the *Spaniards* endeavoured to stifle the Rumour of this imminent Danger, with the Noise of a pretended Peace; For the composing whereof, the *Duke*, as a *Mediator*, came to the pound *Mediations*; and *Claus Ransovius* sent to the *Duke of Parma*, whom the Souldiers of *Holland* intercepted by the way, as he passed with a *Warlike Train*, and not distinguishable among those that fought: But the King adjudging as they wittingly had, contrary to the Laws of Nations, wounded his *Ambassador*; and chiefly, because his *Letters* were broke open, took so sharp a *Revenge*, that he laid an *Arrest Restraint* upon seven hundred ships, that were passing by ways and forward in Trade for Corn; by which means, the people then living in these parts, were wonderfully afflicted with the fear of Famine, having never before, or like Example, been disturbed. But this Scarcity was healed by necessary Counsel, that *French* and *English* Vessels coming from the same Seas, should go to the Ports and Markets of *Holland*. Thus was that Danger escaped, onely with the expense of some Money, forced from them by the *Duke*, which notwithstanding, and for that the King would not vouchsafe to give *Audience* to the *Ambassadors* sent to him, stuck highly in the Stomachs of many, who thought it very hard, that the *Lesser Dominions* should still be obnoxious to Damage, at the will and pleasure of the greater. While these things were doing there, there was likewise a kind of Treaty with the *English* in King *Philip's* Name, because the Queen was looked upon as the onely Support of all the *Low-Country Affairs*, to this purpose. That all Jealousies and Fears should be thrown away in the laying down of Arms, if the *Provinces* which had Rebelled would return to their pristine Obedience; That she took off all things concerning Religion in England, so as

Netherlands Religion should be ordered according to the Mind of the Spaniard, though there had been taught a pernicious Doctrine, the Matters relating to Religion, were to be determined by other Judges than Princes. This proposed *Pacification* was listned to by *Queen Elizabeth*, with no less Subtily than it was offered, chiefly aiming, that by this *Pretext* of *Compounding* *Battles*, she might spin away, and divert the time of danger, for she now had *Intelligence* of the *Fleet*. And dissembling her Fear, she onely pretended a pious desire of *Peace* and *Commerce* among, and with the *Provinces*; and, to that end, sending some so instructed out of *England*, to command the *Hollanders* that they should, without any murmuring, hearken thereto, and that they would draw upon themselves so great Evil, as to be esteemed by their cruel *Obstinacy*, the Authors of *Perpetual War* and *Bloud-shed*. But they revolved with themselves, and afresh remembered all the *Treachery* *Blandiments* of the *Spaniard*; for what Event had the *Treaty* with *Requesens*, but that all the *Forts* being taken, the more considerable *Cities* might the easilier be besieged? At the *Pacification* at *Colew*, how was the hopes of a seall *Peace* blasted, by solliciting so many *Provinces* to *Revolt*; and so was *Flaners*, by the like kind of *Colloquies*, betraid: And at last, the *Enemy* got so much *Recruit* of strength, while he fallaciously promised *Tolleration* of *Religion*, that now he dares absolutely deny it. Now to speak of *Peace*, when there were such *Civil Discords* among the *Citizens*, were just to strike their *Arms* out of their *Hands*, that others might, as they saw convenient, submit to what they pleased; but let heed be taken, that they used not more hast than good speed. And though things might be composed upon equal *Terms*; yet neither the *League* made at *Gant*, nor *Don John's Treachery* could be forgotten. That to *Kings*, whom the *Bishops* of *Rome* would dispence with, or absolves from the *Sacred Tye* of an *Oath*, every *Covenant* made with *Subjects*, would be reckoned all one as a *Victory*.

And there would never be wanting men, that would seek to raise themselves and their Fortunes, by the slavery of their Country: And in these things, every one openly, as doubtful, spent the time, because they saw she perswaded to Peace, that might compass. And as often as the Queen perswaded them not to delay, they beseeched her, *That she would not cast off that Cause of God and Men, and leave Threescore Cities and a People, ready, if their present Treasure were not enough, to increase the Publike Stock with their private Wealth, a Prey to the Malice and Avarice of the Treacherous Spaniard.* Here upon the Cities unanimously agreed, (for this Consultation was related to every particular City) *That an Embassy should be sent to the Enemy: Onely the Queen, Winter growing on apace, sent into Flanders, to make, if she could, a Peace, though not suitable to her Wishes.* Here, while the discourse of the place of the meeting, and of their Commissions, the *English* asking a Truce, the Duke of Parma ceyning Three Moneths are elapsed: Queen *Elizabeth* demanded for the *Netherlanders* Pardon, their Ancient Laws and Governments of their Cities; for her Self, the continuance of the Old *Laws*, the Re-imbursement of all her Charges, and Security for the same, the Souldiers on both sides being disbanded: But as to Religion, and the Form of Worship, she moved so faintly, as if she would seem not to meddle therein. For now she was come to this, *That she only desired two years for the performance of her Demands:* As to the Towns which the *English* held, either by Covenant, or other Occasions, she refused not to deliver them, upon the Receipt of her Charges.

The *Spaniards*, while they utterly deny any Tolleration of Religion, and will have all Affairs of the *Netherlands* left to King *Philip's* pleasure; objecting, instead of payment of the *English* Disbursements, *That thereby the English had been the cause to them of greater Expence;* and as they extenuate this, they amplifying other Things, did now appear plainly to the

Words

World, that though they fought a *Treaty*, yet they never intended a *Peace*: And *Arguments* of their *Hostile Designs*, and *Warlike Preparations*, every day broke out clearer and clearer; until at last, the so long feared *Plot*, set in 1588. end to the one sides hope, and the other sides dissimulation. But *Dissention* and *Factions*, with *By-names*, went not out of *Holland* with the Earl of *Leicester*; but under his pretence, the Garrison Souldiers, both of Cities and Castles, made Disturbances, robbing and pilling every where; especially they, that, by ill-ordering of the *Treasury*, were behind in their Pay, for fear of *Peace*, hastid by *Rapine* to repay their Labour in the War. At which time, some were pitted, that the third part of Pay should be offer'd, which by the Custom of the *Netherlands* is always in Bank, and never used to be disbursed, but upon very good occasions: Which, because it could not speedily be obtained, in regard it was the Remains of many Years, and to be demanded of many, they forthwith every one took to himself, what Liberty or *Licentiousness* he pleased, being defended a while by some *English* the Queen had sent: As if the Name of *English*, would have made these Crimes pass more current: The Souldiery of *Geertruydenburg*, upon the receiving a great Sum of Money, seemed contented; but into what an un orderly Babel and T. eachery, they afterwards broke out. I will in its proper place relate. Somos, in the City of *Midem lake*, situated on the *Western Shore* of the *Frisian Gulph*, by the Rebellion of his Souldiers against him, suffer'd the punishment of denying *Obedience* to *Superiours*; Prince *Maurice* by Siege, reduced these to the *Obedience* of himself and the *States*. *Rustalt*, also, *Governour* of the Garrison in *Flushing*, hoping to command in Chief all the Souldiers in *Zeland*, and drawing to his Party *Vereen* and *Armenyden*, Towns in the Isle of *Walcheren*, with an Ambition of Rule, was at length, by the Queen's Commands, who understood better things, and the Renunciation of the Earl of *Leicester*, which now too late he

heard of, forced to desist. In other places, the *Seldons* were appeared with less danger, but every where with great expence of Money. These things, though not bursting out till the following year, I have mention'd in this place, because they are coherent with the matter. But before I settle myself, to proceed in my impartial Relation, of the following Troubles, I think it will be a digression, both satisfactory and pleasant to the Reader, if I take a short View chiefly, of such *Damnable Affairs* of our own, as is necessary for other Nations to come to the knowledge; such as was that War, when a few People, and they living in a narrow compass of Land, and shaken with many grievous Slaughters, should raise it self to such a Greatness, against so mighty a Power as that of *Spain*. Therefore, I will compare what Bounds, what Form of *Commonwealth*, what Number of *Fortes*, and what *Natural Dispositions*, and *Inclinations*, were in this middle Time most usual, with both these People.

After the Liberty confirmed by the *League at Cambray*, *Don John of Austria* had Conquer'd *Namur*, *Luxemburg*, and *Limbourg*; The Duke of *Parma* gained by particular Agreements *Arras* and *Elemburg*; by Treachery he obtained *Flourens*, and *Brabant* and *Adichin* he subdued by *Force* excepting that in *Flanders* the Town of *Offend*; in *Brabant* *Beyrump-Zoom* and *Williamstedt*, (so called from the Prince of *Orange*) together with some Castles, all lying upon the Sea Coast, or by the sides of Rivers. *Frinsland* and *Over-Issel* were in the power of the *United States*, onely the *Spaniards* had *Groningen*: The rest, *Stempic* and *Daventry* excepted, with as many other *Fortresses*, were divided with the Enemy. And they wanted not many Towns in *Gelderland*, besides *Arnhem*, *Geldres*, *Nijmegen*, *Zutphen*, principal Cities, and some less Garrisons held by the *Spaniards*. Prince *Maurice* did wholly govern and *Zeland*; after the rest, there came under his Command, beyond the *Frisons*, the Dominions of the Sea, and all other places, which continued faithful to the State.

States in the *Enemies* Country. They took away every where the great *Prerogative* of having proper and peculiar *Governours* in *Cities*, suffering none such, but in the very uttermost *Borders*: Nor must I omit to say something of their *Neighbors*. Beyond the River *Emus*, is the County of *East-Friesland*, commonly called *Emden-Land*: By the *Mass* and *Rhine*, the *Katharicks* of *Colen* and *Leige*, the *Governour* whereof a *Baron*, a *Kinsman* of King *Philip*, who encompassing almost all the *Belgick* *Provinces*, by divers Names of *Ecclesiastical*, *Dominions*, possesseth most large *Territories*; and although the Court of the Prince of *Clèves* and *Falibiers*, had not yet been claimed by War; yet either by infused Dread, together with the pretence of the *Burgundian* *Alliance*, it seems to incline towards the *Spaniards*; and then if any of those *Cities* should fall to the like Religion as the *Hollanders*, they had an *Enemy* close by them, that would be no less implacable than theirs. But *Cathray*, which, after the *Defection* of the *Neighbor* *Cities*, being clogg'd and annoy'd with its own *Garrison*, *Valois* had, by his last *Directions*, commended to the Kingdom of *France* his *Protection*; *Baligon*, who was appointed *Governour* thereof, by the King's Mother, *Catharine*, kept after both their Deaths; and he now joining himself to the *Gallian* *Faction*, while the Duke of *Parma* rejoiced at the prolonging of the War, thereby to recover satisfaction for the wasting of the Country; and King *Henry*, driven out of his own *Cities*, had no peace nor vacant time to mind these beginnings, took to himself an Authority, though he knew it could be of no long continuance: These were their Bounds and Limits. Now let us consider their Policy; the *United* *States*, among whom the Prince of *Aurange*, for a long time, had the chief Authority in the King's Name, and then in his own; afterwards, both his, and the *States* Power, sliding into the Earl of *Leicester*'s Dominion, were taught by *Experience*, that the strength of the *Empire*, divided into many Hands, though it may suit better with Liberty, yet is it more subject

to discord, if the fear of the publick Enemy be bar'd; but the Government it self lost nothing, for what was distracted by any means from its power, was doubly regain'd in the benevolence and affection of the People; for Honours and Licences were wholly granted by it, whereas Impositions of Taxes and Subsidies, and other burthens were laid upon the People by another hand. And besides, such is the nature of the common People, that they will generally lay the fault of all miscarriages upon those who are most active in the *Common-wealth*, and yet for Victories they will only acknowledge one.

The Nobles and more potent men, were wont by an ancient Custom, according to the hereditary right of their Possessions, to govern the Country, and the Inhabitants therein; but Towns were left to be ruled by selected and choise Citizens; and the Reason was, because the People imploying themselves in multiplicity of Affairs, did not desire to be called together, and assembled upon every occasion, electing Officers, or making Laws; but out of them forty, or sometimes fewer were picked, who afterwards meeting together, did consult and deliberate of all things that concerned the *Commonwealth*, and these were called, *The wise and sober men*. And if death or banishment, took any one more of them away, others are forthwith chosen into the vacant places, who are eminent for their Prudence and Riches; and the Laws and Ordinances made by this Assembly or Common-Council, are, by the Consent of the whole City, obliging to all, so that it is hardly found in an Age, that any People gainsay them, but are ready rather to fight in defence of the Authority of their *Governours*.

These every year nominate severall, out of whom are chosen *Presets*, (this Power formerly belonged to the *Prins*) who are to maintain and defend the publick Peace, and are called by the People, Masters, and these at most were four. There are seven others, that are called by the name of *Elders*.

ing, do pass Judgment in all differences of private concernment, as likewise in criminall matters: These Offices are undertaken and performed as a duty incumbent upon them in behalf of their Country, with little or no Reward or Salary: And to these mens Power, and the Counsel of some that are their Assistants, who must be well read in the Civill Law, all the business of Towns and Cities is referred, and by them dispatched; with this additional Power allowed to them, of making Laws, and raising moderate Sums of money within the verge of their own Jurisdiction: from hence the whole Empire, as it were, assembling these Chiefs together in one Body, they who before singly governed the Parts, thus associated and conjunct, do preside and rule the whole Nation. For three or four times in the year, or oftner, as the Emergencies of Affairs require, there is a Council summoned out of both degrees of the People, which is called the Convention of the *States*: But the Nobility, because they cannot easily meet from their several Remote Habitations, have conferred their Power and Authority upon some few, whose Riches and Honour is greater than the rest, and they meet in that Great Council in the behalf of all.

To these, in respect of their Quality, is only given the priority of suffrage; for every one of the meaner Ranks have a Vote equall to them: When therefore the Common-Council of any Town hath deliberated at home, concerning matters there proposed, the *Magistrates*, and some of the *Assistants*, are sent to the great Convention, to give them account of what they have so done, and thereupon to obtain their permission: all other things that may happen, either by accident or conveniency, are left to their Prudence and Fidelity. Wherefore in this great Assembly, as all things are discussed, which formerly the *Princes* used to take care and Cognizance of, so they assess what Taxes, Assessments, or other Customs, are necessary every year, for the bearing and carrying on the Burthen and Charge of the War, which is

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proportionably rated upon every *Province* according to their Forces. But because this Great Convention is quickly dissolved, the *Nobility* and chief *Magistrates* of *Cities*, may chuse fit men out of themselves, that they may at the Helm of *Government*, may put in execution the *Edicts* and *Decrees* of the *States*, and oversee all other *quodammodo* business, and in sudden Cases to provide remedy; and any thing happen, that requires a greater care, they may by *Proclamation* in Writing, summon the Great Assembly of the *States*: This Honour doth generally continue but for a time limited; But the Dignity of *Advocate* of *Holland*, is perpetual.

He in the times of the *Princes*, was the only assertor of the Publick Liberty, and as then in dangers, so now, the form of the *Commonwealth* being changed, he is in the Convention of the *States*, and in the meetings of the *Deputies*, he demands their Advice and Judgment, he by persuasive Speeches draws points to a head, and composeth any difference like to salt due among them: This Office was executed very prayse-worthily, from the beginning of the War, by *Paul Buisson*: and after him *John Olden Barneveldt* had the same, and much honoured the same by his proper virtues, whereof he gave a most excellent Testimony against the *Bar* of *Leisler's* Threats and Policies, manifesting himself both a faithfull Counsellor, and a person of an invincible Spirit. This is in effect, the Form of the *Government* in *Holland*, from whence the Customs of other of the *Provinces*, are not much different. Every place hath its proper Overseers of all penalties and forfeitures belonging to the publick *Treasury*, and *Judges*, who are men well skilled in the Laws, to whom Appeals might be made from the inferiour Courts of the Town. These are they who obtain all lasting and continuall Dignities, out of whose number, a *President* is chosen, and these are always nominated by the *States* only. But now, the *Senate* takes Cognizance of all things relating to the con-

Union, and provides all things necessary for the War, and all that are admitted into it, do swear, That with-
out any respect of them from whom they are sent, they shall ad-
vise what shall be most advantageous to the Publick good. Now
it is to be observed, that hitherto are sent from every Province
some, particularly from *Holland* three, from *Zeland* two, from
Friesland the like; and from every one of the rest, one. Hi-
ther, when there is any more grave and serious matter to be
debated, the *Governours* of *Provinces* are sent for and admitted:
But because matters of the greatest concernment, were from
all Antiquity, never dispatched, without the consent of e-
very severall *Province*, and that was found, by reason of the
infinite multitude of business, and the hazard of long delays,
to be inconvenient; therefore it was agreed, that *Deputies*
should be sent with free Commission, who should always at-
tend the chief business of *State*; and if any thing hapned
there, that required more deliberate Consultation, and meri-
ted maturer judgement, that forthwith every one should con-
sult the *States* of his own *Province*. Every *Province*, which
now according to the League, sends out of their chief Cities
some, hath an equall right of Suffrage: And by turns, they
successively come to be *Presidents*. And at that time, these
were the *Provinces*, *Guelderland*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Utrecht*,
Friesland, within the *Uyle* and the *Dicke*, and *Over-Issel*.

This *Deputation* hath by little and little assumed to it self
the nature of a perpetual Assembly, resembling the *Confede-
rate* or *United States*, and doth frequently use that name:
And the Power here included, and vested in the *Deputies* for
a prelimited time, is not prolonged, unless by the pleasure
and Authority of their *Superiours*, by whom they were in-
trusted.

In like manner, others of an inferiour Rank, are chosen
for *Sea-Ports*, and other Towns lying on the *Sea-Coast*, who
are by their Judgments and Counsels, to order and settle all
Navall matters.

This

This in brief, is the Method and Form of that *Commonwealth*; nor is it congruous, only to mind the manner, which means, as the *Government* grows famous, being bounded among a few Families, so neither is altogether popular, as to be made up out of the multitude. The Authority of the Nobles being left to themselves, and all power residing in the chief Citizens of the more Nobles. Hence as it were, by certain steps were they elected, who were to govern the *Provinces*, and to look after all publick business, not as in a meer Democratical form, promiscuous and accidentall choyce, but by having a regard to their descent and Progenitors, the acquisition of the Wealth, and their other laudable dispositions, and various qualities: Nor was the Provision for securing liberty thereby any whit mistaken, while things of greatest difficulty in government, were ordered by the judgment of many, as the chiefest Authority passeth from hand to hand, which is the cause, that many without the hope of continuing the greatness, have made it their study, to learn and put in practice the true manner of well governing. I have found it an experimented truth, even when Wars were maintained against the *Romans*, that the People both of *France*, *Germany*, and *Britain*, were wont to examine and discuss their most weighty matters, by the *Peers* of the Land, and such choyces made by the Cities, and that some remainders thereof appear, even where Kingdoms have been since long settled. But if we may dive into Records of greater Antiquity in *Greece*, we shall find the like settlement among them, under the name of *Amblystimes*, by whose unanimity, the almost incredible power of the *Median Monarch*, was both resisted and conquered. And so in *Achaja*, whose strength at first, though inconsiderable, yet by an harmonious Agreement waxed formidable.

But to proceed, though every *Province* hath a Metropolitall

City

City of its own; yet now the chief and common Seat of Empire, is among the *Hollanders*, who as they far out-vye the rest of their Confederates in Wealth, so they do not a little go beyond them in Authority. The *Hague* is a Village, and the Seat of Prince *Maurice*; exceedingly and choycefully pleasant, with delightful Woods and Groves, and its neighbouring Bank.

The State of the Commonwealth, in the *Provinces* under the King's Command, differeth not much from the other; but in the great Assembly of the *States*, for those parts, are seldom called together, except it be for settling of Taxes, and raising Money; some few are selected to manage the private Affairs of every *Province*; but the Senate with the Regent, and the rest assistant thereunto, as the Judges of Law and Treasury, have the whole Government of all things; and whoever is admitted into any Office, he continues therein without alteration or change.

The Revenues of the United *Provinces*, what they were, is before declared: afterward when they had shaken off all fear of Tyranny, they began to settle Tributes for their own Commonwealth, and when their Trading and Merchandizing encreased by the decay of *Brabant*, their Spirits were augmented as their Riches, and their undertakings were attended with success; their confidence boldly venturing upon the greatest attempts, enlarged their charges and expences: their Fields, Houses, Victuals, Cloaths, nay their very Heads were not free, but made lyable for payments of Money. They had the Sea open to bring them most certain Customs, which not lyable to the hazard of War, as other things, though it was the endeavour of those in Power, not to hinder Traffique, if possible, lest Commodities of great value might by incertainty and hazards be carryed elsewhere.

But the Wealth of the *Spanish Provinces*, though considerable, much of Taxes, very hardly, and with an ill will, gotten by the accession of great Sums of Money from the King, exceed very far the other; but that the multitude of Men who were interested in the receiving and payment of the same, and the easiness of fraudulent dealing therein, intercepted and devoured the greatest part thereof, before it came to the uses for which it was designed, while some of them would keep it as their own, and others as profusely and prodigally waste it.

The Souldiery of the *Hollanders*, consisting of Citizens, Allies and Strangers, besides the Auxiliary *English* Forces, did not at this time exceed eighteen thousand Foot, with a indifferent *Cavallery*, the greatest part of whom, lay in *Garrisons*, and were far short of their Enemies in multitude, before *France* had made him divide his strength. But the *Earl of Leicester's* neglect, and their other many Seditions, taught them, that it was better and more safe for them, to defend themselves with small Armies, than by exceeding their Treasure under the name of Souldiers, to raise themselves enemies. And now every day they brought their Discipline to be more strict, than those *Citizens* and neighbouring *Provinces*, and others that redeemed their Lands, lying partly in the Enemies Country, from spoil and pillage, by paying money for Composition, might not be injuriously vexed; and when the Souldiers were drawn into Winter Quarters, they were not to take any money under-hand, while they were there, but the *Commonwealth* did defray all charges during their stay; by this equality a wonderful thing was brought to passe, that every house was glad and willing to entertain them. All the *Infantry* was divided into Regiments, (for so we will call them,) every Regiment containing ten Ensigns, and seldom more. Under every Ensign were to march an hundred men; 'tis true, some Companies were at first greater; but, if you will look upon them as

usually, what with Death, and running away, and what with the Captains false *Adultery*, they hardly arose to that Number. Every Troop likewise was to contain so many Horsemen, and three of these Troops, as it were a Wing, had but one common Commander.

And that all these might with the more ease be paid, every *Province* took to themselves certain Companies of Foot, and Troops of Horse, to whom out of their proper Treasure, they constantly gave their Pay: And as every *Province* thus answer'd his proportion, so they began a new Custom, which was, That they would in *Vacancies*, name the Captains, and other inferior Officers under their Pay. The Captains themselves managed the meaner Services; but they who governed the *Commonwealth*, either for their Vertue, or out of Favour, would appear in such as were more eminent. The Forces of the Enemy were much more numerous than the other, whereby they kept in awe, what, or whosoever they suspected, and guarded their *Borders*, though of a very great Extent. The Common Souldiers Pay was alike on both sides; but they had greater and more extraordinary Advantages with the *Spaniards*, with whom also there were a great number of persons who had double Pay; yet were they not less burdensome, either to Towns or Countries, whether in the Camp or in Garrison, so that they were more than doubly destructive to the *Treasury*: And their *Military Discipline* was much neglected by their private *Emulations*.

On the contrary, Prince *Maurice*, upon whom, chiefly, the whole Care and Weight of the War lay, pretermitted none of those things which had been used by *Antiquity* in the *Art Military*, or that were grown Customary by Modern Practice and Experience; He diligently encouraged his Souldiers, to attend all the Enemies Motions; and though he sat in the Highest Seat of Power, yet he would not suffer the meanest things to pass without his Care: So that it was admirable, to see this great and *Warlike Instructor*, who had never

never had any Master, by discreet Considerations, establish all things for the War, that Guards might be diligently kept, and Cities well Fortified; he causes sound men to instruct the Souldiers, how readily to pitch their Camp, and make all sorts of Engines and Instruments for Assaults; and in regard they were yet unexperienced in *Battles, Sieges, and Fortifications*, he hath them taught to manage Horses, to observe their Ranks, to carry Provision, and to raise Works, according to the Method of this Age. At first, these Endeavours were laughed at, by the Ignorance of those who were ashamed to learn what they understand not; but after the Success of some *Experiments*, they were admired; because hereby they that had turned their Backs in many *Fights*, now durst stand and look the Enemy in the Face, and reduce by strength Towns that they had lost: So that now all did plainly confess, *That no man excelled his Father, in gaining the love of the People, and laying the Foundation of a Commonwealth: by the great Blessing of Heaven, the Son was as famous, for increasing and defending the same.* But how much the manner of the War was alter'd from the first use, will easily be understood in the Context of the following Work. A considerable Number of Ships are sent to infest the Enemies Towns that lay by the Sea-side, and to guard the Passages of Rivers. Some go out, as a safe Convoy for *Merchants*, and to secure the *Fishing Trade*: Others sail up and down, to scour the Sea of *Pyrates*: Without all doubt, in this, the Enemy was inferiour, who had very few *Ports*, and they inconvenient, and not many Ships, which onely waited upon Towns. The Nobility on both sides, either contented themselves in an unprofitable carelesness, or the peaceable enjoyment of their Honours, with a kind of *Neutrality* for Envy, of the *Commons* on one side, and of the *Spaniards* on the other; excusable out of an inveterate Stupidity, because some cunning Princes, changing the *Expectation* of their *Military Offices*, into *Honorary Possessions*, had taken all from them, and given them

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a Favour to the other. Some few there were, that either out of Love and Thirst of Renown, or their particular *Discontents*, did take up Arms; and do Service suitable to their Births and Qualities. Among the *Commons*, the young men, and such as only knew the Evil of the present Times, because they had never seen *Peace*, were content with any condition of Affairs, not being sensible of the War, otherwise than by *Rumors*, and paying *Taxes*; and many, because the Religion publicly received was not affected by them, for no other cause, followed the Cry. But the Laws of *Holland*, though many of them not very harsh in their Sanction, did forbid to the *Catholikes*, even the use of their Religion in private, notwithstanding the like *Orders* had been the cause of so many former *Tumults*: The same also, by a kind of implicate manner, put them from the chief Honours: But the *States* allowed some mean Allowance to *Priests* and *Nuns*, so long as they lived quietly, because in many places their Possessions were laid waste; but it pleased, by connivance, to suffer the *Misings* of other *Sects*. The *Ministers* of the *Publike Religion*, were admitted on neither side into the Council; nay, the whole *Throng* of *Ecclesiastical Persons* were beyond the Inspection of the *Magistrates*. Finally, if the nearest Troubles had been appeased, there would have been no suddain fear of new ones.

On the other side, There was another Party of *Netherlanders*, whose long *Experience*, and continual *Converse* among Troubles, had made them now not gain say the Causes thereof. There was onely a Shadow of those Laws in use before the War, nor was the Duke of *Parma's* Modesty alike constant to all: Some Cities were kept under by Garrisons, but all were curbed by the Authority of Governours. And although the *Bishops* enjoyed the Seats, the *Lady Regent*, formerly, being the Duke of *Parma's* Mother, and *Alva* had seated them in, and many other Things were done for the *Jesuits* sake; yet the *Inquisition*, and all punishments inflicted thereby

thereby, were either suspended or moderated, in regard to the War, and respect to the Enemy; because the great part having fled, that were *Disfuters*, the rest had learned to obey, rather out of fear than punishment. On both sides, *Traficke* and *Merchandizing*, together with the increase of Work-mens Wages, did readily supply the dearth of Victuals, and other Things necessary for Man's Life; and also the Prices set upon greater *Commodities*, and the *Fruits* of the Field, which were somewhat scarce. Among the *Hollanders*, the *Merchants Trade* flourished, which is the *Nurse* of all *Inferiour Manufactures*; *Amsterdam* alone equalling the greatest *Mart-Towns*, either of this present, or of former Ages. In the mean while, as the *Benefits* of Peace were received, notwithstanding the War, so the Evils thereof were not quite vanished; for Men's Minds were not so much naturalized to *Cruelty* by the use of *Arms*, as to run into contrary *Extreams*; For all such as fled hither for safety, and had secured themselves from a necessitated Banishment, by a competent Provision, by the Company and Society of *Foreigners*, and imitating the better sort of them, no Check of the *Laws* being able to restrain them, would run into a superfluous Excess and Vanity of *Clothes* and *Dyes*, until they had by this means drawn in others to the same, to avoid the shame of *Poverty*, though they were in no way able to bear the same. And therefore, then that old and constant simplicity of the *Hollanders*, and their uncorrupted Frugality, — was changed into Luxury and Profuseness, which though it might advantage the *Treasure*, yet was (I am sure) very pernicious and destructive to all good Manners; because as *Avarice*, an old overgrown Evil, grows into *Confidence*, it will not let *Nations* Conquer'd think so, as long as they can live at such height. But the Vices of the Enemy, made these seem *Virtues*, whose more wastful and abominable *Prodigality*, was to be curbed even by *Poverty* it self.

The End of the Annals of the Netherlands.

THE



THE HISTORY

OF THE

Low-Country's Affairs ;

WRITTEN

By *HUGO GROTIUS*.

The First BOOK.

I Shall here begin to Declare that more settled Course of Affairs, wherein Prince *Maurice*, having attained the Chief Command of the Army, drew up himself the whole Managery of all Busineses. The *Commonwealth* had still the same Face, Religion was controverted with like Animosity, the War sharply maintained with equal Obstinacy, and all hopes of Peace utterly laid aside ; so that now the Series of Things was indeed, in respect of its Actions,

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various,

Various, but in it self, not at all intricate : *England* was assaulted by *Spanish Forces*, and *France* greedily thirsted after, not with a covetous Eye, or vain Wish only, but by the Threats of a Malicious War. It cannot be denied, but that the *Treasury* is exceeding great, yet not sufficient to maintain so many Wars at once ; from hence becoming sensible, of all the Evils of *Poverty*. During this time, both the Minds and Forces of the *Low-Countrymen*, had some ease and repose. *Leagues and Alliances* were begun with several Kingdoms, and in part again broken off : There the *Præsidents* and *Governours* often changed, and at last the *Regent* himself ; Confidence not resting assured in the meanness of her Guard, in Treacheries most ignoble abounding every where : Wherein here, by the Vigilance and Ingenuity of one Captain, the only Danger was escaped, but Arms advantaged ; the *Naval* and *Maritime Power* increased infinitely, and at once a Strength against the *Enemy*, and in Reputation amongst others : so that now it might credibly be believed, that in the Equality of both Parties, the War would now grow doubtful ; for the time made it appear, that the smallest things might be wound on with humane hope, and that it was never too late to be helped by a Miracle. I am about to publish, according to the Method of *History*, what things have certainly been seen and heard ; nor am I ignorant, how odious it is afresh to bring in mind these things among them, whose Hatred is raging ; where by the positive and impartial Assertions of Truth, you may happily by the *Enemy* be accused of Flattery, and to your own Side not seem altogether free from untruths. But the Judgment and Reward of my Fidelity will proceed from *Posterity* ; And if God have, in Mercy, appointed an End to this grievous and bloody War, it may chance then will be some, who drawing *Arguments* from hence, may give an Account thereof with greater Security, and more Elocution. In the interim, let it be for the benefit of such, as being far remote from the knowledge of our Troubles, may know

know the value of their own *Peace*, from the Evils suffer'd by others, and may hence learn *Documents of War*, whereof, though not in *Civil Discords*, they may the more fortunately make use of against a *Barbarous Enemy*. But it is very difficult to set down Things as they were really done, because the *present*, many times, are quite forgot, and the *present* too much praised: As that most offends the *Reader*, so this makes the *Writer* more blame-worthy. Besides, the following Age doth many times, either out of forgetfulness, or the poverty of the *Conquerours*, leave out, or at least fall short of, the exact Discovery of their Knowledge; But if it be necessary for those Things to be publickly mention'd, it will be advantageous to the *Writer*, that he lived among those, who may well be ashamed, if they allow not to him that Liberty, which they promised to all. Adde also, that many of the Events happen'd hereabouts; and he hath the greater advantage and reason to admire the mean beginnings of this increasing *Common-wealth*.

1588. **T**HE *Great Year*, according to the Account of *Christendom*, One Thousand Five Hundred Eighty and Eight, and which *Astrologers* had fore-told to be the last of the *World*, was now come: Certainly, either that *Art* is vain, and it must be reckon'd among the *Follies* of our rash *Credulities*, that we suppose our selves able to comprehend *Futurity*, or else it is an *Error* of such, who do not rightly understand the many vast *Intrigues* of *Destiny*: As a part of the *Celestiall Threats*, the *Spanish Great Fleet* was looked upon, which, while he had *Peace* with the *Turk*, and saw *France* embroiled in a *Civil War* at Home, he made great haste to set out: For it was not enough, that they who had been *Conquerours* of so many *Kingdoms*, and subjected the *New World* so long, should win a little *Nation* to their *Empire* by mutual *Conflicts*, unless with *Scandalous Language*, they abused the *Government* thereof by a Woman. But the *English-*
mens

mans Confidence, encouraged the *Low-Country* men, and the Bulwark of the Sea made the *English-men* confident to repel Force by Force; for they had not yet forgotten the Names of *Saxons, Danes, and Normans*; nor were insensible, that whoever entered an Island, seldom failed to win the possession thereof: For the Kings of *England*, because they had been troubled with *Civil Wars*, to prevent future danger in time to come, upon like occasions, dismantling all *Garrisons, Forts, and Castles*, had laid the Kingdom open to *Foreign Invasions*. Then besides, what signified their weak Bodies, and Minds made effeminate by a long *Peace and Luxury*, being without *Leaders, without Cavalry*, against the well-disciplin'd Power of the *Spaniards*; and those that under the Duke of *Parma* Conduct, had for so many years been Victorious? Thus did they threaten *Revenge* to such as should not assist them, but the rest some Respite should be given to. Now, as it is the Custom of greedily ambitious and covetous men, promising their Hopes a larger and more extended progress, they destin'd themselves the interdicted and excommunicated Kingdom of *Scotland and Denmark*, intending afterwards to make use of *English Force*, and withall of their Natural Hatred against *France*, at such time as that Kingdom should be embrewed and even sive wallowing in her own Bloud: As for the rest of *Europe*, divided among so many Petty Princes, and never like to be united or cemented, by any good Correspondence or Harmony, it would of course become a Prey to their *Conquering Swords*. But men of more serious and modest Judgments could not believe they were so vain, as to promise themselves so great Success, though but in Imagination; but rather supposed they might endeavour to try their Fortune at Sea against all Nations on the Coasts thereof, and to spread abroad among all People, a great, though not a certain *Terror* of them; or else, for a time, to compell all *Tyrants* to keep within their lurking Places, and themselves to bear away all commerce, And the Pope (whose name at this time

was Sixtus the 5th) had encouraged & set on the *Spaniard* by his *Boys* to Conquer *England*, which the Simplicity of some of his former Kings had made Tributary (as was said) to his *Triple-Crown*. He therefore following the Examples of many *Popish* his *Predecessors*, who first, by the Discords of Princes, had usurped a Right over Kingdoms, and then over Kings themselves, exposed *England* to the Conquest of whoever would undertake it; as if *Queen Elizabeth* had taken the Government thereof without any Right, and detained the same by the Slaughter of the Nobles, and the slavish fear of the People; urging moreover, besides the Crime of her *Heretic*, the stain of *Basinardy*, as being born in *Adultery*, which had been and would be concealed with the Veil of a *Divorce*. These, and many other things were mention'd in the *Bull*, inviting all men to be assistant to such an *Expedition*, and absolving from all *Tyes* her Subjects, whether of Oath, or otherwise: That they should seize and take her alive, if possible; but if that could not be, then to kill her. And, as a Reward, to encourage the perpetrating so nefarious an Act, Impunity was granted for the same on Earth, and Pardon from God, and other such like Enormous Fooleries, which now are onely imposed upon the Ignorant, as a Shadow of Power; and indeed are no otherwise looked upon by them. However, this may surely be believed, that there were many princip'l men in *England*, who were much troubled at the present state of Affairs there, whose Affection to the *Spaniard*, *Bernardinus Mendosa*, who, under the Name of an Embassadour, had lain there for many years, as a Spy in the Court, by his vain Boastings had discovered: But whatever his Thoughts were, it appeared true afterward, that however the *English Catholics* might differ in Religion, yet there was none of them so imprudent, as to trust their Lives and Fortunes to the undistinguishing Sword of a *Forreign Conquerour*. In all the Parts and Coasts of *Spain*, and in *Italy* where the *Spaniard* had Command, there were raised and armed Twenty Thousand

Men, and One Hundred and Fourty Ships, part of them of an almost incredible Bulk and Burthen, which afterwards proved the main cause of their Destruction. Among these, there were many *Galleons*, and *Galleasses*, which built high, with many Turrets and Cabines, like Cities or Castles rather than Ships, were Rowed with Three Hundred Oars, covered over Head against the Shot, and casting of Darts, or other like things, and their Belly and Sides made very strong, the better to be able to bear the Violence of the Waves: *Marriners* were hired almost from all Nations to put into them, and they were Victualled with full Provisions for Six Months, besides a very great Mass of Coin, provided for a War at Land, was in them, and Cannon, and other great Guns for the Land-Service, to the Number of Five and Twenty Hundred. And all this Preparation, the Work of so many Years, was publish'd in Print, to their own Glory, and the Terror of others, that it might evidently appear a sufficient Demonstration of the *Spaniards*'s Wealth and Greatness.

Now though there were some that would have had War proclaimed with a *Herald*, yet others thought the Rightful Claim from the *Pope's Sentence*, would make out but a lame Title. But so great was their Confidence, that the whole-some Counsel both of the Duke of *Parma*, and the Marquis of *Santa Cruz*, was disapproved; which was, That the first Care should be to get some Port belonging to the *Hollanders*, because all *Flanders* could not yield one safe Harbour for a Fleet, against the Hazards both of Warre, and the Sea: But not advised, That the surest Victory would be gotten by Delay, unless the Army were presently landed at the *Thames*, to assault the City of *London*.

The Charge and Command of this whole Fleet was committed to *Don Alphonso Perez Gusman*, Duke of *Medina Siedonia*, a Person meriting that Honour, as well by the Nobility of his Bloud, as any other thing whatsoever; and, under him,

many

many Gentlemen of the noblest Families in Spain, and infinite others of inferior Gentry, had entred themselves as Soldiers, but at their own charges, induced as was supposed, not so much by the covetousness, as the assurance of getting very great booties. It was constantly reported, that they divided among themselves, as the reward of their pains in the War, beforehand, as well Honours, as Lands and Houses. There were taken among the spoils of their Ships, many Ropes, Hikers, and other Instruments of death and slavery, which they, as not doubting the Event, had prepared for such as they should conquer.

The Spring growing now very forward, they met at Lisbon, whence driven into a Haven in Galicia, they wanted three Ships, which by a cruel Tempest, together with Slaves that rowed them, getting their liberty, were thrown upon the Coast of France; In the mean while, the Duke of Parma, upon whom depended the principal part of the Expedition, with above thirty thousand Horse and Foot, lay in Flanders, having cut great Ditches, for the easier carriage of all his Forces to the Sea-Towns. He had brought thither eight and twenty Vessels, serving to ayd other Ships of Burthen, and to hold his men, besides near four hundred Flat-bottomed Boats, that might without hindrance come close to the Shore, part of them being bought, and the rest built by incessant Labour and working night and day; He had ready also, Bridges for the better and more safe transporting Horses and Men on a sudden, as soon as the Spanish Fleet had entred the Sea; But neither the English or Hollander made any provision to prevent the danger of so great a War approaching, thinking they had been driven back by the Wind, or else vainly imagining, that Ships of such Bulk and Burthen, would never venter, or run the hazard of their narrow Seas. Finally, some did not stick to affirm, that this was only a Convoy for the Indian Fleets return, although the King of France,

France, upon very good Intelligence, publicly declared both the strength and intent of the Fleet.

Thus did they flatter themselves with Reports and Conjectures, not sensible of the greatness of the danger they were in, till it was afterwards avoyded. The *Hollanders*, notwithstanding, mustred all their Ships and Seamen, as well private as publick, and fitted them for War, and when they had so done, they in a manner besieged all the Ports of *Flanders*, that they might stop the Duke of *Parma* from coming forth; of the rest they had no great doubt: At last, and almost too late, the Queen, who had hitherto been lulled into security by a Treaty of Peace, now claps all that were suspected to wish innovation in Religion, either into *Islands*, or *Marshlands*, and fills the *Thames* Banks on both sides, wherever it was thought the Enemy might land, with Horse and Foot on a sudden gotten together; She comes also and views, yea by words, encourages the multitude, that made indeed a goodly appearance, but had been much inferior, in the use of their Arms, to the Duke of *Parma's* Souldiers, if he could have come: However, to animate all, there were some who compared all the Queens actions, with those of the most famous Women, however fabulous; nay, they did not stick to equall her, to *Tomyris* her self, or the Queens of the *Amazons*, or that notable piece of Feminine Valour in the same Island of old, Queen *Boudicia*. Her Fleet, whereinto also she had taken all private Ships fit for Service, She thus disposed.

The Lord *Seymour*, had the Command and Conduct of the lesser Vessels, in the *Downs*, and at the *Thames* mouth; the greater being in number one hundred Ships, and which for the most part traded up and down in the *Spanish* Seas, were in Harbour at *Plymouth*, from whence, when occasion should be, they could with ease come out to meet and fight the Enemy, over whom, the chief Command, as *Admirall*, was

given

given to the Lord *Charles Howard*, Earl of *Nottingham*. The
Vice Admirall was *Francis Drake*, (afterwards Knighted,) a
Man eminently famous for his *Victories* at Sea, the same
whereof, he carried with him in the compassing of the
World, and most worthy in this great danger, to be called
by his Country to her assistance. The Enemies Fleet was
not far off from *England*, when the Queen, who herein had
been deceived by false Rumours on purpose invented and
sent out of *Spain*, Commands by her Letter, the Lord Admi-
rall *Howard*, that in regard She was informed, that the Fleet
was not coming, or at least would be a long time before they
came, that he should unarm and discharge the best of her
Ships. He had scarcely performed her Command, before the
Spanish Fleet appeared, when it was no small care and pains
to the *Admirall*, to recall his Souldiers, who had without or-
der or fear, taken liberty to be absent from their Quarters
and duty, as supposing they had leave to do so. And no less
was the *Spaniard* over-seen, in that he did not immediately
fall on, when he might have taken them so unprovided, and
unawares. But the *Commanders* that were afterwards taken
Prisoners, though they blamed themselves for that over-sight
and folly, yet were heard to excuse the same, by the strict-
ness of the orders laid upon them, and the nicities they were
to observe in all points prescribed, then which nothing hath
caused the loss of more fair opportunities. For *Philip* would
not have his Fleet run any hazard, untill the Duke of *Parma*,
by putting *Leuwewijk* to Sea, had doubled the terrour of their
approach. But the Lord *Seymour*, and the *Hollanders* Ships
joyning together, kept him close in *Dunkirk*, that he durst
not venter to break through with his smaller Vessels; nor
could the *Spanish Fleet*, though by that means it had escaped
the following disasters, come so near the shore, being full of
shelves and Quick-sands, as to drive away the Enemies
Ships, that were much more light and nimble: And that was
a thing of great consequence at that time, that no men did so
much

much as suspect, that the *Spaniards* (possessed as it were with a fatall and stupid blindness to their own ruine) had neglected to furnish their Ships with many things which were necessary for them, out of hopes to have them from the Duke of *Parma*.

Now it is to be noted, that his Ships, or the greatest part of them, had few or no *Seamen*, and the Reason thereof might be, besides the avarice of their Prefects and *Governors*, that there were very few *Seamen*, either bred in, or belonging to any of those *Netherlandish Cities* under his Dominion. And the *Baltick Cities* were not able to supply the number he wanted; and especially, for that all who were forced aboard by the *Spaniards*, took the first opportunity they could find to run away.

In this *Interim*, the *English Fleet* was gotten together again, and with very much difficulty, and hard Labour, by reason of a cross Wind, at last got out from *Plymouth*, that they might at a distance annoy the Enemy. In which kind of fight, it easily appeared, whether was more advantageous, the Ships of great and heavy Burthen, or Vessels more nimble and expeditious to turn and wind at all Assayes, for few of the *English Ships* were equall in bigness, to those of the *Spaniard*, but being more nimble, and apt to sail, they could at any time get the wind of the Enemy, and either go forward or backward at pleasure; and if the Wind changing, drove them as it were upon the Enemy, by fetching a compass, they eluded their expectation. And now there being a calm, so that the Enemy could easily come forward by the help of their Oars, they did not shoot common round Bullets, but chained shot, wherewith expanding themselves, they not only tore their Sails and Tackle, but broke their Oars: by which means the *Spaniards* could not come forward, or if they could, yet they kept back, not having a mind to fight. Their Ships were drawn into a long Rank, with extended horns, which as it made their Progress very slow, so also it made

made them more lyable to the *English* Cannon to be spoyled; And then if any Guns more sharply annoyed them, they drew in their Mooned and crescent Squadrons into the Body of the *Fleet*, and that one might not go before another, bore leis Sayle, neither could this be done altogether with safety, as was experimentally found by them, their Ships often falling foul upon one another, in their making such Tryals. And this hapned to *Valdez*, a great *Spanish* Captain, and of the same Family with that *Valdez* who is memorable for the Siege of *Leyden*. For a Ship of *Sevill*, carrying eight hundred men, under his Commadd, fell foul upon another with such impetuosity, that the *Fleet* was necessitated to leave it, having lost her Mast, that she alone might not hinder the course of the rest.

This being encompassed and assayled on every side, yielded it self to Sir *Francis Drake*, and the Men in her, saved by his mercy, contended in prayse of their *Conquerour*, even to flattery. At the same time, the best Ship of *Biscay*, whereof *Michael Oquendo* was Captain, took fire. Some report, that the Man being a *Netherlander*, and that either mindful of his Country, or angry that he saw himself suspected, together with those that began the fire, upon the approaching of the flame, leaped into the Sea. Few of the Men were saved, but the lower parts of it, being untouched by the fire, became a booty to the *English*. Presently after, they missed a Ship of *Venice*, and severall other smaller Vessels.

During this, the *English Fleet* augmented with Recruits, and the flocking thither of the *Nobility*, who did strive by their forwardness to manifest their affection to the *Queen*, was in many divisions spread over the Sea, so that which way soever the Enemy steered his course, he was still surrounded, and in every place torn with continuall shooting; wherewith so much *Gunpowder* had been spent, that there began to be a great scarcity thereof; and with that want, they were ever after, during the whole Conflict, oppressed; all

at length, some was gotten from *Holland*: without which the Kingdom of *England* at that time could not have been defended.

Now had the fight continued without ceasing, at a distance for the space of eight dayes (for the *English* Souldiers being fewer, and not able to cope with the *Spaniards*, had striven by all means, a close fight) and on the eighth of the *An. 6.* Ides of *August*, they were come, to the Streights of the narrow Sea, between *England* and *France*; Here the *English Fleet*, which you may remember, I told you before, was divided, met altogether, containing of *Seamen* and *Souldiers*, together eleven thousand, and having left the *Hollanders* to guard the Coast of *Flanders*: The *Spaniards* calling Anchor, waited for the Duke of *Parma*, and with his some lighter Ships, near to *Calais*, when he in the mean while, void of all hope, and not knowing what to do, makes procession about the Churches, attended with many vows, in this perplexity of mind, whether he aymed at the *Lordship* of *Britann*, or any higher Title; since it hapned otherwise, and is variously reported, I will leave it to every mans opinion: But now the *Spaniards* sent from their *Fleet* into *Flanders*, severall *Noblemen*, among whom, was the Prince of *Asculum*, (whose Mother careless of her own Credit, had made the King suspicious of his being true born) to consult of the common affair, whose passage being hindered, that they could not return, by that means they escaped that generall ruine, wherein so many were afterward involved; but by the *Queens* Command, who now began to be in no doubt, but the Enemy, as soon as the Moon left shining, chusing a dusky night, would if possible, joyn their Forces, in this manner brought a great confusion into the *Spanish Fleet*, that had set up their rest another night in that narrow Sea.

Eight *English* Ships filled with Engines, containing Stones and Gun-powder, and other combustible matter were, being first fired, sent among the Enemy, the Sea and Wind both

favouring the Design: But the *Spaniards*, being mightily amazed with the glistering of the Flame (for they perceived it came towards them, and gave a great Light over all the Sea) cut their Cables, and got out to Sea: In which Surprize, and violent Fear, one of the greatest Ships, commanded by *Hugh Moncada*, entangled with another Ships Cables and forced thereby to a Disorder, was by the Violence of the Sea, and Force of the Wind, driven aground on the *French Coast*, and there the Sea-men and Souldiers, of whom there were in her, besides those that Rowed with Oars, Four Hundred, hoping for some Relief from the *Continent*, held the *English*, now invading and assaulting them with Ladders, in a long Fight, till *Moncada*, and many others, being kill'd, the Ship was taken, and by the space of three whole hours spoiled.

But the *Governour* of *Calais* would not suffer it to be burned, that he might preserve the Shadow of a Friendship, the King of *Spain* not having yet publickly professed himself an Enemy to *France*, though it was believed, he had at this time a Design upon that very Town. The King lost there in ready Money Fifty Thousand Ducats, and Three Hundred Slaves were set at liberty. A few of the Ship-men escaped out by swimming, and were the first that brought into *Spain* the News of the Miscarriage of the whole Voyage.

The Fleet, thus scatter'd with a *Panick Fear*, is Rallyed again near *Gravelin*, the next Town of *Flanders*; and though very much gall'd and batter'd with the Guns, and other *Military Engines* of the *English*, yet they could not be forced to break their *Orders* any more: In this Conflict chiefly, the *Spanish Design* was ruin'd, and brought to nothing; for divers of their Ships being shot through with great Bullets, for that they could neither plug up the Holes or Breaches, nor free them from Water by their Pumps, were swallow'd up in the devouring and merciless Waves; Particularly, one *Biscayan Ship*, that was very fiercely assaulted, while the Captains within

within it, between Valour and Necessity, dissent in Council even to their Extremity, was immersed in the Sea. Two *Portuguese* Vessels, being brought into the Mouth of the *Uy* (for the Wind had driven them thither; they in vain striving to get out to Sea) fell upon the Coasts of *Zealand*, as it had been the Design of *Providence*, that they who were equally engaged in the Danger, should likewise between them divide the spoil.

The one of these Ships was called the *Philip*; the other was named the *Mathern*. *Didaco Piemontel* commanded this, and *Francisco de Toledo* the other, both of them Collonels; that, the chief men in it being gotten away in the Ship-Boat, the *Flushingers* had; but *Piemontel* scorning to fly, and refusing the Boat sent to him for that purpose, after he had, with the loss of many of his Men, endured great Extremity from their Guns, deliver'd himself Prisoner to the Power and Protection of *Peter Daise*, who being Commander in Chief of the *Holland* Ships in these Parts, hung up in the Church at *Roeden* an Ensign taken from the *Spaniards*, of an unusual Bigness, as a Trophy for the Peoples Insultation. Both these Ships, all things being taken out of them that were fit for use, were left to the Submersion of the Ocean. And now the *Hollanders* and *Frislanders* were informed, that the whole Fleet of the Enemy was passing along by their Coasts, whereupon they fearing, that they intended to get into the Mouth of the *Emms*, hastid to take away all Land-Marks, by the sight whereof, Men sailing at Sea, avoided the Shallows of those Places.

The *Spanish* Commanders, thus worsted in so many Encounters, and all throwing the blame from themselves, upon the Duke of *Parma*, began to consult about their Departure; although they plainly saw, that the danger thereof must be overcome with many other Hazards: For back again, all the Narrow Seas were beset; so that there remained but one help, which was to compass all the Northern Parts of *Br*

where the Rugged Ocean, not broken by the Land, is not only boisterous, but very seldom passed without the danger of Shipwrack. And if they had then been hindred, so great a Fears both of the Sea, and their Enemies, had seized upon them, that it was reported, the Duke of *Medina-Sidonia* began to advise, whether he should yield up the *Fleet*, and make Propositions for saving their Lives. But the *English*, onely minding what course they took, least they should fall upon *Spain*, or enter the *Danish* Seas, as soon as they perceived them leave all that Coast, would not, by following them, make the same danger with them, since they onely sought a way for their flight through that great Ocean, resting very well content with the Honour of driving away the *Fleet*, and saving their Country. For which they would eagerly have pursued them, they were (as I told you before) hindred for want of Gun-powder. But they sent the Lord *Seymour* back in good time, that he, joyning with the *Hollanders Fleet*, should repel all the Duke of *Parma's* Endeavours; the rest, having for a while been tossed with a Tempest, at length got safe into *England*, though not without danger.

The Glory of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, who, of Old, made good all their greatest Affairs by *Navall Victories*, was, without doubt, at this time, equalled by the Fortune and Valour of the *English*, though the Conquest was slowly and safely gotten, without the joyning in a close and intermingled Battle. And, in the event of this Contest, it is very remarkable, that in all the time they fought with the *Spaniards*, there was not one considerable Ship lost, nor above one hundred killed or destroyed, either by the Sea; or the War; when all this while, the *Spaniards* underwent all kinds of miseries; for having lost near five Thousand Men, and their best Ships, many of those that remained, being either sick or wounded, and wanting all things, they were at length glad to throw themselves, for safety, into the merciless Fury of a most impetuous and stormy Sea, where they threw over-
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board their Horses, Cattel, and much other Goods, to lighten their Ships against the insulging Waves. Then the Duke of *Medina Sidonia* gave Order to such as came up to him, that they should steer their Course between the *Orcades*, and some other Islands in that Sea, to the Ports of *Biscay*. Himself with some few Ships that were in better case than the rest, makes his way to the Great Sea, the rest went not far from *Irishland*; some of whom, by various strokes of Weather, brought back again, were cast, some upon the Coast of *England*, some of *France*: Many driven into *Norway*, were then dashed in pieces against the Rocks; and another part thereof, by a boisterous and raging Storm, was whirled into the furthest part of the *North*, and the yet unknown World. The King of *Scotland* performed the Laws of Peace and Hospitality to all that were cast upon his Dominions; Two and Thirty were cast away upon the *Irish Flatts*, and the adjacent Sea, and the men labouring to save themselves, were slain by the Inhabitants, because they were more in number than consisted with their safety to shew mercy to; they were followed even into their Country, by the implacable Fury of Revengeful Fate, where two of them were burnt in the very Port or Harbour, and others, by like Mischance, destroyed: onely Thirty remained, that carryed Provisions, and of Ships of War, but one of all that late so great Fleet, bringing home the Commander in Chief. Many of the Nobles, and not a few of the common sort, died soon after their Return, either by the Diseases they contracted in so troublesome and unfortunate a Voyage, or else out of grief of Mind, that while they looked upon themselves as *Conquerors*, they should be subdued by the peevishness of *Fortune*. The greatness of their Loss appeared in this, that the King was forced to shorten the time of Mourning by Edict, that he might hide from the publick view the Misfortune thereof, he had filled so many Noble Families, with Funerall Obsequies.

Some of the Prisoners, both in *England* and *Holland*, were Ransomed; others had their Liberty given them freely. Many times men learn Piety from Fear, and the Event of a Thing hanging in doubtful suspence, makes them run to their Prayers: But here Publick Thanksgivings were Ordered to be given to God for this Victory; and the Queen her Self, being carryed in Triumph, according to the ancient manner, made a Speech to the People; wherein she shewed, That a greater benefit could never be received from the Divine and Eternal Providence of God, whereby to make out, how weak and vain of Humane Strength is, against the Power of Heaven. And the *Hollanders* reaped another Benefit from this common Danger, because, after this, they had the more Friendly Society of the *English*, who hitherto were wont to boast, that they had supported those Allies onely out of meer Humanity.

But the Duke of *Parma*, while the Remainers of the *Spanish* Fleet were getting home to *Spain*, being cast from his accustomed Felicity, into a Gulph of Misery, and drawn from the height of Confidence, to the bottom of Despair, rather by the impulse of others, than his own Advice, because he began to be hated, is drawn to besiege *Breda*: The *Brabanters* urged him, That he should not suffer one Town, whence daily Inroads were made by their Troops of Horse into their Country, and laid wast their Fields, to infect them, and put a stop to all his Victories. Although he was not well pleased to remove the Army, now burthensom to exhausted *Flanders*, to any other place, least out of *Sham* or *Fear*, if it should refuse, it should seem there was no relying upon their Assistance: But if Fortune would once more become favourable, and the Design should succeed, thereby a way would be made into the Isles of *Zeland*, and so to carry the War into *Holland*, the next way, as he thought, to revive those hopes, which he had too confidently before relied on, and lost. For that Town being rarely situated on the Borders of *Brabant*, at a little distance overlooks *Zeland*; not far

far thence is the River *Schelde*, into which the *Zuile* (from whence the Town is so named) falleth, whereby the Town hath a long, but somewhat inverted, or winding, Haven. It was in a very flourishing condition, by continual Commerce under the Command of a Noble Family, bearing its Surname, untill by the Neighborhood of *Antwerp*, and the Mischances of War, it decayed; having been taught woful Experience both by the Enemy, and those who remained there in Garrison. But when it came to be annexed to the *United States*, though sometimes indanger'd by Treachery, yet now was first set upon by Force and a Siege. *Thol*, an Isle and Town of *Zelanda*, is divided from the Territory of *Berghen*, by a Arm or Branch of the *Scheld*; which being convenient, for the passage of the Forces, lest, if it shou'd be left to the *Hollanders*, it might hinder the Siege, *Momigny* and *Olivier*, of Kindred to the Count *Mainfildt*, were sent before to possess it; who, coming upon a sudden, together with flying Reports given out, as if the War were intended against *Holland*, they lead Eight Hundred Souldiers over the Footh, hoping to have privily surprized the Coast or Border of *Zelanda*; but the time of the Waters flowing, being not well observed, (for then it flow'd) a few men easily worsted these Defendants, endeavouring with staggering Foot-steps, by reason of the Mud, to go forward: In the mean time, the *Musketers* they had left in *Brabant*, de'ended themselves under the Defence and Shield of the Bank (for so the place proved to them) But presently, by the care of *George Edward*, Count *Solmes*, that was *Governour* of the Island, and threatening abroad of the danger, the multitude of his men pressing, put the Enemy to flight, and drove them into the Whirlpools, where, without possibility of help, they perished; the Captains themselves hardly escaped by swimming. The natural Marshiness of the place, being very Watry, and somewhat deep, destroyed, as some report, Four Hundred Men, and if any part of their Bodies, being yet alive, appear

about

above Water, presently with Darts, or other Things cast at them, they were killed; in all this Encounter, there being of the adverse Side but one man kill'd, which is almost miraculous to relate; and from thenceforth the Island was strengthened with Castles, Guards, and other Military Engines of Defence. Hereupon, the Duke of *Parma* taking another Resolution, that by shutting up their Haven, he might straighten the Townsmen of Provision, with his great Army he besieged their Works, placing Guards in all places near about them; and where his Men were by any means separated, he made Bridges, to unite the passages to each other. With all which, the Citizens of *Borghen* were nothing terrified, nor were as if they had been besieged, because both Souldiers and Aid, with all other things necessary for Defence, were plentifully brought to them out of *Zeland*, and the Neighbouring Cities of *Holland*, they fought either with Horse or Foot, as if it had been two Camps one against another, many light Skirmishes, but never without drawing blood from the enemy: Nor was the Souldiers Valour onely exemplary, but the Townsmens Labour, spent in fortifying the place, was notable; but most laudable of all, was the Concord between the Captains and the Magistrates, whereby they raised Money without grumbling by extraordinary Taxes. But a difference beginning among the *English* Commanders (who had a great strength in that Garrison) and every thing else, besides that of Trouble, was publickly settled by Prince *Maurice*, and the *Deputies* of the *States*, brought thither by a strong and safe Convoy. Between the Town and the River *Scheld* were two Castles; on the one side sufficiently defended by Bulwarks; on the other, by the Estuary of the Sea; and for the Battery on that of the *North*-side, the Duke of *Parma* did, though in vain, endeavour by his great Guns to divide it from the Town, to hinder all passage and Trade by Sea; and he was induced to that Care and Charge by the hope of Treachery, which the *Italian* Policy is often eluded by: Two

Spanish Captives solicited a Cook or Victualler, at whose house they were kept, and an *English* Souldier that often frequent the house, (his name was *Grimsdon*) to bring to Castle; which passage, because it is worthy to be known, I will relate. They, although they could well enough in their own Natures digest any kind of Lucre, yet so they resolved, that if they could get any thing, they would rather owe their Enemies than their Friends; and with this conclusion they come to the *Governour*, tell him of the Design, and desire his Instructions, which he gives them in this manner. *That both of them should take opportunity to go to the Duke of Parma, that he might not slight their Endeavours; or rather which signified, that he might under the View of Observance be approved.* The Duke binds them to him by Oath, and for their present Fortune, loads them both with Gifts and Promises; and when yet he durst hardly trust them, unless themselves the Plot incurred some personal danger, it was agreed, that they should be bound between two Armed Souldiers, with naked Daggers in their Hands, that should go to the Foot, but kill them before, if they perceived any Intention of Deceit.

Thus imagining there had been caution enough used, and that having slighted their own, they would not decline the Aid and Protection of Strangers: Upon this Confidence therefore Three Thousand Men, and among them many of great quality, were drawn out to undertake the seizing of the Castle; The Gate was open, till fifty were entred, and thus far the Event made good their Promises: But then presently a Port-Cullis, the Ropes that held it being cut, was let down, and all that were come in, were kill'd or taken; nor did the *Spanish* Keepers mind the killing of the two bound Traytors, being amazed with suddain fear, and dreading the Fury of present Revenge. But the excluded Multitude, seeing they could not make any way back, though they pressed on thronged with all their might, turning Despair into Valour,

they scaled the Bulwark, running through the Trench which was now empty, by reason of the Ebbe, and were now past the first Palisadoes, through the Breast-work within, whence driven with Fire-Balls, Hand-Granadoes, and their Fire-works, prepared by those within, fore-warned of the Design, and flying whither they could, fell into Ambuscadoes, and other Traps laid for them, and so were destroy'd; a great part of them were slain, and they that escaped slaughter, the Tide now coming in, and by their ignorance of the place were smother'd in the Mud: The Duke of *Parma* finding himself thus deceived, and that the Cruelty of the Weather wore out his men by Diseases and Death, when now, in the latter part of *Autumn*, the Plains were, by frequent Rains, turned into Pools, and the Rampires ready to fall, by reason of the Mire, first he left his Works, then deserted his Camp, and a long time afflicted with the scarcity of many things, but at last with the want of all, but especially of fresh Water, he was forced, by little and little, to break up his Siege, which he had for six Weeks vainly continued: but least it should seem that he had done nothing, he left some few places fortified against Excursions. But the Townsmen of *Berghen*, nothing hindred thereby, after that very much enriched themselves, by frequent Booties taken from the Enemy, and began again to re-flourish, being under the peculiar Obedience of Prince *Maurice*; for the *States* gave him this, and other places, which had follow'd the Enemies part, in lieu of those paternal Inheritances of his own, which the *Spaniard* held from him. The Duke of *Parma* all this Winter, quarter'd his men in the Village of *Brabant*, by means whereof that Country was wasted, though not so soon as *Flanders*.

At the beginning of the Spring, the Lord of *Cimace* (the Duke *Arschots* Son) was sent by the Prince of *Parma*, with a Selected Band of Souldiers, to besiege *Bonne*, where *Scheuck* not having men enough to defend it, but sending to the Princes of *Germany* for Aid, laying before them the danger of

that famous City, when they returned neither to himself, nor to *Trarinus*, any Forces to resist the Enemy, it being their Interest, that under the pretence of War in the *Netherlands*, the *Spanish Power* should not invade all that was near them, and by that means, by little and little, incroach upon their Right; for powerful Empires are wont to take first one thing, then another, till at length they seize the whole; then being now no Remedy to help themselves, but by sending him present Supplies, and out of the common fear to associate and joyn their Powers; concluding thus, *That if he would defend and protect him, he would preserve and keep them for them*: But this Rhetorical Demand, was answer'd with a Souldier-like Resolution, in the Name of the *German*, in such Terms as he little expected. [*But We*, say they, *have not embroyl'd our selves in other mens Quarrels for your sake, having been better instructed by the many misprospering Aids sent into France: The Differences of the Provinces are unknown among themselves, but would prove certainly very dangerous to any Forreigners that should interlope. Some of us have never medled with the Netherlands, the most whereof they are well satisfied in, not willing to be rewarded as the King of France was, for sending his Brother thither; and Katharine of Medices. for aiding Antonio. And now, when the same Spaniards seek Amity and a League, shall we give successe Philip? who himself being a part of us, by his great Possessions in Germany, restored to their Seats the German Bishops: Nay, rather it behoves us to submit to his Potency, with the desire of Peace, than exasperate his Fury to the Trial of a Warre.*]

Thus being frustrate of his hope, while both the *English* and *Hollanders* being otherwise taken up, denyed relief or greater necessities, as well as to him: he exhorts the Souldiers left in the Garrison, to keep off the Enemy, which they might with safety, and valiantly to endure the Siege; which accordingly they did, and killing *Baptista Taxis*, an eminent

Spanish

Spanish Commander, and coming off Victors in many Battles, after the Enemy with six moneths toyl and hazard, had in manner beaten down all the Fortifications, and the besieged suffered a great hunger, he delivered the City upon honourable Conditions, into the Power of the Bishop, a *Ravennat*, for that name was used, though Spanish Souldiers entered in, and held the City. Hence Count *Mansfeldt* is commended, who in the beginning of *Autumn*, had carryed a Recruit to the Lord *Cimace's* Forces, the Siege being now ended, to attacke with part of the same *Wallendone*, a Town which lies in the upper part of *Gelderland*, near the little River *Nessa*; The Garrison consisted of some Companies of *Black* men, and the scituation of the place being very muddy, and the depth of Winter made the coming to an assault very difficult. But the ground being raised by the *Bolsers*, unto the heighth of a little Hill, from whence they should look down upon the Houses, and the Bullets shot from that place at some times, and at other times fire cast thence into the Town, so infested the Townsmen, whom another year had likewise possessed, least the coming of a great Frost should make all those moyst and wet places, by Ice, passable for the Enemy, that they perswaded the Souldiers not to stand out, hopeles of any second Relief, (because the Forces of their Allyes were small, and a great way off) and hazard all their lives and fortunes. However, the Town was defended till the very end of the year, the continuing of the Siege till which time, what with the extremity of the weather, and what with want of necessaries, cost many thousand of the Besiegers lives, though at last they compassed their intentions, by the getting of the Town.

At this time, by reason of the great expense, charge, damage, and losse of the *Spanish Fleet*, which had wonderfully exhausted the Kings Treasure, the Army had been a long time without any pay, by reason whereof, there were frequent Seditions; and the hopes of great plunder allured many

many to revolt to the Enemy, so that the *Hollanders*, safe in their Rivers, a little enlarging their bounds, did without danger or detriment, make incursions into the Enemy's Country. But the States of these parts, while they stanned, fell into their old pressures: for some who had been in Arms under the Arch-Duke *Matthias*, and the Duke of *Anjou, Francis de Valois*, and boldly usurping the name of Princes strangers, by publick Authority, seized all the Dutch Ships that were in or about *Scotland*: But an Embassy being sent to the *Princes*, informed them of their error, and understanding the Customs of *Holland*; for the *Hollanders* though they assisted divers Cities with their Forces, yet did never make themselves lyable to any debts by them contracted, for they were only subject to the Authority of the Prince of *Aurage*. Neither did they now rightly demand from the confederate States, what those *Provinces* did owe, which was recorded from the League.

This I thought fit to insert, because by such Speeches, we did refell those prejudicial exactions, and occasion there was given, of covenanting with the Commanders that remained, with an Oath, concerning their old debts to be paid by certain portions, to the great ease of the *Commonwealth*.

Among these things, partly by a common fear, and partly by the Prisoners of *Wrecht*, who thought to remedy their folly by pertinacy, the differences begun by the Earl of *1589. Lancaster* burst out fresh. But the Garrison Souldiers of *Gortzenburg*, consisting of one thousand five hundred Foot, and three hundred Horse, because they had usurped a greater Licence from the occasion of the discords, than they supposed could be pardoned, and fearing an Insurrexion among their fellow Souldiers, would not be reduced to order, but remained arrogant by the Neighbour-hood of the Enemy. At the beginning of their Sedition, though they turned on their present Officers, and elected whom they pleased, yet they would not bearken either to the Duke of *Parma's* Le-

in our Messengers: Afterwards some Agents for the Enemy, being mingled amongst them, their ignorance not minding them, and those Agents sent to the *Hollanders* to treat with them, upon their return, setting forth the threats they had heard, to the worst, with the fear of punishment, they not only became enemies themselves, but provoked others to be so: so that contempt made them courageous, after *Willoughby*, the Colonel of the *English Auxiliaries*, under pretence of rewarding the Souldiery, had in truth made his Kinsman *Forsyth* the head of the Sedition, according to the Advice of the Town, and bestowed the pay sent by the *States* so as he might oblige, or make sure such as were suspected, not by any certain Rule, but as he hoped to have them upon occasion, whereupon the Souldiers mocked at them, as being deceived by them, and abused what they had, as if it had been booty. And as soon as the Captains, and the Souldiers, by their example, had spent this money in riot and excess, they sent both parties of Horse every way, to plunder and bring in booty from the Country. Nay, they retained all Ships that came within their reach, without any distinction of friend or foe; nor did they spare the *Provinces* that were absolutely at peace.

Thus passing the Winter, they were solicited to treachery, which would procure an easie Pardon for all their crimes, by *Olivero Lamavicchia*, the Governor of *Breda*: for (as he said true) the manner of their offending was dangerous, and that might be urged for an excuse to the Duke of *Parma*, which neither the *English*, or *Hollander*, would ever admit of. This Counsel, they, being now ready to receive any imposition of evil, hearkened to, and according to the Custom of Sedition, were intraged with all that perswaded otherwise. And forthwith all of them, as it were possessed with a sudden Frenzy, seize all the Townsmens Arms, some few in that mad multitude not daring to speak for fear. The name of *Englishmen* is pre ended for all this uproar, as well by the
Cap.

Captains, and most others of that Nation, as by the Dutch Soldiers themselves. And the more insolent they grow, the more impunity is offered to them by Letters from the States, who began to fear the worst, desiring them to return to the Colony, forgetting all those discords which publique enmity and the malice of fate had thrown amongst them; and that they would do an acceptable piece of Service to the Commonwealth, if they would put an end to those disturbances, although they did not begin them. But their Consciences, convicting them of all their evil deeds, made them afraid to give credit to this Invitation. Hereupon, it was put to the question, if an Army should be prepared against these Rebels, who so arrogantly slighted the Commands and Authority both of the States, and of Prince Maurice. Some would not have a Soldier to be further incensed with danger, alledging, that good opportunity would better cure such distempers, which violence cannot long continue.

On the other side, it was affirmed, that they made a mockery at patience and lenity, and should they stay till the enemy, with whom even then they privately treated, was admitted openly into the Town? if Pardon were offered to them, with terror attending it, as it would encourage the good, it would it compel the rest to repent: Thus of late, *Midmouth* was restored by the penitence of the Souldiery, after the enemy had long hoped for it, with a fruitless expectation; it matters not, said others, which course is taken to save the place, for men resolved to be treacherous, would still continue in the same mind, whether you leave them to themselves, or seek to win them by persuasions. Wherefore, at the beginning of the Spring, Prince Maurice gathered together, as many Forces as he could, both by Sea and Land, though not sufficient for a Siege, and with them marches thitherward: At the first approach, a battery was made against the Town with Cannon, which was answered with the like by the Rebels; little being then done, but that among the rest

Justin

Justus Vilars was killed, who was a great Soldier, formerly Governour of *Utrecht*, and now *Camp-master*, and the Person that had instructed the Princes youth in Military Discipline, and all Warlike Affairs. And when they perceived the Prince intended to storm the place forthwith, having now beaten down the Bulwark, and laid open the Town, they divined that eminent danger, and turned it aside under the cloak of a Treary, and the day following, what with the overflowing of the Rivers, and what with the Rains, the intended agreement was never perfected. Besides, there was news, that *Lanceverchia*, with a select number of Soldiers, was approaching at the instigation of *Wingfield*; nor did that Englishman want words to perswade the accomplishment of the Treason. But calling the People together, speaks to this effect, *[You see them here (saith he) whose Bullets and fire never were thrown with like fury against the Walls of an Enemy, and therefore have been so much more dangerous to us, and now they threaten us presently with the Sword, and we all unite, by their unanimous consent, are designed either to slaughter or punishment. But yonder are they who come to preserve us from whom we may merit both favour and reward: It is now upon your hand fellow Soldiers, whether to run the hazard of pulling to the one, or to give and receive a blow from the other.]*

This Oration was applauded generally, they who were near with their words, and the rest with a kind of soft and whispering noise, signifying their consent.

Prince *Maurice* being not prepared for a long Siege, resolved to depart, and this rather, because he would not seem to necessitate that treacherous yielding of the Town to the Enemy, which he could not prevent or hinder. But yet he sent Letters to them, to try if either respect of honesty, or fear of Infamy, could yet prevail on any of them.

But

But that mercenary People received them with scorn, especially for that the Duke of *Parma*, had, besides paying their so long elapsed Wages, bestowed among them also Donative. It is reported, that then he began to clear up his countenance, which had been long clouded with grief, when from a high Tower in the taken City, he could see *Dort*, and those other places of his hope, at the beginning of the War. It pleased him to look upon, and Command the first of the *Holland* Gaiet, after many years reduced into his power. And such was the over-hastiness of his exultation, that the being yet one of his Souldiers entered the Town, he thrust his person to them, whom of all others, being admitted, he ought for that very cause, to have suspected, and some not in very great fear, left taking hold of so great an opportunity, they should again have proved treacherous to him: but there was no time to mention such a thing, and therefore not have been dangerous to be spoken of; They delivered the Town to him, not to his party, lest they should deceive both. Few of the men either returned to *England*, or did hold obedience, though some did; but the rest, according to their number, as the Duke of *Parma* had separated them, did very great service in the Warres; never assisting to themselves any but in Victory; for being prescribed as *Troops* and *Renegadoes*, they had forfeited all their priviledges as Souldiers by their crime. Nay, their villany was condemned by those who reaped the benefit of their Treason, by whom they were long after jeered with the name of *Albion*; scarce any of them coming to a naturall and timely death; and if so, yet not without Infamy. Many were afterwards taken in other Cities, and according to Martial Law executed.

The Souldiery to whom the Duke of *Parma* delivered the possession of the City, made many valiant excursions, severall times in a short space fought very fortunately, defeating three Troops of Prince *Maurices* Horse, as they were

ingrately scattered up and down near *Bouhadon*. From hence it appeared very necessary to take in all the adjacent places, and accordingly, the care thereof was committed to the inferior Commanders. Besides *Gornuydenburgh*, there are two other Towns belonging to the jurisdiction of *Holland*, and lay now beyond the *Maas*. But *Hesdin*, formerly was contained in the *Maas*, before the waters were conveyed away by a new Channel; reputed a part of the ancient County of *Tiphens*, under the Allegiance and Patronage of the Princes of *Clare*, who afterwards transferred their right to the *Hollanders*. But the Town of *Sintenberg*, of old part of *Scheldeland*, it is separated by a River, and therefore, as to the matters of Religion, it is under the care of the Bishop of *Longhox* of the Bishop of *Utrecht*, as the rest of *Holland* is; but proper Princes of its own; yet so, as they were to do homage to the Princes of *Holland*, and severall Villages about *Gornuydenburgh* have very antiently been subject to them; having been the Custom of valiant Nations, when they conquer, to passe the next River, and make the further Banks thereof the bounds of their Empire; notwithstanding all which, the *Brabanters* have a long time, but to no purpose, challenged both *Gornuydenburgh* and *Hesdin*, to belong to them. But now Count *Artemberg*, with safe prevailed over *Sintenberg*, being very meathly fortified, and so the more ready to be spoiled by any Armies; but he could not keep it, because the *Hollanders* were in possession of *Nordam*, and the other adjacent places.

Charles Mansfelt being sent against *Hesdin*, attempted also *Bommel*, the head of the adjoining Isle, and encompassed with double branches of the *Maas* and *Wael*, there meeting by the guile and treacheries of some of the Townsmen: But the Treason being discovered and punished, he straightly began it as he had begun, resolutely keeping his first designed Station near to *Hemerte* Castle, though the River breaking over his bounds, had, by its excessive increase, over-flowed all

the

the Fields. And now *Hissin* who not so much afraid of
as Famine, it being defended against the Enemy, who
encamped it about at a great distance by *Pamph*,
was a man of undaunted Resolution; and would not
to undergo the greatest Extremities: But Prince *Al-*
prevented it, who gathering a sufficient Number of
from the great *Garrison*, broke through where the Enemy
thinnest, bringing in all things, where want was feared. *Th-*
things thus done, *Almsfeld* with Ships, Guns, and
Warlike Engines, set upon, having carried thither
part of his Army, to the Castle *Holm*, in the Isle of *Rom*.
In this place there was Endeavour, strength, and sufficiency
of Defence; but *Sidenburg*, by too hasty yielding, took
all occasions both of Hope and Fear; He seemed to lay
fault thereof upon the Souldiers, and that with the great
Confidence, because many of them had been kill'd; the
stand, as they marched on, cruelly butchering them, without
the Knowledge or Consent of their Captains, with the
rises of this place, and of *Croon* over against it; who
being destroyed by Count *Hobins*, the King's Officer
re-built; encircling the Island at the meeting of the River
Man, and a little Rivulet call'd *Dise*; they wasted the
Fields, and all other indefensible places, both of Forts
Castles, not well knowing which way they should evade
the Rivers being swell'd with Showers; tearing down the
Fortifications begun, at the very ending of the Island, over
against *Garrison*. Afterwards, by other Directions, invading
others places beyond the *Wash*; now they come to *Gild-*
land, and they trouble *Utrecht*; and last of all the Island
Pam, not far from *Bammit*; and two years before strength-
ned by the *Nassauians* with a Castle, where hearing
Count *Hobins*, with a selected Party of Horse and Foot
drew nigh, with an intent to fight them, *Almsfeld* afraid
of the Report, in regard there was no possibility of his stay
after he had consumed the Spring and the Summer in vain.

the best but Trivial Matters; wherefore re-passing the *Alto*, by the suddain madness and fury of a *Spanish Regiment*, for want of their Pay, which he endeavour'd to appeale; was like to have been slain. *Saurius Lavia* was their Colonel, and beloved as well by the *Souldiers*, as by *Mansfeldt* himself, though they had lately had some difference in words: Nay, there were some that did believe the Prince of *Assen*, and Duke of *Palatinate*, had under-hand, in hatred to the Duke of *Parma*, encouraged the Sedition. Without doubt, the *Parman Prince*, excelling all the *Spanish Commanders* in Glory, and the Greatness of his Achievements, had contracted upon himself great Envy; and the rather, because he only shew'd a greater Respect to, and put a stronger Confidence in the *Italians*; from whence it came to pass, that they would no less find fault with his *Vertues*, than *Misdoings* which were but accidental; openly affirming, that he betray'd the *Spanish Fleet*; that all his Endeavours against the *Netherlanders* were nothing worth; and many other such like Things.

But his Conquering so many of the *Provinces*, being the greatest part of the *Netherlands*, and the unwearied and strenuous Labour taken by that People against him, were clandestinely represented to the Kings as much as might be, to his disadvantage, though under the shew of praise and admiration: Nor had their fear of him been vain, if his Life had been prolonged, to the detriment of the *Spanish Empire*, least being famous for War, and his Clemency in Governing, for which even his Enemies loved him, he should (as many then Reasoned) alter and change his present Possession for *Portugal*, belonging of Right to his Son. Certainly, either *Philip*, as is the Nature of Kings, being apt to be timorous and suspicious, himself frustrated his Fortune, while he overcharged him with Honour, or else necessitated by real Poverty, did restrain his excessive Charges: However it was, the Prince of *Parma*, on the one side, by Care to provide against

all those Evils that *Parma* uses to bring forth, and on the other, over-coiled with the Weight of present Affairs, sick, which caused him to go into *Germany*, to the *Spanish* *Waters*: And after this time, he was never perfectly in Health, nor was fortunate in his Undertakings, as before. For while cause the *Italians*, a Nation infinitely jealous, and taking Truth, whatever they imagine, reported that the *Spaniards* had poisoned the Duke; and the Bruic thereof, settling to be made out by their other Cruelties prevailed; but chiefly, because every one is willing to believe any Evil of a *Spaniard*: But this was not without some shew of Reason, the Prince *Maurice* having intercepted divers Letters, among the rest had those, wherein *Parma* was grievously accused King *Philip*, which the Prince sent to him. But he, as it was, not minding this Kindness of his Enemy, nor returning Thanks, invited the *Inditer* of those Letters, one *John Mors*, to a Feast, which he did not long over-live, which gave no matter for Discourse. (This *Mors* was he, that with Cunning, Policy, and many Largesses and Bribes, had promoted the *Spanish Affairs* in *France*) and this manner of Talk was the more frequent, because he, who was believed the *Minister of Revenge*, had not any Reward, but rather cast out of Favour. Upon this occasion, the Duke sent *Richardot* into *Spain*, to clear him of those Aspersions cast upon him; because he did not aid the *Spanish Fleet*; The King publicly heard him, and the Duke of *Medina-Sidonia* was likewise accused, and seemed to pardon both the Dukes.

The Tumult of the Souldiers, a little before mentioned, being appeased, with the punishment of a few, and the Regiment disbanded, though it had been long in the War, *Morfeldt* was commanded, with seventy compleat Ensigns, to directly thence to take *Berck* on a suddain. That City belonging to the Bishop of *Colem*, had now been strongly fortified three years, from the time the Duke of *Parma* departed

there

Truxillus and *Nimarius*, having lately gotten in;
 That having referred his cause, This his *Quarrell*, to the *Uni-*
versal States, had deliver'd the disputed Possession thereof to
 them, as indifferent Judges and Moderators between them.
 But at the beginning of this Year, the *Hollanders* being stron-
 ger than they in Horse, made a Bridge over the *Rhine*, and
 furnish'd it with Souldiers and Provisions: For this cause, at
 the Request of the Bishop (who came in person to the Duke
 of Parma) *Varentonius*, the Governour of *Gelderland* for
 the King, was sent with part of the Army, to see if he could
 reduce it; either by force or starving. In their Journey thi-
 der, he fell upon; but not without loss, the Castle of *Blycke*,
 (his place Collonel *Schenck*, not minding propriety, chal-
 lenged to himself, as his own by Conquest) for the Garrison,
 consisting of old and well-disciplin'd Souldiers, a whole
 Month endured the Thunder of their Cannon and other
 Guns, valiantly returning them the like, had made a more
 unequal Slaughter, untill a greater loss hapning upon some
 day, and by the Death of their Captains, being at variance;
 (after they had turned out the rest) and their Ammunition
 beginning to fail, they let the En- my have the place. One
 Remarkable Thing was observed in this Victory, to wit, a
 Woman found among the dead Bodies, that had, in Man's
 Habit, and with a Masculine Courage, followed the Warre:
 The like to this was frequently observed at the beginning of
 the Troubles; nor did any Age formerly produce so many
 such Examples: For as the Minds of People were stirred
 up to the War, by the frequent naming of God, the Country,
 and the Prince, so even the distinction of the Sexes was laid
 aside; that the practice of *Harid* and *Revenge*, might with
 more freedom be made use of: But *Schenck's* Nature always
 inclined to Cruelty, with the Conjunction of his Loss and
 Shame together, was now more enraged: This place, taking
 away his Goods, he set on fire; but chafed without measure,
 because he had not Souldiers enough to relieve the Besieged

in *Berck*, however drawing together all both Horse and Foot that he could make, he fortified a place upon the Bank of the *Rhin*, not far from the Town call'd *Rex*, in spite of all *Karlsbanius* his Endeavours to the contrary, from whence he conveyed into the Town of *Berck* all the Forces he had received. Afterwards, receiving Intelligence, that *Veldug* was coming with more Forces, by speedy Marches he came upon them at unawares, at the River *Lup*, in the Field of *Wessalia*, with a furious slaughter; so that they fled, and left to him the Money that they were carrying into *Friesland* to pay the Souldiers. Not content herewith, but grown more confident by his Success, he threatned to storm and sack *Nienmegen* by Night, (for he bore a spleen to the Town) and, to that purpose, in a Dark chosen for that end, sending his *Cavallery* before, and some few *Ferry-Boats*, which the *Souldiers* carryed, and passing the *Wall*, he came to that part of the City, which was onely strong by the *Rivers Current* that way; commanding his nimblest men to break down the *Fences* of one of the Houses that stood backward upon the Bank, that entering there, they might disperse themselves through the City in Troops, and so set upon and win the Gates: But by chance, in the House where this *Stratagem* was executed, (for it was not the same House which *Schenck* had before marked, the mistake being easily made by the darkness of the Night) there was a Wedding; so that immediately a great Outcry being made there, the Townsmen were Alarm'd, and beset the House, driving back such as came out thence with Arms, and shooting at them with Guns: The *Multitude* got new Courage with the approach of Day; (but *Schenck's* Men being few, in the narrow passages were shut, and not knowing which way to go for fear, cruelly slain: Their Collonel himself standing upon the Bank, was not able to withstand their flight; sometimes encouraging all; another time, some particular persons by Name, That they would go through with their Noble Masters King.

by a valiant Assault, open the way for others to follow them. But all would not make them stop their flight: And to perfect their Ruine, there hapned another fatal Mischance to them; for the Boats which they had brought with them from their Garrison, were by the force of the stream of the Water, carry'd before it was Day below the City, so that such as fled could not come at them.

Thus over-born with the strength and Weapons of their Enemies, and the few Boats that were left, not able to contain all with the Weight and Tumult of those that crowded into them, sunk, and many of them were drowned in the River, among whom their Collonel, heavily laden with Arms, perished. This was the end of Collonel *Schencke*, a man, exceeding most of his time in noble and generous Courage; his Family and Descent was not mean, but yet the Glory of it was much enlarged under the Prince of *Parma*. Afterwards the Earl of *Lincolne* made him a Knight, and bestow'd on him many other *Military Honours*; for Wisdom and Valour he merited high esteem, but yet would subject himself neither to Laws nor Customs; for which, the *Souldiers of Fortune* honoured him, but the *Magistrates and Common People* hated his Name; his Disposition, though it had been fierce and untractable in his Youth, yet now, in his latter time, it began to grow more mild and flexible: His Body, when found by the Victors, because he had left them, and gone over to the *States*, was exposed to publike Shame and laughter. But the *Revenge* of the *Souldiery*, forced them to alter the *Sentence*; for they severely punished all *Captives* that came to their hands, belonging to *Nieumegen*: Yet for all that two years it lay unburied, untill by the taking of the Town by Prince *Maurice*, it had a decent Interment. *Nienarus* also, about the same time, was kill'd by chance, while he was carelessly viewing some Instruments or Engines of War: A Man certainly, of an unblameable Conversation, though at last coming into the War. *Truxius* thus deprived of both his

Chief Commanders, by whose Valour and Conduct, the good Fortune of his Party had hitherto been upheld, at length left off the War, but especially because the Enemy had won *Breck*, where a long Siege, spun out until the following year, with the loss of much Blood, at last got the Victory for the *Spaniard*: But *Schink's* Souldiers, though they had received their *Arrears*, and were entertained into Pay among the rest, yet mad with grief for the loss of their Colonel, threatened a Sedition; because that Island being in their hands, would easily procure them a Chapman within the Bounds of the *Rhin*. Notwithstanding this, the *Hollanders* took great Care afterwards to relieve *Breck*, though with no other hope, than to make the Enemy lose time, since they could not hinder his taking the City: Count *Faloutsch* being sent with Two Thousand Men, besides some chiefe Horse, according to this Advice, was follow'd by *Varenbomius*, as soon as in his Journey, having taken the Castle before-mention'd, he had passed the River, yet with no intent to fight, though he were much the stronger, but onely designing to fall upon their Rear as they marched; and finding an Opportunity for the same, was at the first received by *Francis Vere*, commanding then two *English* Companies newly raised, with which he sustained the Brunt and Heat of the Charge, until the Horse came in, and shortly after all the Foot Colours. Here was a great slaughter, considering the Number of *Combatants*; and the choicest and best men of the Enemies being slain, there were taken a great number of Horse, with one Corner, and Ten Foot Colours: Some fled, and escaped with their Captain. *Vere* having given this famous Testimony of his Valour and Judgment, was shortly after prefer'd to the highest Dignitie, to his great Renown.

Varenbomius laid the blame upon *Charles Mansfield*, (to he was present also) for the greatest part of this loss, though he had brought to him, at the time of this Fight, some Com-

came out of the Isle of *Bommell*; because lately, both of them
suing for the same Command, wherein *Charles* being deayed
and the other preferred, it was said, he now deserted him, a
emulous of his Glory. But by this means, the *Conquerour*-
afterwards brought in safely to the Besieged all their Car-
riages, both with Provision and Men; they also having near
the same time made a lucky Sally into the next Quarter of
the Enemies Leaguer; and this done, returning through by-
ways, they escaped any danger intended to them by the
Enemy. And now the Besieged were in so good condition,
that they slighted the Enemies Forces, though of late much
recruited, until the *Spaniard* had by force taken a Castle near
to *Rens*, that was their onely hopes of Succour, and supply of
Provisions: Three Months after this, in the next year, the
War continued, when the *Hollanders*, considering seriously
with themselves, that they had not Forces enough to relieve a
place so far distant from them, as occasion would require,
came at length to this last Result; That the Town should be
surrendered upon Honourable Conditions: And thus the Duke of
Parma obtained *Berck*, and not so contented, he clandestinely
sought to get *Bonne* and *Nuisse*, Cities belonging to the
Duchy of *Cleves*; and this he did with the more Confidence,
in regard of the Prince's Age and Infirmary, having also won
many of the Nobles to be his Pensioners. Thus he got Pos-
session of *Arnhem*, not far from the *Rhine*; Nor was *Aquis-
graw*, a free City of the *German Empire*, let alone at peace,
among so many broils; for *Philip* claiming the Custody of
that City, as anciently belonging to the Princes of *Brabant*,
(for he endeavour'd to hide his Ambition of being Lord,
under the Title of Guardian thereof) by his Edict banish'd
many of the *Inhabitants*, who had forsaken the *Roman Reli-
gion*: But their stay being bought off, with a Sum of Money
given to the King's Commanders, content onely to have wa-
shed and forrag'd the Fields, left the City, until many years
after,

after, the Fory of several Parties falling upon *Goway*, the City. among the rest, was seized, under the pretence of Right.

While the Armies thus range about the *Mass* and the *Rhine*, and meeting Parties skirmish and fight every where, the *Mauricians* got exceeding much Booty: for the *Hollanders* wasted all the Enemies Country with Fire and Sword, carrying away all manner of Provisions, having either killed or driven away all those that defended it. But notwithstanding all this, the most cruel *Battails* were at Sea, because the *Hollanders* being stronger there, had absolutely taken every thing, that were wont to be Chaffer between Equals Power, by which means, the *Spaniards* had lost all benefit of Exchange. After this, if any Enemies could prevail much in strength, as to infect all that Traded at Sea by Robbery, they were called *Pyrats*. Hence it came, that the *Florentians*, provoked by their frequent Losses, and such as fled out of the *Hollanders* Ships, conscious to themselves of any great Crime, (as such men generally are fierce) out of a desire of *Revenge* and *Prey*, put to Sea, and not onely seized upon Trading Ships, but many times indang'd the more able. Many times it fell out, (and it is not to be forgotten, because it equall'd the greatest *Adventures of Antiquity*) that when any one part had by Boarding the others Vessel, intermingled their Companies, they in danger, rather than be taken, would, with Gun-powder, blow up both themselves and the Enemy; so much do they care, who despair of Life, as to dye unrevenge'd.

The Kingdom of *Spain*, which hitherto had been undisturbed in the midst of all her Neighbour's Troubles, now first began to be sensible of a War brought Home to her; for the *English*, accompanied with the *Hollander's* Ships and Soldiers, adventurously Forage all the Sea-Coasts of *Gallies*, afterwards they re-seule *Don Antonio* in his Kingdom, pier-

ing their Camp about *Lisbon*: The Queen sent out six of her Ships on this Design; the rest being One Hundred and Twenty, Sir *Francis Drake* Commanded: General *Norris* had the Conduct of the Foot Souldiers; the *Prey* taken, to be divided between them: And so great was their good Success at the beginning, that *Albertus* of *Austria*, who was Governor of the City, in the Name of King *Philip*, had prepared himself for flight: But by the Advice of some private persons, in regard of the doubtfulness of the *Portugueses* Allegiance, the small Provision they had of things necessary, and that several Diseases raged among them, springing chiefly from intemperate Drinking, they went away, and left all things unsorted; whether because King *Antonio* was not able to perform the vain Promises he made of the Peoples Affection to, and the *Moors* Assistance of him; or that their sudden Departure spoiled the Design, is yet in doubt.

But sure it is, the *Hollanders* were not hear'ned to, who had both offered and shewed themselves ready, to defend and keep all the Castles and Forts on the Sea-Coast, as well as the Entrance into the Kingdom.

As soon as ever the Siege was broke up, presently all who had at this time been observed by the *Spaniards*, to wish for a Change, were very severely punished. But the *English* did nothing more, unless that they made appear the weakness of the *Spanish Grandezza*, in that they were never hindred by them, either at their Landing, or during their stay; nor ever resisted them in the Demand or taking of their Forts or Castles; and a Fleet of *Germans* coming from the *Baltick* Cities, being met and taken as Prize, gave occasion to those People, by *Legates*, and *Writing*, to contest among themselves, whether Provisions, wherewith People being at Peace with them, do help the Enemy, may rightfully be taken as Prize, and disposed of accordingly.

And

And now *France*, divided into parties, was engaged in like quarrel, after the King had caused to be slain the Duke of *Guise*, the head of that publique defection, nor did the King long survive *Guise*, being soon after assassined by a Monk; he was the last of the name and Family of *Valois*, in whose revenge, as also of the Duke of *Guise*, the whole Kingdom was divided into Arms. Without doubt, by the Customs of *France* the right of Succession belonged to the Family of *Bourbon*. But *Henry* the head thereof, Prince of *Bearne*, who was called by the name of King of *Navarre*, though hardly enjoying any thing besides the name, for that the *Spaniards* had violently wrested it away, he, I say, professing the Religion which they call Reformed, though he promised equally to flatter both, had drawn to him all the Nobility, but the Cities and Towns would not receive or own him; But when he declared himself a *Catholicke*, the face of Affairs were on a sudden very much changed, for the fault of the defection from, and aversion to, the Kings Name and Title, was wholly on the other; yet was not *Philip* terrified by this example, so that he now assisted the Duke of *Guise* his Brother (who made use of a double pretence of Piety) not in private, but in the view of the whole World, nor that he so loved him, but that he might keep involved in discords that Kingdom, which lying between him and the *Low-Countries*, had formerly been very dangerous and troublesome to him; and if his designs were crowned with success, he would commit the same to some one of his own Alliance, with a fiduciary Power. And the Reason by him pretended for this, was, because he married *Isabella*, the Daughter of *Henry* the Second, King of *France*, by whom he had a Daughter, a Person most fit to govern that Kingdom, either in regard to her Fathers Merit, or her Mothers Blood; and so much the rather, because the Dukedom of *Bretagne*, as severall other Principalities of *France* were known to have been fortunately ruled by a Woman's hand.

On the other side, the Duke of *Savoy*, the *Spaniard's* Son in Law, enlarged his Borders to the very opening of the Alps; The Queen of *England* being informed by a particular Envoy, that the Duke of *Parma* had sent *Lamot* into *France*, with an Army both of Horse and Foot, forthwith ordered a supply of money to the King of *France*, together, with four thousand *English* Souldiers. Neither were the *States* of the *United Provinces* backwards in granting him Assistance; first they sent Ships with Provisions, and all other necessary Munitions for War, then adding thereto money far more liberally than the present exigencies of their Affairs would permit, and this only in hope of a future benefit: It was certainly a noble and an honourable act, and that raised an emulation towards their moderated Liberty, that they having so newly created themselves into a *Commonwealth*, should yet by their Riches, support and help a Kingdom; the success thereof proving no less advantageous to the *French*, than destructive to their Enemies, while the *Flemish* Country, to whom formerly they committed their cause, lying open, and exposed to the mischief of War, was equally dammified, whether assaulted by the *French*, or their own Souldiers: Afterwards, the *Spanish* Forces, *France* putting a stop to their victorious times, lay open to the *Hollander*, who for eight years together, increased their Treasury, enlarged their bounds, and augmented their Armies, untill the *Bourbonian*, by his own virtue and valour, waded through all the threatening billows raised against him by his obstinate adversaries, and himself at last becoming a *Catholicke*, brought under his subjection all parties, rather laying aside his Arms, than the memory of that *Pristine League*.

It seems here very convenient, now we are relating the *French* Affairs, to search, as far as humane Reason can direct us, how the *Edgick* troubles having the like beginnings, should yet have so different a Progreis. For a Peace being settled formerly between King *Philip* and the King of *France*, these

these two *Princes* seemed to be of one mind, having concluded a mutual League to extirpate all Religions which had begun or increased, either by impunity or War. But the *French*, hating the *Guign* Potency, that they might not become contemptible, as the *Netherlanders* to the *Spaniards*, took occasion to draw the multitude, now contending about Religion, into Tumults and Arms; but the Events were most unlike: for there the Subjects obedience was preserved entire, and consequently, the *Roman Catholique Religion* carried the day, but so only as to keep under, not oppress the other. But here the old Form of *Government* is altered, the differing Rites grow insociable, neither allowing the one, and so between Servitude and liberty become divided. The cause whereof I suppose may be, that the *Guign* or *Lorrain* being by themselves in private but weak, did afterwards receive from abroad such small help, as might indeed follow, but not force their Fortune. So that the main of their strength either consisted under the pretence of the Kings name, or the affections of the vulgar, which are mean supports, and of short duration, where there is any experiment of utility on the other side. And the Kings of *France* have within themselves the whole strength of that one People; so that they diminish their own Authority by tyrannizing, and wholly loose what is spent in revenge. And the very Commons, though highly offended with the differences in Religion, yet when once they became sensible of the miseries of War, were not so desirous of revenge as Peace.

Hence proceeded those Edicts of Peace so often hastned, so often withstood by the now divided affections of the People, who might rather be said to lay aside War, than to make and observe a Peace; for being weary of a long War, they were driven to force and treachery, by the impulse of others, not their own obstinacy, and being always accustomed to a Kingly Government, they might have been composed before, if the one King, famously knowing in the Arts by

of War and Peace, had tempered himself and his Laws, according to the strength and prevalence of parties. They who were newly gotten into power, being ignorant how to use the time, nourished discords by variety of evill deeds, while they of a more active Spirit, or such whose Riot incapacitated them, either got or lost all, and this was the only hindrance of Peace. But on the other side, the *Spaniards* having a King that wished the same things in hatred to the *Belgick* liberty, and who was now grown old in the enjoyment of his *Territories*, by the keeping abroad so great Forces, never feared the *Netherlandish* Solitudes, especially having *Presidents*, both in *Italy* and *America*, that where they could not submit into *Provinces*, they should settle Colonies. But the *French* were highly offended with the pride, avarice, and cruelty of this forraign Nation, the very *Catholikes* themselves, who had never faltered in point of Religion, disliking their Customs, some of whom having been before circumvented and deluded with the hope of better things, becoming an example to the rest, that they would with all violence exercise their malice, as mistrusting the breach of Peace, under that notion, to hide their revenge.

Thus a War, no less cruel than civill Wars use to be, continued, but still looked as forraign. But Count *William* in *Friesland*, straitned the City of *Groning* not able to resist the greatness of his endeavours, by scarcity and dearth, having wasted all their Provision about the Country; he got also *Reids*, a Peninsula of a very convenient Scituation between the River *Emmes* and the Bay of *Dallari*. The City being suspected for this mischief, cast it upon *Verdugo*, because he had refused a Garrison: from thence being both recruited, this with a new addition of Foot, and *Nassau* with more Horse, sometimes with mutual fear, sometimes taking opportunities of daring one another, they spent the remainder of the Year.

The Second Book of the History of the Dutch AFFAIRES.

1590. **T**HE whole burden of the War was ready to have been thrown upon *Friseland*, if the King of *Brada* had not diverted the Army. It is a Town of *Brabant*, and hath ever been so esteemed, though situate in a fertile Soyl, upon the Confines of *Me Land*, and commanding over seventeen Villages. The River *Aa*, now having changed his name into *Merca*, and being of a reasonable breadth, washeth the Walls thereof, and then after, passing by the Town of *Sevenberg*, falls into an Arm of the Sea; The Family of *Pole*, bought it with the Title of *Baron* thereof, from whom it descended to the House of *Nassau*; by the Marriage of *Engelbert*, whose Nephews, named *Henry*, added to it a strong rampire and ditches, together with a most noble Castle, serving as well for beauty as strength. And since that the continual practices of War in those latter times, hath not only annexed thereto strong Bulwarks, and other defences for keeping out, or repelling of an Enemy, but also the glory of resistance of a most violent storm given to it; A *Marriner* taught the way how to take it by Policy or Stratagem, in manner following.

By the Command of *Philip of Nassau* (he was the Son of *Jabu*, who coming into this National War, had the Command of some Souldiers, and the government of a few Towns at the *Maes*) one *Herangier*, a Captain of *Cambray*, began first to consult of this Enterprize, adopting into *Society*, for performance of this Noble Exploit, one *Lambert*

Chapin

Charly, a valiant and painful Souldier : The *Pessell* used for the *Flot*, was that which was wont, upon the Publique Account, to pass backward and forward between both Parties, to carry Fuel to *Breda* ; which Fuel was no other, than the muddy Oze growing in the *Marishes* of *Holland*, hardned by the Sun, and cut out into Turf, and so served in stead of Wood ; for the Heat being inclosed in the Earth, makes one like Nature and Disposition in *Brimmen* and *Sulphur* ; which, in other places, hath caused *Mountains* to burn and flame, so here sometimes they have made a very lightsome Fire, unless by chance some old Wood, beaten down with the force of the Sea and Tempests, and lying long cover'd with Earth, and grown rotten, onely changing his Form, yet retains its Nature : In this *Boat*, being of an indifferent length, were placed some young men, selected out of several Companies, and such as feared no danger whatsoever, to the number of seventy, that were to be cover'd with a slight quantity of Turf, so as nothing else might be discerned : A long time it was, ere *Fortune* would favour this bold and dangerous Attempt, so that their Endeavours were contradicted and hindered, even by such things as they had no doubt of : The crossness of the Wind, and bitterness of the Cold, though at the very end of Winter ; and, last of all, want of Victuals, which their stay had consumed, spoiled their first Assay : And certainly, among all these Delays, it was a very hard matter, to conceal such a Design, as appear'd by certain Rumors written out of *England*, that it was accomplish'd. However, at length, after they had refreshed themselves, and *Herangier* had comforted and encouraged them with good words, sending a Messenger to Prince *Maurice*, to request him, to convey secretly some Souldiers into the next Island, not far from *Breda*, they once more set forward : Being brought within a Lock of the River or *Scluse*, near the Castle, from whence there was no possibility of going back, they were beset with a new Calumny ; for either by the extraordinary Ebbe of the River,

or else by the grating force of the Ice, the bottom of the Boat was so cracked, that it began to take Water very fast: This did the hidden Souldiers tremble for fear, cursing the unfortunate Ribs, that could no better secure them, and saw Water up to the Knees; but at length, the Vessel with the Tides coming in, without any humane help, ceased to Leak. And now the *Governours* and *Commanders* of the *Garrison*, as it were out of an over-curious Care, more for the Use and Custom of Discipline, than any Necessity they thought of, had relieved the Guards, and appointed an inferior Officer to his Post. Thus the Duty of searching the Boat, by the Negligence of many, was wholly thrown upon the *Corporal*, who likewise being careless, according to the Example of his *Superiour Officers*, viewing the same but slightly, made no more ado: And by good chance it happened, that the Cold had not forced any one to Cough, at another time they could hardly have refrained. The Spout of one of the Souldiers, upon that occasion, deserves never to be forgotten; who fearing, least by his violent Noise of Coughing (though he did repress it) he should, together with himself, betray his Companions: *Kill me (said he) Fellow-Souldiers, lest we be all killed.* But to proceed, after the search, the very *Souldiers* of the *Garrison*, drew the Boat into the Castle, that it might have Water, in regard that the Ice was too thick abroad; by which means, they came into another great Hazard, because the Danger so near and imminent, had put them all into a fear; so that they were ready to complain of *Heraclitus*, as one, who, desperate of his own Life, had brought them to the slaughter. Part of them being at the very Brink of Despair, would not stay for their hopes of safety, till the darkness of the Night, but since they must die, they would take the Day, that they might see the Enemy they were to encounter, lest they should be found in the Prison, where they were penned up, and from thence be dragged to punishment and Death. Others were utterly

finished;

aided; and certainly, it was rather *Desperation* made them accomplish their Undertaking, than any *Exhortations* of their Capains to Valour and Glory: Part of the Turf being unloaded, and to prevent any further lightning of the Boat, lest it should discover the Design, by laying open the Souldiers within, the Boat-man cunningly dissembled himself weary, and to that purpose, he put on a Garb and Tone, both of Voice and Countenance, even to Admiration: And now it was near Midnight, but with some glimmering of the Moon, when the Caprain thought fit to bring forth the Souldiers; first, admonishing them to behave themselves valiantly, which would not onely be for their everlasting Honour, but Enrichment: But if any of them should now leave him in his adventurous Attempt, he would be so far from enjoying an honourable Life, that he merited an ignominious Death. By the working of the Pump, the Enemies Ears were stopped, so that they all went out, and not one of them discerned by the *Sentinals*, which was almost miraculous. Part of these Souldiers passing by the *Armor*, first killed those of the *Watch* they met with, and after wards slew in their very *Guard*, those that kept the Gate which led into the Town, onely an Englishman endeavouring violently to break through, and aiming with his Sword dangerously to have wounded *Herangier*, fell down, and was killed valiantly fighting: But *Charly*, to whom was given the Command of the other part of the Souldiers, drove the Enemies Garrison into the innermost part of the Castle, which was compassed round with Water.

These were kept in hope, to the very utmost, by *Paulo Annius Lazzavecchia*, who was *Deputy-Governour* of *Breda*, under his Father, a young Man, and utterly ignorant in Stratagems of War. *Odoardo Lazzavecchia* the Father, Prince *Maurice* had caused to stay at *Geertruydenburg*, three miles distant from *Breda*, seeming as if he would draw thither his *Forces*, and *Carriages*; and, to that purpose, some were sent

under the notion of Spyes, who by spreading a false Rumour should make them insensible of the Truth: And surely, the Duke of Parma was very much over-seen, who had committed two Towns to one Man's keeping, when one Man is hardly able to defend one Town, and let other Rewards without Danger, be for such as deserve well therein.

But *Paulo Lanzavecchia*, to try if, by chance, he could force this small Company out by Battel, passing our over the Bridge, sallies upon the Enemy, with a Company of Men crowded together, (they were about Thirty and Six). As they were soon vanquish'd by them, who could not at the time be overcome, and himself sorely wounded, most of his men being kill'd, he fled back the same way he came. By this time, they heard a Noise of People, fighting within the City, and the Townsmen came to break open the Castle Gate, that *Herzog's* Souldiers might not drive away with the Shot out of the Gallery above the People, and clear the adjoining Parts. At last the sign being given, that the Design had taken, Count *Hohenlo* presently marched up with a part of Prince *Maurice's* Army; who were not far off upon the Espyal; being come to the Gate, and perceiving the loss made them lose time, they passed over the Lock or Damme, beyond the *Palinades*; nor did *Paulo Lanzavecchia* dissent to Covenant for his own Safety, by the Surrender of what he held in the Castle.

The Prince himself immediately follow'd *Hohenlo*, with the greater part of the Army, consisting both of Horse and Foot, who, coming to the Gates, threatned to force them open: Then the City trembling, and deprived of the Garrison that should have defended it, redeemed their Pillage with two Months Pay to the Souldiers; for the *Italians*, whom the Guard and Defence of the Town was committed (being six Companies of Foot, and one Troop of Horse) whose Duty it had been to have broken the Bridge, between the Town and the Castle, or at least to have kept the Gate

from being seized by the Enemy, being struck into an amaze^d at the noise and clattering of Arms in the Castle; and with-
all, not well agreeing among themselves, were easily wrought
to fly, and leave all to the Enemy; and which, possibly, might
be another Reason to the same purpose, being the more
afraid of the Enemy, by how much they were generally har-
med by their Hosts who had quarrel'd them; for that while
they enjoy'd the Town, they obtained from no sort of Vil-
lany, but rag'd in all kinds of Lusts.

Therefore, when the Duke of Parma set himself to Re-
venge this popular *Error* and *Crime* of the *Souldiers*, to
take the shame from himself, all that were designed for pu-
nishment, as *Fugitives* and *Renegadoes*, though late, suffered
the punishment inflicted on them for their Fault, excepting
only one *Interuallo*, for whom his Youth and Nobility obtain'd
his Pardon; and *Odardo Lamavetchia*, as it were in pu-
nishment of himself, left off, and surrendered the *Governorship*
of *Genrydsburg*.

Prince Maurice now entering the City, took into Com-
mand and Tuicion, those his *Antient*, *Paternal*, and *Heredi-
tary Possessions*, and all the *Citizens* living therein; his Youth-
ful Modesty rather grieving at, than accusing the City, charg-
ed with the Payment of the Souldiers Wages, (and many
many more of them had their Names in the List, than were
present in the Service) for the Prince would not seem to
mind those private things, although the Sum amounted to a
Hundred Thousand Florens, when *Antwerp* paid to the Duke
of Parma but Four Hundred.

These things thus done, the *Government* of the Town was
bestow'd upon *Herangier*, and the rest were all of them af-
terwards both rewarded, and preferred to Honourable Com-
mands. The *States* Decreed Publike Feasting, and other
Testimonies of Rejoycing, and that there should be Prices of
Money Coined, which should be as a General Record to Po-
sterity, of this first Victory obtained by their Prince, with-

our the effusion of his Souldiers Bloud; which afterwards was drawn into Example by Custom, as oft as any great and prosperous Success crown'd their Actions. And there were not wanting some Wits, who Celebrated the Prince's Auspicious Beginnings, and magnified the Gallantry of the Design; averring, That the entering of *Troy* by *Græciæ* Lords in a *Wooden Horse*, was a *Stratagem* very like this, or, it may be, was an *Eminent Ship* so called. They compared the Fortune of the Place, which nine years before, by the Absence of the Garrison, the Treachery of the *Watch*, and Slaughter of the *Citizens*, *Attagen* (Count *Berlaymont's* Son) surprised and took: Thus every Man's Fancy was in Agitation, but we must not dwell here.

The Companies being left in the Town, which were to defend it, and some Troops of Horse, on purpose to make IncurSIONS into the Villages of *Brabant*, the Army marched away: And the Provisions carryed in, by provident Care of those, whom the Prince knew had been privy to the Design, served the place a long time: But as soon as a *Messenger* brought News thereof into *Germany*, to the Prince of *Parnia*; who, now weary of the Toil of War, it may be, by Advice, had desisted from Hostility, until he received Letters from *Spain*, least he should suffer, without taking *Revenge*, the Country to be spoiled, he commanded *Charles Mansfeldt*, who had Reduced *Berck*, to go thence with some part of his Forces, and to shut up all the Passages to *Breda*, in order to the Siege; being moved thereto by a false hope, that there was only a few Days Provision in the Town; and besides, imagining that the Townsmen would not be yet contentedly led under their New Lords. On the one side therefore, *Gertuydenberg* straitned it; the rest *Mansfeldt* surrounded with strong Guards, yet they feared Relief would be brought thither from behind; for the River *Merck* runneth into the *Maas*, and maketh hard by many little Islands, which Prince *Maurice* had fill'd with Souldiers: And the River itself

where it runs by *Breda*, he had inclosed with a Bridge, and a strong Castle, at a place called *Terbriden*. From hence the Souldiers, highly enraged, march out to *Sevenberg*, a Town situate in the further part of that Continent, and force it, together with a weak Castle belonging to it; their greatest labour was spent about *Nordam*, which is a Castle situate in a very moist ground, and in former times, hath been often girt about with ditches, whereinto the Sea floweth, especially on the North part, and there is also a Redout, and the whole, by cutting away a part of the Bank, is washed by the Estuary of the *Maas*, like an Island; It was at this time defended by *Mathias Hellye*, one of the famous Adventurers in the taking of *Breda*, who had as many Souldiers as he thought fit, out of the next Islands; After the *Parmenians* had spent some dayes in battering the place to no purpose, they prepared Bridges, and other Engines, and materials, for an assault, and therewithall, a Ship was set into the water, and Armed men stood round about in the Station, at the top of the Mast, that were, by the continual casting of Darts, to drive away the Defendants; The besieged, as soon as they saw it approaching, sent out in opposition to it, Boats set on fire; but the Wind greatened that danger, and drove it (the Enemies Ship) to the Banck: And as it drew near, the strong eddy or Whirl-pool of the River, turning it round, brought it into the Trench; some set upon it, as it lay upon the Shallowes, others cast flaming fire-brands into it, and the Souldiers from the top of the Mast, are thrown down, lying open to all wounds, being obvious to the Enemy, on the contrary side was intended; and so this stratagem wrought not its effect.

Mansfeld observing the great slaughter of his men, and the resolute fidelity of the Garrison, as also that he was no lesse mortified in the adjacent little Islands, began to doubt and despair as well of the Siege of *Breda*, as of its being betrayed: And in the mean time, while he lingers in vain about the Town, the Horse that were therein, wearied him out with

daily Sallies and Skirmishes. But Prince *Maurice*, recollecting his Souldiers, and though he had but a small Army (about four thousand Foot, and very few Horse) marched into *Guelderland*, as if he had had a design upon *Nimwegen*.

But the Engine prepared to the sudden assault, by the use whereof against the walls they would have fallen down, instead of its hoped success; this Engine was found among some *French* materials, it was in the form of a Hat, where were included Gunpowder, Bullets, and square pieces of Iron: therefore knowing the weakness of his Forces, and finding himself not fit for a Siege, because from the adjacent places, both Arms and Provision were daily brought into the City, he resolved to draw off, yet for a time he continued there, and wearied them at a distance, to try, if that means he could possibly withdraw the Enemy from *Brake*: which happened according to his expectation; after both of them had thus vainly spent their time in Siege, *Manasselt*, with his increased forces, striving to help the neighbouring parts, because the City, in regard of the Souldiers known effeminacy, scorned his most able defence, pitched between the *Maas* and the *Waal*. But Prince *Maurice* kept his Army within the Isle of *Holland*, and to prevent the Enemies passing over the River, he sent Ships into the *Waal*, and fortified the whole Bank of the River with Forts and Guards, from the division of the *Rhine*, unto the place where the *Maas* falls into it, in which place Count *Salm* (who commanded some Select Companies given to him by Prince *Maurice*) was ordered to intrench himself in the Isle of *Voorn*, as if he had been about to incamp. And a jump was made from the *Waal* into the *Rhine*, whereby, without danger from *Nimwegen*, any Forces or Provisions might be brought from, or carried into *Germany*, and several great Banks erected to restrain the overflowings of the River, chiefly at the charge, and by the pains of the *Hollanders*, who were greatly benefitted thereby, as well in point of Security

Trade; and Prince *Maurice*, at the same time, getting this side defence, over against *Nimmesghen*, built a continuing Sack for his Camp. The Souldiers gave it the name of *Kuilsburg*; from whence into the City, which pleasantly as it were out of the Bank, and from the City against the Workmen, there was a vast, nay almost an infinite exchange of Bullets. But they that wrought in the building of the Castle, did either work in the night, or were fain to set up blindes to preserve them from the Shot: But the greatest mischief afflicting the Townsmen, was the falling down of Towers, Steeples, and other eminent Structures, upon their heads, and ready with their falls to destroy them: So that now there was no safe Habitation in all the Town, and the River was quite taken from them; by which inconveniencies, being a People not used to War, and desirous of Commerce and Trade, by little and little, they were drawn to change their Masters.

Thus was the Summer spent at *Nimmesghen*, when the Duke of *Parma*, having been again to drink the *Span* water, and the success of his Affairs more luckily suiting his desires, began a little to recover his health; For *Ricardo*, a constant participator with the Duke, of all his Counsels, had brought back out of *Spain* to him very gracious and well-pleasing Letters, wherein, after his confirmation in his old Government, he received Orders concerning the *French* War; for the King was of opinion, that that being near, he would not refuse it, and that the difficulty of the undertaking would make him forget his present cares; But the Duke of *Parma* was of another mind, which was, to leave the *French* to the division of their own quarrel, until the *Netherlands* were wholly reduced or quieted. But well knowing, that Princes humours must be born by one that is engaged, he made a virtue of necessity, imagining Honour offered him, which by himself must be made glorious by dangerous enterprises. Wherefore going into *Brussels*, that by his vicinity,

erty, he might take care the more easily, Messengers follow-
ed him thither, with the news of *Edmonds* overthrow, and
the slaughter of his *Auxiliaries* at *Evreux*, and that the *Cat-*
quetours Army pressed hard upon the *Parisians*. And not long
after, the Duke of *Guise's* Brother and Successor coming to
him, to associate Counsels, he did publicly testify the
fortune of their parties: At last, after several debates, and
private Consultations with the chief Commanders, concern-
ing the managery of the War, the Duke of *Parma*, towards
the end of Summer, lead all the choyce and picked Sould-
iers of the Kings Army into *France*. And new Levies fol-
lowed out of *Germany*; and those other *Spanish* Munitions
from *Courtray* and *Mennin*, but before their departure, they
compelled the Townsmen to give them part of their pay,
and the rest they had from the King, and then was that pro-
vident instituted for perpetuity, that a Scute in payment to the
Souldier, should be currant for ten Royals. The whole num-
ber of Foot was twelve thousand, and of Cavalry there were
three thousand.

The chief care of all Affairs in the *Netherlands*, was left
to *Peter Ernst*, Count *Mansfeldt*, as Deputy Regent, the rest
of the Souldiers left behind were committed to his charge,
Charles, with order to put them into Garrisons, lest any of
them, by the want of their appointed strength, should incur
any danger: As soon as Prince *Maurice* thoroughly under-
stood these things, he sent some, even as far as *Germany*, to
take possession of the places they had left. All those Forti-
fications were taken, wherewith the *Spaniards* had beset the
Banks, and passages of Journies, and the Works they had
erected in that peaceable Country, by the *Rhine* and the
Maas, were all defaced and overthrown: Another part of
the Army made inrodes into *Brabant* and *Flanders*, being
near to them, and brought thence booty, even out of the
middle of the Country, and not only the *Dorps* and *Villages*,
but the weaker Towns were assailed, won, and wasted.

This in *Antwerp*, he easily recovered what ever had been conquered by, or yielded to, *Mansfeldt*, the former year, by the side of the *Mats*, or about *Breda*, and utterly subverted all that was unnecessary : Besides these, he annexed his paternal Town of *Steneberg*, famous of old for a Harbour ; for it lies just upon a turning of the *Alderne*.

Now the *French War* raged destructively, both at Sea and Land ; the *Governours* of the *Norman Coasts*, having fought luckily against the King of *France's Enemies* in a Sea-fight ; nor was any Policy omitted to facilitate the Victory. The Prince of *Orange* his men assaulted *Dunkirk*, both with Ships from Sea, and scaling Ladders at Land, and the *Spaniards* invaded *Lochem* by treachery, but both, by fore-knowledge, prevented their fate.

There was a great rumour this year, of the *Germans* preparing for a War, to vindicate and revenge their Borders, violated by the increaching of their Neighbours ; Now they, who began to meet in parties to take to either side, interpreted all things to applause or contempt, every one as his Conscience, or hatred to the Enemy, led him : For the *Spaniards* having gotten the furthest part of *Friseland*, wasted both Villages, and the whole Country beyond the *Rhine* ; Nor were the Garrison Souldiers of *Gelderland*, which lay about the Dukedoms of *Cleves* and *Fuiliers*, any moderater, but rebelling that Country lying beyond them, they brought all the prey they got, into the Castles & Cities, where they were not questionable for the same. Then the *Hollanders* Horsemen, imitated the same licentiousness, when ever, having worsted the Enemy, they followed the pursuit : Thus being circumvented, now with hope of Peace, anon with the cruelty of War, they summoned a *Diet* ; where, after tedious delays, (as it is indeed the custom of that Nation) by protracting Councils, sometimes even with threats, they rather delayed the remedies, than removed the evils.

At last, an Embassie was agreed upon, and Decreed, to expose the Wrongs, and then to command them desist from War, and all Acts of Hostility, unless within the Borders of the particular Adversaries. And, to this purpose they very carefully and judiciously debated the Point with the Duke of Parma, at the time he was going upon the French Expedition. Whereto he answer'd very sharply, being accustomed otherwise to shift off all Complaints of that nature to wit, either by rejecting them absolutely, or answering them ambiguously: But this was the effect of his present Reply,

That there had been many antient Differences continued among the Provinces, by reason of former Losses upon their Borders, and that now it was not in the General's power to set a new War; but as they endured casual Fires, Inundations of Water, and other Evils, either of Nature, or Fate; so they had been bear with the present necessities of the Times, than to begin a new War with the impatient undergoing thereof: But if former Enemies would depart thence, with all Strangers, then he also would restore what property belonged to the Germans; always providing that the Money which was expended in the War of Colen, be secured to the King: In the interim, they should consider, that there were a necessity that they must suffer, certainly the old Religion best merited their Patience, for whose evill sake he was sent for into Germany. What, is the Example grown dubious, is increased Liberty, whom to regard best? Of old, these Warlike People have been wont to observe all the Motions of their Neighbours, and to have a care of their own Strength, that they might cast down any Neighbor Pains that were weaker, much more now when they dare so much against a Powerfull King. You may rather to pray to God, that whoever is in the fault of the War, may being either overcome in Battel, or conquered with Repentance, be forced to return to their first Obedience and Duty; and that this would not be long a doing, if by the deniall, and cutting off all Trade

Law and Provision, they were couped up within their own narrow Limits.

With this Answer being dispatched, they go to the Confederate Provinces with greater Confidence, and more malignant Demands: For first, they required the delivery of the *Land of Grave-matre*, together with all other things which they possessed on their Borders: And after, that the Passages of the *Rhine* be free, and without Guards and Forts; and neither the *Rhine*, nor the *Ems*, being both German Rivers, to be thereafter encombred with the Terror of Fleets, nor the Payment of Tributes.

To this, the States answer'd, *That they hoped they should make their Endeavours appear more just, and should truly lay the blame of disturbing the Peace upon the Enemy, which they, without Reason, aspersed them withall:* And so beginning with the Causes arising from the Inquisition, and the grievous punishment inflicted by it, they proceeded with their throwing off Bishops, and at large demonstrated the Murder of the Nobles, the Oppressions of the Commons, and the other Miseries of Slavery. *By these Injuries (say they) being necessitated to take Arms, we seek no other thing, by this so tedious and dangerous War, but to free our Blood and Relations, our Wives and Daughters Bodies, from Barbarous Cruelty, and Usual Abuse and Mockery. This only is the hope, this the end, of all our Fighting; and we hope our Poverty will be no more spiteful or envied, than the strong Commonwealth of Switzerland, which is terrible to its Neighbours. It is more reason to fear, and more just to resist, those great Robbers of the whole World, whom neither the vast Solitudes of America, the Slaughters of People, both in Granada, and the Netherlands, nor the Servitude of Portugal, and a great part of Italy, is able to satisfy: And as both among Beasts and Fishes, the greater and more ravenous sort live upon Prey, so inferior States are always obnoxious to the Hatred and Fury of greater Empires. Is it a thing unknown, by whose Design chiefly the English were solicited to Sedition? Who*

made

made Ireland Rebel, and caus'd the French oppose their full King? It behoves you therefore to be wary; for even you the Spaniard hath such, as, hired by him, are ready to advise or act what suits best to his Advantage: Nay, they hath their sights, are yet, out of fear, compell'd to obey them, may be observed among the Indians, who reverence them as do Evil Spirits, that they may not hurt them. He, (to wit, you) without blame undermines by Treachery the Cities of Cleves. Others are voluntarily delivered as a Pladge of Friendship, whose due they were, as the Revenue of his Ecclesiastical Promotions, as is said, which now are really become trusty Receipts of Villany, and so many Dens for Robbery. Nay, in most opulent and wealthy Prince, when his Souldiers want Money, you put out for their Pay. Masters, and whole Regiments of Souldiers, as well as others, are made fat with German Tributes. We, at this time, only strive for this, that we may not suffer an unlike Fortune, in a like Cause: We, certainly, if ever a People, labour to keep our Souldiery unblameable, and peaceable towards all our Neighbours, by our constant Pay to them: Our Subjects bear us Witness, and the Legal Punishments inflicted on those that are guilty, that as far as War is to be Governed, we strive to preserve the Peace of all that do not disturb us: Only herein, we hope, you will pardon us, if sometimes the Souldier takes upon him, than the Officers or Magistrates. We have hitherto maintained the ancient Estimation of Holland, even in the most chiefs of War, among the most remote Nations; much less had we, the ancient Companions and Followers of the Roman Provinces, and so near allied in Blood to the Germans, by any Party, violate that Great Parent, which always furnished us with Citizens, instructed us in Vertue, and shew'd us the Example of Liberty. As for Gravewaerde, the chief Government of it being before the War, and Charges of a Disputed Right, belonged to Gelderland, as standing in that Jurisdiction; We hold it not to injure others, but to defend our Selvss, and our Borders; and for the rest of the Towns and Castles, although being taken

the Enemy, they lost their Priviledge of Peace, yet we shall willingly yield them; that as Force first began from the Spaniard, so with no Right shall be both a beginning and Example. The Burden laid upon Trade, that passeth our Borders, is nothing so heavy to our Neighbouring Nations, as to our own People; they have necessitated by War, though they be no other than such as are frequently demanded and taken by most Potent Princes; And to remove our Guards of Shipping, when the Enemy lies all about the Rivers, is not consistent in Policy with Safety; but they are rather Safeguards to all such as pass that way, and likewise defend you, as well as our Selves.

About this time, there came also an Embassie both from Cales and Leige, *Bojornus* was Bishop of both places: Wherefore the States, not meddling with the cause of *Truximus* his Quarrel, they complained of many things against the Bishop, whose insatiable Avarice took Confidence onely from the Spanish Greatness assisting him: However, they assured to *Colonian's* Safety and Peace, if (as standing in the middle) they would onely converse with Parties, as Neuters: But the Condition of them of *Leige* was far different; having both done and suffer'd, by connivence, many Acts of Hostility: Against them also was objected, the punishment of such as were innocent, under colour of vindicating Religion; and afterwards, when the rest of the *Netherlands* were possessed by the Spaniards intermixedly, they so openly set out for them *Winter-quarters*, and raised *Summer Provisions*; that, if we may not plainly say, it was a Voluntary Act; yet we may well say, it was not Compulsory: And therefore, to hope for Peace, where they had so deserved; and in the interim, upon Order, to send away their Prisoners, there was little Reason.

It would not be amiss, or any ways absurd, to dive further into these Matters; that both the Reason of War, against the adjoining Cities, and what Peace they may expect, may be understood: And indeed, after this, there was Freedom taken

ken both for *Rapine* and *Injuries*, as every *Province* inclin'd higher or thither, out of fear of Danger, or sometimes out of Design. They hardly ever took a Voyage free from Arms and Force, while both endeavouring to get away, by that very means drew on the Enemy. Thus, in several renewed Embassies, there was nothing but the same over again heard and spoken: But the *Hollander* yielded up several strong Holds as desired; but, in truth, because they were so far distant, that they could not easily be maintained, or defended; and that they might thereby heap upon the *Spaniard* Envy, if he bring upon him a War, because he would perform none of those things, which before he had agreed to: And there were some in the *German Dyet*, who would have nothing but Force and Arms used against them, for neglect of performing their Promise.

But the other Princes and Bishops, who continued all in one Society of the *Catholike Religion*, or were otherwise oblig'd to one another, broke the strength of that Design to use Force, by procrastinating Consultations, and the hope of a Pacification with the *Netherlands*. And now some were sent from the *Confederate States* to complain, that they were betrayed by the Treachery of their Enemies, and the careless Sloth and Neglect of their Friends; They having given away from themselves the Rewards of their Pains and Charges in the War, (for as yet *Truxius* did not appear) while *Philip*, yet unquestion'd, kept possession of all the Cities near the *Rhine*: Nor could they obtain of the *Emperour* any way the less every year, to forbear to assist the *Spaniard* with Arms, though he saw them averse to the desired Peace. At the end of the year, the Duke of *Parma* returning from *France*, was afflicted and vexed with many things, though he brought with him the Honour of having freed *Paris* from a cruel Siege, and bringing his Army Home safe, from among so many dangerous and mortal Enemies: For both himself, and his Army were hated by the *French Commons*, and the

Cities

Cities would not receive Garrisons of his Men, for fear of *Foreign Servitude*; so that here all *Philip's* hopes were blasted, and he found there was no relying on such uncertain Friendship.

Another of his Vexations, was, That by the Enemies Excursions, most of the Fortifications, through the whole *Netherlands*, had been Reduced; That *Verdugo* in *Frizeland*, only taking the small Castle of *Ementell*, had in all other Matters of War been unfortunate, and the Souldiers at that present were ready to Mutiny: And the Townsmen of *Yuden* (a place in *Gelderland*, near the *Maas*) startled him; for they being perplexed with the tedious Evils of a double Garrison; first, by the help of the *German* Souldiers, drove out the *Italians*, and afterwards taking more courage, became too strong for them, and turned them out. Besides another Sedition grew more violent among the selected men, raised through *Germany* by *Mansfeldt*, to hinder Prince *Maurice's* Progress, because he had provided for the new raised men, part of their wages, and debarred the rest from any: This *Mansfeldt* was an old Commander in the War, & that made them rage against him more furiously. Thus being about *Heremals*, and other adjacent Towns of *Brabant*, as if they had been Enemies, they spoiled all that part of the Country, which is called *Kempenlandt*, yet pretended themselves the Kings Souldiers; and if any resistance was made against them, neither Rapes, Murthers, or any other villany, was by them accounted unlawfull.

Thus while they harassed the Fields, though the pay decreased, yet their number that demanded it, was increased. But the Duke of *Parma* said, that he suspected, the Souldiery ought to have been dispersed into severall fortified Cities, and there mixed with the new raised men; Indeed, it was time to shut the Stable-door; when the Horse was stolen; And this Counsel coming too late, served to little purpose otherwise, for surely, the onely removing of the mischief to

another place, was but a miserable comfort to a publick famiry. But this Advice brought not to them so much as but instead thereof, more seditious Souldiers daily came together, who being wearied with a hard and pinching Journey, quickly laid hold of that opportunity, to ease themselves, and forcibly to seize those rewards which their Commanders had formerly denyed them; But the Duke of *Parma* had some Companies in *France*, with the chief Commanders of the *Guilian* Faction, to whom the Prince of *Assoli* was commanded to conduct some more, according to their desire.

1591. The Enemies Forces being in this manner divided, and the Souldiery remaining at home, disobedient and fractory, or else but lately raised: the confederate Princes, fleshed with the last years success, now took heart, they who before could scarce defend their own bounds without great fear and hazard, now resolve to invade others.

Some perswaded them to forbear, till the Duke of *Parma* was gone into *France*; but others thought it best to lay hold of all opportunities; and if they did nothing else, yet it was well worth their time and labour, to hinder the Duke of *Parma's* Journey into *France*. Neither did they continue long in suspense, from what part to begin their business; for although the *Frisons* desired their ayd, yet it was of great contentment to them, to free *Isell* from Garrisons of *Spaniards*, whom all *Gelderland*, as well the *Batavi*, as the *Veluns*, and the others that were near, for fear of the *Hollanders* incursions were tributary, the which, grievously enslaved, ever since the Prince of *Aurange* his time, they had omitted, hindered either by their own weakness, or the Enemies power. As soon therefore as the time of going abroad to forage was come, and the Souldiers numbers compleated, and their pay ordered among them, Sir *Francis Vere*, (whom the Queen had made her General of the *English*) first went toward *Dordrecht*. Some few of his men in the habit of Country-women, with Baskets, running as if they fled from a following

into the Fort that lies over against *Zurphen*, onely defended by the River, whereinto they were no sooner entered, but quickly laying hands on their Weapons, which were hid under their Cloaths, partly with them, and partly with Weapons taken there, they killed the first Sentinels, ere they were awake; and afterwards, the rest surprized with amaze and fear, were easily either killed or taken.

Yers had not held the Fort above one day; when Prince *Maurice* came thither with all his Army of eight thousand Foot, and two Wings of Horse, making two thousand; they brought with them; all things necessary for the assault of a Town: And for the more ease of the Prince, there attended a select Counsel of the *Senate*, to be Companions of his Council.

But same hereof coming to the Enemy, it was believed; the Army was bent against the Cities of *Brabant* onelic to the *Gerruydenberg*, because a few dayes before, the *Souldiers* had in those parts taken Forts and Castles: And the Prince forwarded in them this error, at first, by a doubt full march; as if he intended to go to the *Maes*; but on a sudden, at the winding of the *Rhine*, turning into *Ipsell*, there met him Count *Williams*, and two thousand *Friscons*, drawn out of the *Garrisons*. Here Intelligence was received, both from Sir *Francis Vere*, and some Prisoners, that the Banck was to be possessed. Here the Enemy was secure, in other places he was afraid; and therefore, that the City was neither well fortified, nor victualled but for a few dayes; That the besieged, before any Relief or Provisions could be brought to them, might be taken by force, there not being in the Town above six hundred Armed men, and nothing considerable of force, could be raised by the Citizens; most of them having formerly left the place, to avoid the Souldiers insultations. At the very first Skirmish, Count *Falcokeyne*, the chiefeft of all *Trucons* his Commanders was slain, while he too furiously pursued the beaten Enemy flying into the Town, but his body

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was fetched off, and rescued from villanous usage. Upon the River were placed Ships, fixed with Anchors, in front of the Bridge, which reaching orderly from Bank to Bank, the Souldiers Quarters together with a safe passage from thence, others were commanded to dismount the Guards upon the wayes; and another part were ordered to draw oblique and crooked Trenches up to the Castle, that the casting up of the Earth, they might come, safe from the Enemies Darts or Shot, up to undermining the very Walls to this work, the night was designed.

The *Stratum* and *Martinet*, whose readiness and courage in Maritime Affairs, was here of very great use, for they brought thirty great Guns, with more celerity than they could have done, into a little Island in the River, and put against the main Buildings of the City, that they might with the continuall Thunder thereof, shake and overthrow that part of the Works which was weakest, in regard the River was of so great a strong defence. But in the City, though struck with sudden fear, yet they ran up and down every where, to prevent the Enemies endeavours, they increased the Rampires at the Gate, shut up by the foe, and within began new Works, in which time, a certain number of Cannon being shot off, according to Military Custom, Messengers were sent by the *Prince*, with threats of the greatest extremity, which they would submit and render the Town: They pray a time to consult, but that would not be granted; whereupon, conscious to themselves, of the want of many things, and how they were to defend the large circuit of the Walls, they rendered upon Articles, that the Souldiers should march way safe and undisturbed, and the Townsmen, if they pleased, might stay, being ordered and governed according to the Laws and Customs of the confederate Cities. According to which conclusion, many Sieges afterwards being made, we shall not so often repeat the same.

The *Spaniards* found fault with the too hasty rendition of *de Tona*, and therefore the *Governour* of it, as long as the *Duke of Parma* lived, was never suffered to come to Court. The first way, after the beginning of the Siege, was *Zutphen* considered: it stands in an excellent Situation, the River *Wesling* runs through it, *Issel* passeth by it, as it comes from *Wesling*, and not far off falling into the *Rhine*, by the lake of *Drasler*, as it is believed. This with her neighbour-hood and Country was of old subject to the *Princes* there, who were called *Earls*; and there remains a distinct sort of Jurisdiction, though it be now united to the body of *Guelderland*, not so much, by reason of its Situation between the *Rhine*, as by the intermarriages of *Princes*: Upon the Lake Bank stands *Drenther*, formerly a free City of the *Amstelveen* League, and the Metropolis of *Over-Issell*, under the *Spanish* power: Hither when the Army came with a swift march, at the very sight thereof, they were at a *non-plus*, not knowing what to do. But the strong Fortifications of the City, and the greatness of the Garrison, whereof the Army had Intelligence, being one hundred Horse, and fourteen thousand of Foot, made the *Prince* at a stand. *Herman*, Count *Hornberg*, was *Governour* thereof, both an instructor, and an example of virtue and fidelity, he was heartily allyed by blood to *Prince Maurice* himself, as being born of his Aunt, and therefore so much the more envying the glory and splendour of his Kinsman: Above all, the *Duke of Parma* was feared, lest he should draw together Forces, and come and disturb them in their Siege; which if it should happen, there would be a necessity for them, either shamefully to fly, or valiantly run the hazard of a battle.

And the taking of *Zutphen*, as it was a great encouragement to all that hoped well, so was it a warning to others, that they should not endanger their gotten Honour, but rather preserve it for more certain advantages: On the other side, some that fled out of the City, brought Intelligence, that

the Souldiers were ready to mutinie, that there was not V-
 equals to serve against a long Siege; nay, that they had no
 Gunpowder enough in any proportion for their Guns: which
 being understood, the middle course was resolved on, to wit
 that they should with all speed, fortifie their Camp, stop
 all passages both by Land and Water; that no Messenger
 might be able to get to them with newes of Relief: But if
 the Enemy should hold out, it would be sufficient, that all the
 Bancks being guarded, they might for the future, easily pass
 to the other side, and force them, and this was the sum of the
 Counsel, before the expedition was undertaken.

Prince *Maurice* making a continual battery against the
 Town, upon the ninth day, to try the mindes of the besieged,
 drew up his Army before the Walls; then commands some
 Ships to be forthwith carried into the Channell, where the
 River passing by the City, is somewhat stopped, and to place
 them near the shore: These, in regard they could not be
 rowed, because of the narrowness of the River, some Souldiers
 drew under the very Walls with their hands, in spite of the
 Enemies Shot; an undertaking certainly of such nature,
 as many courageous men would have shrunk at: The
 Boats being placed in the very trench, and a Bridge made
 over them, every one was ready to take upon him the shock
 and assault, to merit the Princes prayse, who called it an ho-
 nourable piece of Service, though it was not a work for or-
 dinary Valour; Thus while they made so much hast, they
 hindred the *Engineers*, and the Bridge it self being a little too
 short, did not reach over to the other Bancks; The Wall in
 this place, together with an adjoining Tower, was partly
 beaten down by the force of the battery, part of it yet being
 supported by Arches (for it was an ancient Structure) and
 heaps of Earth thrown into the hollow places thereof; The
 choyce men that were to give the onset, and if they entered
 to make good the place, were many of them drowned, some
 few onely straining the shore by leaping.

I cannot in this place, passe by the glorious emulation of the Ensigns, the one of whom being killed upon the top of the Walls, the other brought off both his own Colours, and one of his slaughtered Companion; But all this time, the Cannon did the greatest harm to the Enemy, yet could not turn them from the Walls; for being full of Wine, they made rather a desperate than a valiant defence; Here in the first place, Count *Herman* fought with more than necessary Valour (in regard he was the *Governour* of the Town) but he did it to make good his Honour and fidelity. (For some *Spaniards* had not stuck to report, that it was an agreed design between the two Kinsmen.) Nor did he go away before the showers of Bullets yet continuing thick, he was in the breast wounded. All night, the *Princes* men were fain to defend the Bridge from being burned, for the Enemy continually cast fire at it.

As soon as the Day again appear'd, and the Enemy now grown sober, saw plainly the Prince's Army before them in *land Array*, and the Bridge whole, the fight being also ready to begin again; then they considered their danger, especially upon the Return of some that had been sent as Spies; who reporting the Prince's strength, with the greatest Advantage, made their disgrace (in case they surrendred) to seem the less: Count *Herman* alone would not consent to surrender, but he being very ill with his Wounds (though he might suffer the Rendition, yet) could not hinder it: For the Townsmen now called to the Souldiers that guarded the Bridge, that they might have liberty to Treat; whereof the Prince being informed, and receiving from him safe Conduct, they went out: The Townsmen were left to the *Conquerors* Mercy, and that thereafter they should have *Magistrates* appointed, not according to their own Laws and Customs, but as should be thought convenient by the *United States* of the *Reformed Religion*: And it appeared, that as *Zutphen*, so also *Deventer*, did not reckon the *Spaniards*

should dwell amongst them for ever; for that before Siege they burnt their Huts, although they had not long fore Wood enough: Before their departure, all the Captains and Officers were deliver'd bound, in vain lamenting their own Necessities, and the Civil Discords: But Count *Stam* would not believe, that the *States* were able to raise numerous Forces; yet he, having been *Governour*, could go into the *Spanish Quarters*, fearing bitter and inveterate Accusers, and prepossessed Judges. Fit *Garrisons* being placed in the Cities lately taken, the *Frisians* beseeched that now at last he would think of them, whose Peace was disturbed by the pertinacious Obstinacy of one single City; and that remained now but a few Towns and Castles, which if they were taken, the whole Country, between the Rivers *Iffel* and *Ems*, would be free from the Enemies Incumbrances, and be entirely in the *States Power*: So much was their hope advanced, by the first Successes, that they, who till this time hardly durst undertake any thing, now on a sudden, did not boggle at the most adventurous Enterprizes. With great speed, therefore, an Expedition into *Friesland* was begun; and least, in the absence of the Army, the Enemy should make any Impressions, the Regiments lately raised in *Holland*, were ordered to keep good and strong Guards upon the *Waal*. The Provisions of War, and all other Things that might impede their Journey, being put aboard some Ships, were carryed out of the *Iffel* into the *Zuyderzee*, and so through the Ocean to the *River Ems*.

The Souldiery, by this means, free from Portage, easily passing over the Marshes, they carryed, besides their Daily Provision, Faggots, were led into that part of *Overyssel* which is called *Drent*, where the People had inclosed the Marshy Grounds, with a great many young Shoots of Plant growing together; for the Enemy stopped the better way, being possessed of *Cotworden*, which some did advise the Army to take as they went, least from thence the Enemy should

and them in the Rear; averring, that *Vordago*, who kept the Castle, might easily be beaten thence, either by some intelligent, publick Force, or want of Victuals: But this Council was not approved, by reason of the difficult bringing of great Carriages for Battery in a Land-March; and also, because there was less necessity of fighting at Gro-

Among many other inconveniencies, the Army met with, when March thither, one was a *Moor*, containing in length Three Thousand five hundred Paces: And though the great Cruelty of the Turf was so hardened, notwithstanding Natural Moisture underneath, that it would endure men to go over it; yet such as follow'd in the Third or Fourth Rank, sunk so deep into the yielding Mud, that they could hardly be drawn out, though sometimes their Captains came, and gave their helping hand to them, that so the Toil might not seem so grievous to the Souldiers: and in a few hours the whole Army had pass'd it, which all the *Inhabitants* about had thought impossible to be done: But the Souldiers could not be restrained, by any Authority, to forbear looting to the Country as they march'd, according to the Evil Custom of Armies, their pilfering, stealing, and wasting of what would have served for many days, had almost caus'd want of Provision; and that would have bred a Sedition, but that the Ships came in season, loaded with Provision, to prevent the same. Now were all the Tents pitched about *Groning*, where the Prince conceived a good hope of Success, from the variable and unconstant behaviour of the *Vulgar*, against those in Authority, as also from the Discords within the City: But indeed, too confident in their words, by Relations above Truth, had for their own advantage drawn the Army thither: 'Tis true, there were some within, who remembred the League of Union, but they were overpowered by the adverse Faction. Moreover, *Vordago*, upon the Report of the Armies coming into those Parts, had

strengthened both *Stemwio*, and *Ceswarden*, with Garrisons, and with the Remainder of his Forces was come to *Green* before Prince *Maurice*; yet was not for all that admitted within the Gates, (for the City when it first submitted, accepted that one particular,) but kept his proper Garrison in the Suburbs, as well to the Terror, as the Aid of the City. The Prince not staying above six days there; for fear the City should, as out of Necessity, admit that Garrison within the Walls, and so, for the future, all their hopes being entirely lost, an likewise because he heard the Duke of *Palma* was preparing an Army to raise the Siege, on a sudden falls upon the circumjacent Forts, whereby all the Ways and Passages of Rivers were stopped: And which had in the Series of this long War, been often subverted by the *Erizans*, and often re-built.

Great was the Fear and Dread of the Souldiers, as having been more accustomed to Theft and Depopulations, than Fighting; few of them enduring more than the very sight of the Canon and the weaker places they left without any Siege at all: The greatest Castle of all, named *Delfzand*, and famous for a Haven, where *Fivel* falls into the *Ems*, was held by Souldiers of *Greening*; the conveniency of the place, and, of old, wrought upon all, that desired the Dominion of the City, to get or keep it; which the Duke of *Alva* attempted, but was hindered by the Times. The *States* now having gotten this place, enlarged the Old, and strengthened it with new Works, making the Tributes of the places near thereto, bear the Charge; dividing the Sea-Bank from the Rampire, and building Houses therein, threatening *Greening*; That unless they repented, they would not leave it any Inhabitants. And at the same time, a great war of all Things shrewdly reigned the inclosed to alter their Faith, and consequently their Lords: But after the Prince had drawn away his Army, *Jo-Zingo* making his way by force, through the weakest Fort, opened a Passage to the City, out of *Westfalia*, by *Bourlang*:

But

the Duke of Parma coming too late, to help either Zúñiga or De Winter, and imagining the Enemy durst not have moved so far, for that many of the Spaniards, by reason of the ill pay, would not be commanded, doubtful whether he should lead his Forces, being now met together about the Rhine and the Rhine, either to distract the Enemy in his Design, or to march after him voluntarily, which would be the more noble, and so to help Groening, as he was desired: he was deterred from the latter, by the excessive greatness of the Army: and besides, all the Country lying between, was wasted and spoiled, either by the French Souldiers, or his own. Wherefore, at last, he resolved to answer the desire of Nanninghen; whither being come, he commanded the River to be passed over, and the Fort, which Prince Maurice had the former year begun, to be besieged; himself would do all that was necessary in the City: Count Barlaymont lay upon that side of Knodsenburg, which looks Eastward: Another was Belleguer'd by Olavins, Count Mansfeldt, who was shortly after shot by the Besieged, and dyed of the Wound: He was a Noble Person, and although but young, yet ambitious of Honour, and for the winning thereof, would shun no danger. The back-side of the Fort was inclosed by the Horse, and some other Regiments. Lamotte brought thither the Artillery with ease, by the help of the Rising Bank; He afterwards finding the Bulwark too strong for the Cannon, though a great part of the Ravelin was beaten down, and seeing the Enemy were not terrified, at the sight of the Army drawn up in Battel Array against them, filled the Trench with Oziers, and other Boughs, and after that sends some privately to undermine the Bulwark; they, in the mean time, who were to fill the Ditch, helping the Work forward, with many of their dead Bodies. But the Defendants, that were Six Hundred, under the Command of Gerard Junius, a Man of great Courage, were ready in all places, to answer the Force or Policy of the Enemy with Shot, and otherwise; many

many times, by successful Sallies, disturbing their commenced beginnings.

At this time Prince *Maurice* had left *Groning*, and was going against *Stemmen*, when hearing of the Siege of *Kilfenbury*, he left Count *William* to defend the *Princ*, and himself, with a flying Army, coming to *Amsterdam*, in the *Holland*, by Signals, encouraged the Besieged; and likewise from thence sent *Messengers*, that got through the adverse Army, unespied by Night in a Boat. But the *Nassau* Commanders differed in Opinion, whether they should meet the Enemy in the Field, and fight him; or, passing the *River Waal*, should fortifie themselves, and hinder their Adversaries of Provision, and make them leave the Works and Guns, they had seized upon the side of the Hill by *Nassau*: There was difficulty and danger in both these Attempts; for, without all doubt, the Enemy was stronger in Horse, whose Force and Valour they had often tryed, both in Fight and Forraging. At length *Parma* determin'd their Doubt, which many times is as profitable as *Prudence*; for the Prince, with Count *Salus*, and Sir *Francis Vere*, being brought near the Enemies Camp, hid part of the forwardest Regiments, with some Troops, among the Thickets adjoining to the way: Other part of the Horse were commanded to march a good way forward, to draw on the Enemy, upon whose approach, they were to seem to fly, as if they were overpower'd, (for most of the *Italians* in Ten Troops, among whom was the Duke of *Parma's* own Lifeguard were come out to pursue them) and they were not to face about, till they had drawn the *Pursuers* beyond the River, and a narrow Bridge that went over it; which being brought to pass, according to expectation, suddenly they that fled, turned again; and the others that lay in Ambush coming in, they were inclosed, and every valiant man among them dyed in the place he stood; the rest were scatteringly slain, as they were

went away with only some few, while the *Conquerors* took the *Engins*, and some prisoners alive, and the *Horses*, escaped out to the Camp: With the grief whereof, and the loss of so many noble and valiant men, not thinking it safe any longer to stay in the *Spaniards* quarters, he gave over his vain *Shows*, but pretending, that he was commanded to march on more into *France*, and that the great Affairs of the Kingdom were not to be neglected, in striving to win a few Forts or Castles in *Holland*: Wherefore, sending the *Carracks* before, he Transported his Army, having only built some slight Works upon the River, to keep the *Nassauians* in play, lest they should fall upon his Rear; and as soon as his Army was all over the Water, he commanded them to make a stand, that they might secure the ships coming after them: But the City was highly displeased at his departure; some few spoke of him favourably; most smother'd their Anger in a threatening silence; but the baser sort of people cover'd nothing of their Madness, but shew'd their Fury in their Speeches; as if they could by them draw back an Old General, that fled at the sight of a stripling Enemy.

Undoubtedly, *Parma's* Mind, having always been accustomed to win Honour, was grievously afflicted with this Disgrace; so that his former Disease, now again increasing, he, together with his Son *Ramusio* (who lately came out of *Italy*, augmented his Fathers Vexation, that he should be a Witness of his Misfortune) went to the *Spaw*; there, among the variety of his present Discontent, and former Fortune, to drink of the Waters. From thence he sent to the Mutinous *Spaniards* at *Dieft*; for pacifying whom, he gave a very prejudicial Example, to wit, That *Emanuel Vega* a Captain, who was more feared, than the Villany of the *Souldiers* would bear, should be displaced, and another put into his room.

The Citizens of *Nimueghen* did many of them begin to look after Liberty, especially after *Desperation* had multiplied those Evils, which before they had scarcely undergone, with the

the Promises and Expectation of better Things : Forfixing before, following the Duke of *Parma's* good Fortune, by a general Consent, but the Faction of a small Party, who the Government of the *United States*, after a long time, and much care, came to be settled, (without whose Consent, no ever Duty or Obedience they shewed, was without any Affection) yet they chose Safety and Profit : And from that time, there began a mutual Commerce between them and the *Hollanders*, who suffer'd the Ships of *Nimwegen* to go through the *Wad* ; because then the Channel of the River wanted Depth of Water to bear them. But in the *Garrisons* were Three Companies, one of *Forreigners*, two of men raised within the Town, (for they positively refused to admit more) and as any one offended more heinously the parties of the great Ones, they would, by vertue of their received Power, threateningly restrain or punish the Offenders. There was now onely a close Siege, least the Enemies Forces should lye at lurch about the *Adans* ; and that was onely delayed by the excessive increase of Water in the *Wad*, so that there could not be had any use of a Bridge : However, the Souldier rested not long quiet in his *Winter-quarters*, though they were purposely at a great distance, the more to increase the Conquering Enemies Security : For Prince *Maurice*, prosecuting his good Fortune, draws out of his Garrisons part of the Regiments ; and with them marches over the *Scheldt* into the Land of *Wase* ; and at the same time, the Horse made an Inroad into *Brabant* : And the fifth day after, having taken all the Forts thereabouts, *Hulst*, a Town in that Province, was deliver'd to him : The suddainness of the Action amazed the Garrison Souldiers, (for the Governor, by chance, was gone out of Town before the Siege, upon private occasions of his own) and also, because the Prince had digged through the Bank, to make the River overflow all the adjacent places, and by that means stopped the Enemy from assisting them.

The whole Land of *Wase* was given to the Souldiers, to spoil and pillage, until they promised Tribute, and sent Horses to the *States*, for payment of the same; But the Neighbours of the *Hollanders*, seeing all the best of their Fruits, and other Provisions, possessed by the Enemy, Prince *Maurice's* Army being gone, as fearing to have bin met with unawares in the Enemies Country by the Duke of *Parma*, cause *Montgommery*, the Governour of the Castle at *Antwerp*, to take Arms; who, accordingly, with the next Souldiers he could get, and such as lived about the *Maas*, goes over the *Scheld*, but not daring to look upon any Town, (for Count *Staple* defended them, and Repaired the Works) he recovered the Forts and Sconces in the Country, and Erected new ones, for the straitning or cutting off Excursion.

Hereupon, the *Inhabitants* of the Country denyed their promised Tribute, supposing, and not without Reason, that the Clemency of the Enemy would not break its wonted bonds, and revenge the injury upon the innocent pledges. All things succeeding thus, even beyond his wishes, the *Prince* again drawing his Souldiers out of their winter-quarters, goes into *Gelderland*, which the Enemy had quitted; In this hasty Progress, some of his Ships, falling upon the *Isles*, he was constrained to burn; shortly after, recruited with the Forces of Count *William* (being twelve Ensigns) he entered the *Maas*, and united the Island, and the main Land, together with a Bridge. The Camp on both sides, was fortified against any Enemy that should come on their backs: The upper part of the Town, where the Walls were not lined with banks, he thought fit to batter, and because it seemed a great way to draw the Artillery, and incommodious withall, they were carried before the Town in the night, and by that means, the Defendants in *Nimmeghen*, for that in the dark they could not discern the quick motion of the Ships, spent all their Shot and Darts in vain.

At the same time, beyond the River, on the other side there were other Military Engines to shoot into the Town. At first, they resolved courageously to defend the Town, being not yet quite enclosed round, they sent to *Vittus*, to firing him not to forsake them, in that their extreme danger for at this time, he was commanded to defend *Calmar*, he had no forces, so that he might not immediately comply, have only forsaken places under his charge. After this, because they feared their Fortifications might be defective, at hand, of all Sexes and Ages, were employed to make the Work more inwards. There is a Castle in this place, known not so much because it is impregnable by the Military discipline of this Age, as for its being a Monument of its greatness and prowess: The Townsmen attribute the glory of the Work to *Julius Caesar*, warring in these parts against *Gaul*. They tell us also, that the *Celts* built the City, when of old they left their own Country, possessed this part of the *Rhine*, and all the Neighbouring parts of *Belgia*. It is evident to me in my search of old Authors, that there existed no kind of City, either in the days of *Cæsar*, or *Trajan*, in whose Reign, *Tacitus* wrote in the *Roman History*, written by *Ammianus*; this *Nimwegen* began first to peep up her Head at the *Waal*, and that *Charlemagne* built a Palace therein, the *French Chronicle* declare, afterwards with all, that by the *Normans*, it was utterly consumed with fire, but the *German* not long after growing prevalent, it became a free City, and was a great while the Selected Seat of the *Emperours*. Until by the Articles of the *Pope*, it was torn from the *German Empire*, in the divisions thereof, when *William* Earl of *Holland* got his share, and want of money still produced new occasions, it was pawned to *Otho*, the Earl of *Gelderland*, from which time, being by reason of its near vicinity to the Province of *Gelders* annexed thereto, it hath increased in power, growing rich by the long enjoyment of peace; and having brought forth many ingenious

men) Begin to turn to the Siege. As soon as the Cannon and
Mortars, and other private Stratagems, by Mines and the
like, had now made the danger alike in every place, being
thus more summoned, they were divided into factions. The
Commons, and men in Power, boasted of the Kings Power,
and an Army was coming to their relief, both out of
France and Flanders, there being no Reason, why Rem-
onstrances should have their revenge; But the common People
gathering together with a sudden fury, broke into the Court,
and after a long murmur, and humming noyse, at length,
burst forth into words to this effect, first setting forth
their misery in the stopping up of the River, their wasted
lands, their ruined Houses, and the approach of Famine.
He, saith he, is this the first time, that we have by a Siege
compul to yield to our fortune; It is now a Year and upwards,
since we have lived in a wretched condition among these dan-
gerous, and seek any corner to hide our selves in for safety; and
in this Series of our miseries is thine much more increased,
for that we have unworthily and treacherously violated all Cove-
nants: But we unworthy of any help, and neglected by our Lords,
of whom we have merited better things, have received a very Sig-
nal favour from the Enemy, unless perhaps now, as if bound to
the extremity, we still wait for relief from them, who refu-
se to help us while they might; or which is as vain, that we should
think without our own strength, and three little Bands of Soldiers,
to overthrow these mountainous Fortifications, and raise a Siege
which is so strongly settled and maintained. We shall be left as Lux-
emburg and Deventer; We have against all Reason, protracted
this time beyond Hultse, and what hope have we? what Reward
shall we receive of our obstinacy? Alas, wretches! nothing but to
be impured: Let us now at length shake off the Chains of a
hated and ingratifull Kingdom, while we receive him who now is
repaid our Adversary, not as a powerfull foe, but a mercifull
Conquerour. There is a sort of People, who alwayes wage War,
that they may not be enslaved by others, yet never have any hope of
freedom.

selling a Government among themselves: To these all Rivers and Seas are open, they sail to all places for Commerce; their Trade flourish as in the undisturbed enjoyment of a continual Peace; they are not impoverished either by their Governors and Magistrates avarice, or the rude licentiousness of Souldiers: while they pay less Tributes for the upholding our slavery, than for the maintenance of our Laws and Customs: Let us become free among Friends, and in enjoying that happy Name of a Commonwealth, without being conquered we shall be equal Conquerors, and have an equal share both in Command and Government.]

This Speech being ended, many of the People did continually murmur the same things, so that they who at the beginning were averse, now went away, as consenting out of fear, or for that they believed what was spoken was truth; And the Souldiery durst not resist, being well contented, in regard of their inability, to have their lives saved. The City desired they might be permitted the use of the *Roman Catholick Religion*, but it would not be granted: As soon as it was delivered, Prince *Maurice* sent in a Garrison, and appointed a new Magistrate, and this priviledge he took himself, during the War, abrogating the power of interrupted Fraternities, as the onely nurse of Sedition, for the Neighbouring Towns were ruled by a Senate, unless for the dispatch of more weighty Affaires, some were by chance elected from among the People: Thus enjoying the greatest part of *Gelderland*, he restored the ancient splendor of his Family, for that formerly, the Princes of the Name and Blood of *Nassau* had governed that Province.

The Siege of *Steenisse* was thought fit to be deferred, because the Winter was now come, very hurtfull, by the Frost and Ice, to marches and obnoxious to carriages, nor would it have been any thing better, if it should either rain or snow, because the natural moysture and marishness of the ground would be exceedingly increased; wherefore the Prince returning Victor into *Holland*, loaden with honourable spoils

among foreign Nations; he was received by the people with an excess of joy.

The people of old were wont to rejoyce at their *Princes* good fortune, as from Command, not obliged by duty. They knew the former *Prince of Auring* only in disguise, and the Cloud of adverse fortune. And in the Earl of *Leinster* they were perplexed between private discords, and public murders: Now only they saw their bounds enlarged by Arms, and their Government settled by Rivers, and furnished with fortified Towns, and yet their Leader receiving no other satisfaction for all his pains and labour, than to see thereof, the benefit of the success being wholly left to the Country: which looked not only with hope, but admiration at his youth, as if it had been on purpose, let apart by the divine Providence, for such weighty undertakings.

And then again, casting their unsatisfied eyes upon his countenance, they gratefully revered that tender Age, and his blood, which had so often thrown it self upon dangers for his defence. And without all doubt, the *Princes* good fortune was much forwarded by celerity: besides, he had learned the exquisite Arts of Fortification, both as to the offensive and defensive part, the besieging or defending Towns, as far as the present Age was able to instruct him, was well practised in the encamping of an Army.

The *Enemies* were nothing so industrious, their confidence (as it is generally observed) breeding carelessness and rashness, and sometimes overweening Temerity. They who are weak in power, are for the most part strongest in Council, assuming to supply by prudent Resolutions and Industry, what is deficient in strength. Fame also is a great assistance, where the first happy events are multiplied to the great expectation of liberty. But the mayn of all, was the strength of Shipping among so many Rivers, without which the rest would have profited but little.

According to Custom, the Souldiers wintered in Garrisons, from whence many times, small parties going out to various success, brought in booty, or were circumvented by the Enemy. During which times also, stratagems were frequently used for getting of Towns; such were they by here *Gertruydenburg*, *Maestricht*, and *Schuyt*, were obtained; and in another part, *Breda* was endeavour'd to be taken, but the Ambushy being discovered, the Armies were drawn back, frustrate of their designs. Now was the Sea scour'd from *Pirates*, and the Duke of *Parma* being for *France*, received joyfully an Embassie sent from the *Emperour*, to treat and mediate a Peace: But the United Provinces, 1592. suspected it, as they had reason; but chiefly, because they had intercepted Letters from the King of *Spain*, written concerning it: wherefore they shut themselves against those old deceits, warned by the fresh example of the *Arragonians*, who, while they unwarily discountenanced the Spaniards, were surpris'd by craft, and drawn into slavery and ruine.

These People of *Spain*, of old called *Tarragonia*, now call'd *Arragon*, first getting possession of that part of the Country by Arms, which barbarous Nations, from the other side of the Sea, had invaded, by the Counsel of such as were esteemed wise among them, erected a *Commonwealth*: At the beginning, Kings (that name and honour being given to admitted power) were chosen here by the suffrages of the people, afterwards by the Custom of several Nations, their Heirs were admitted by Succession to the Government, obliging them to the observance of the Law, whereby they who were then eminent, as foreseeing the inconvenience of a Kingdom, conveyed some power to the people, whose authority was to be used in publick Counsels, and gave a privilege of Supreme Magistracy, even over the Kings themselves, and these boundaries were well observed, as long as the *Princes* were careful to do Right and Justice, and not

of no Forces to defend Crimes. But afterwards there happening a Conjunction of Kingdoms, and all *Spain*, by that means, becoming Subject to King *Philip*, all mens patience was tryed by the severity of the Inquisition, and every thing by new forms of Judgment was disposed, and they rather fitted to the pleasure of the Court and Counsellors, then squared by the Rule of the ancient Law, or Prescript order of Justice: The Case of *Anthony Perez* was greatly commiserated by the People, who having been employed by King *Philip*, about *Henric's* death, was yet by him falsely accused of but an ordinary fault, for which deprived of all Authority, and fly-
 ing from *Cassile*, he was yet prosecuted by the Kings rage, in that Region, for the King hated him, because he had been some time a procurer in matters of Love. And when he Innocents of wrath, impudently opposed the Laws, and would by no means suffer Justice, they were resisted by force, and these commotions being provoked by force, were afterwards hushed by gentle endeavours and dissimulation; And when Tumults begun under a malevolent constellation, so the City was perswaded under pretence of the French War, to suffer the Kings Army to come through its Borders, and march through *Sarragusa*, the Metropolis of that Region, and so to go over the *Pyrenean Mountains*: But instead thereof, the Nobles were murdered, and every one, that either with Tongue or hand, had been forward to advance liberty, was by revenge marked, and for the future, nothing remained, but a prospect of Tyranny and slavery.

Although these things are not suitable to my purpose, yet I have not neglected to insert them here, at such times as they happened, that Posterity may compare their fortune, and the *Netherlanders* together, that as well the faults of Princes may be known, as the People may be instructed, that many times the cause is no less to be minded, than the Forces of a King.

While these Transactions were a foot otherwhere, the

King of *France* being recruited with *German* Souldiers, and *English* Auxiliaries, besieged *Rouen*, Queen *Elizabeth* fearing that he would inclose the Enemy between the *River Seine*, and the *British* Ocean: this made the *French* Commander with *Parma*, take his long stay the worse, who began to flow in making ready his Warlike preparations, or else consulting of some higher design, how to augment the danger at last, though late in the year, having first received the Town of *Fer* in pledge, he drew near to the Borders of *Normandy*; There were in his Army several new raised men, those Regiments which had lately fallen into a mutiny, he now were restored to their Colours, being full of booty, and having also received their pay, which the Duke of *Parma* very hardly extorted by the increase of Tributes, and selling the right of Commerce to the Enemies, the *Netherlanders* without cause complaining, that their Borders were left naked, and their money and strongest men carried away to his strangers.

Pope *Gregory* sent also Assistance to the *French* Rebels, a thing not used by his Predecessors, terrifying also their friends with cursings and threats, such as might have frightened a former Age; but such as either feared damage, or loved profit, forbore to meddle; and such as really intended help, was soon taken off by old age. It is manifest, that *Sixtus*, with-holden by envy to the *Spaniard*, and rather than be weak, augment his Wealth, inclined to the *French* King, and thus many suspected to be a cause of hastning his death.

Against the plague of this concurring War, the United States rigged a Fleet, and sent to the King for a Guard, of the very flower of all their Regiments, ten Ensigns of *Spain*, and the like number of *Netherlanders*, under the Command of *Philip Nasau*: But when the Duke of *Parma* (for now he mustered his Army) long delayed his March, King *Henry* dismissed for the Winter, most of the Nobility that were faithful to him, and the only support of his necessitated War,

that he might have them the more ready another time; They were scarce departed, when the King hearing of the Enemy's approach to assault him, was compelled to draw his forces together, and by that means, the Siege was raised. But when the entrance of the Spring had brought him a Recruit of Horse, he pressed upon the Enemy, and forcing him beyond the River, pinched him with Famine, for he was impatient of any longer delay, and ready to decide the cause by Battle. If the Duke of *Parma* silently repassing the River, had not marched towards *Paris*. Wherefore the King leaving *Rome*, and taking some other Ports on that Coast into his power, and sending them where they wanted, he brought to pass, that neither he could nor be hindered of any assistance coming to him by Sea. In this Interim, there were some light skirmishes, famous only in this, that in one the King was wounded, and in another, the Duke of *Parma*, which wound troubled him more than his old Disease, for cure whereof, he had gone to the *Span*: And now wearied with *France*, about the latter end of Summer, he brings his ragged Regiments through *Fernandois*, the nearest way to the *Netherlands*.

At this time, the *English*, while the *Spaniards* passed backward and forwards in *America* and other places, very much annoyed them, both the Wind and the Sea conspiring against them, to deliver them up as a publick Enemy. And while they have spoiled one another, the tempestuous Sea spared neither.

And now also, that anniversary plague of mutinous parties returned into the *Netherlands*, and that with the more violence, because the Mutineers not only wanted their pay, but were pinched with the miseries of Winter. Some that were quartered about the Cities of *Coleu* grew very outrageous, as looking upon *Germany*, as able to yield them booty enough; but such as remained about *Leige*, and the Country near there, after they had by a long stay wasted all the Country about, put ran away to other parts, but most of them perish-

ed either by poverty or Diseases; and if any yet continued healthy, they were so accustomed to discord, that they would range far and wide to waite and destroy; and by this means more was to be maintained, yet there were fewer to defend it. But the Land, under the United States, was more fortified, having for defence in most places, Rivers running round about it, and the Sea securing another part. Besides the valour and vertue of the Citizens was well known, that they who were raised in the inner part of the Country, would help to defend the furthest parts thereof, and be faithful Supplies to the Regiments abroad. Hence it was, that there was a desire to go out with some part of the present Forces, while the Duke of *Parma* was not yet returned; and if they had made haste, without doubt, many of his men wearied with Travel, and worn out with Battels, and then also coming from a strange Country in the Winter, would not have been able to have encountered half the number of their Enemies. In laying aside talk, they began to think of action. *Holland* insisted upon the Siege of *Gertruydenburg*. But the *Frisians* were preferred before all, that the prosperous beginnings of the last year might be perfected in this, themselves also offering their own Souldiers, of whom they never need to fear a scarcity, if there be a War continued for any time: And indeed, these were the main strength of the Union, as long as the other Regiments attended the War in *France*.

About this time, some Letters written by the *Groningers*, to Count *Mansfeldt*, were intercepted, which declared the necessity of their condition, and how want of all things grew upon them: Moreover, they sent some selected *Deputies* to the *Emperour*, to tell him, they had not fled to the greatness of the House of *Austria*, when they were free, that now they should be left undefended to the Government of *Spain*, and laid open to the injuries of their Enemies: Should they never be so happy, as to see their General and his Army, at least for example sake, that no people might seem to have fallen

lowed the fortune of that great House, without Reason, or unadvisedly? Which complaints being sent into *Spain*, produced yet no other effect, than Exhortations to fidelity, and great promises, that an Army should come, and cut open their passages with the Sword. One Regiment was added for defence of those places held beyond the *Rhine*. And while *Valdes* endeavours by all means to encrease his Forces, *Harman Count Herenberg*, daring nothing further, infested only the lesser Fortifications about *Issell*, from whence the Inhabitants took an occasion to contract, that they would undergo the sudden brunt of both sides, and that they should enjoy by the levelling of the Castles, a common possession of their Lands, untill both Armies had decided their quarrel by a pitched Battel in the Field. At this time, as it were on purpose to hinder Prince *Maurice* his March, the newes of the *Utrecht* Factions came to his Ears, for that unquiet City had not yet forgotten those differences in Religion, which were begun in the Earl of *Leicesters* time: And *Zeland* lying far from the reach or defence of his Sword, began to deny the payment of their Taxes and Assesments; but these being all by him easily and with speed composed, in that same Spring he marched out; not with any new raised Bands, but for his supply and recruit, he had sent Orders to several Captains: And thus he did muster of *Hollanders* and *Frisons*, eight thousand Foot very near, and five hundred Horse, and of Artillery, greater and less, fifty.

As soon as they were come to the utmost Border of *Over-Issel*, which looks towards *Friseland*, the Walls of *Steenwic* were in sight, the greatness of whose strength & Fortification, as well as the fame of the Town, took up all their thoughts: And some of the *States* being of late terrified therewith, as also divers forreign *Princes*, judged it a very rash undertaking; for they remembered, that this was the place from whence they had driven *Renneberg*, after a Siege of three months, nor had he then a less Army, nor wanted any defences, that were

found necessary, either by custom or fear, for the Spaniards after he had taken it by stratagem, supposing that *Amsterdam* would thereby be as it were shut up, and that the *Zuyderzee* might be sufficiently molested with Ships, added to the modern fortification, what ever might be advantageous against all those violences, whereof the Wars of former Ages were ignorant. On that side which looks towards the Sea, was only a low marshy ground, scarcely bearing any weight thereon, much less fit for the drawing of Carriages with great Guns, or serviceable to raise Batteries: wherefore the ground being lightly thrown up, did rather inclose, than strengthen the Town on that side.

Another part was encompassed with a Rampire made of a stiff Clay, intermingled and made strong with Timber, piled one upon another, so that it was consolidated without any possibility, almost of divulsion. There were two great Forts, and between these two little ones, excellently raised by Art, so that on every part they flanked the Assaultants: besides the e there was a Gallery for the *Defendants*, and at the bottom of the Fortifications, to stop all that should come to scale, there was a continued rank of *Palisades*: from hence the Trench began, a hundred foot in breadth, whereinto water was drawn to fill it with a Mill, from a small River, which cometh out of *Drente*, and being a little shallower than the Trench, passes thence to the *Blackfile Port*, it falls into the *Zuyderzee*.

Beyond the Trench, there is another Work, or Countermure, kept by continual Guards day and night, and is fit to make Sallies, being moderately hollow and bending: for the other Bulwarks that lay further off, and divided from the Town, they were taken without any difficulty. The Besiegers were sufficiently supplied with two things, to wit, number of men, and obstinacy, for the Town (which is not very large) had in it, a thousand well Armed Foot, and six hundred Horse, who all resolved to suffer the greatest extremities

not imaginable, rather than render the Garrison: He who was Governour, named *Antonio Coquelle*, had bound them all by Oath, that they should thereafter, never fear for any mischief that should follow: Neither were they more comforted by their own strength, and the hope of timely Relief, than by their Enemies small number; And some of them, out of their own proper sense of their crimes, committed at *Strassburg*, by the desperation of life, condemned death.

The difficulty of the Enterprize, very much incited Prince *William*, as well with the hope of Honour and prayse, at the present, as of terroure and dread for the future: The Leaguer was well fortified, wherein there was not only an abundance of Victuals, but the same was very cheap: Then the passage was cut off by many turnings, by which means, the Souldier went as it were, under coverture, and defended against the shot of the Town; Sometimes the Besieged made Sallies, and not altogether without success, while for the most part, they found the Besiegers either drunk, unarmed, or half asleep; but this did not happen very often, because the infinite damage of the besieged Souldiers, and the State of Affairs in the Town, could not be learned by any fear or threats, no not from such as were taken Captive. Daily did the Besieged calumniate and rail against both the Prince and his Army, although on both sides the Cannon, with perpetual Thunder, spoke even sufficient hatred, and a new Bulwark, whose hilly rising twenty foot high, and more, threatened some great danger to the Town, this new Work, at the very top of it, continued in length, threescore foot, and in breadth, fifty foot, from whence they could shoot into the very innermost parts of the Town: yet for all this, and the loss of so many of their men, they were nothing moved, among whom was slain *Louis*, Brother to Count *Heremburgh*. At this time, the Besiegers erected a great Tower of Wood, after the manner of Antiquity, to drive away the *Defendants* from their Stations,
and

and to overlook their Works, this the Besieged, finding they could not reach the height thereof with their other Engines, endeavoured to break it with their great Bullets. The Prince when he perceived the terrible noise of his Side to be so vain, though with great cost and labour, and that the Besiegers were rather encouraged to see their Town thus vainly retarded, least the intervenient places should be possessed, he falls to other devices, as where the Land was more soft, and would endure Mining, he commands thither *Peasants* with Mattocks and other Instruments for digging, and orders them to undermine the place. And so the outward Work being pierced (though the Cannon could not hurt it) they were now come to the Trench, which they filled up with Faggots and Bains: the Besieged all this while, mocking at the *Princes* Souldiers that would submit to such terrible labour.

Then what could not privily be wrought further, the great Gun, brought through the Mines and Galleries, easily laid flat. And now the very Rampires that encompassed the Town came to be Mined, when a suddain Infection dissolved all the Defendants Courages, and involved them in such a *Panicke Terror*, that they knew not what to shun, nor what to defend. They were chiefly disanimated by the want of Gunpowder, of which having by Letters before complained to Count *Mansfeldt*, they had not received any Answer, for that he himself daily expected Forces, and they looked for Money, and that was not to be had till the Duke of *Palme*'s Return: Hereupon a Treaty is desired, and accordingly Commissioners admitted and heard. The Prince required all *Ringado's* to be deliver'd to him, that they might be punished according to their deserts, and that the rest should take an Oath, that for six Moneths they would not take up Arms beyond the *Rhine*. And this was to them an Example or Testimony of his power. But the Commissioners, looking upon themselves as yet in a Conquerour's power, whereby they should be forced to submit to such hard Laws, go away full

Contumacy and Malice; as if they had resolved, since they could not freely live, that they would fairly die: But first believed, that this *Treaty* was set a foot without any necessity, that the Besieged might not be aware of the approaching Relief, which *Verduyn* the next Night following sent to them, to the number of Three Hundred Men, two hundred having a little before gotten to them over the Mar-ches: But Prince *Maurice*, having pre-instructed his Men in what he designed to do privately, shews his Army in *Battle-Array*, as if about to storm, they had been brought to the place appointed for them; and that he might draw the Besieged into an ambiguous fear to their Ruine, he had hidden in two places the famous Engine of War now used, of whole use, the *Antients* were utterly ignorant; but our Age, abounding more with Malice and Cunning, have found it out. It is thus made: Coals mixed with Sulphur and Sal-tpetre, very much dried, if you put fire thereto, will swell exceedingly, and cannot be inclosed, but will force its way through all Obstacles, Guns, and other Military Instruments filled herewith, by the force thereof throw Gads and pieces of Iron and Bullets to a very great distance; and if it be laid into the Ground, and cover'd with Earth, it will throw far and wide abroad all that lyes upon or near it. We call it commonly Gun-powder: Several great Vessels fill'd herewith were placed in the Mines; which Vessels being bound about with Match of a great length, upon the Enemies approach to the Mine, being lighted with like powder, carries the fire to all the rest, which in the bursting, maketh a dreadful Noise, carrying up into the Air, in a thick Cloud of Smoke, intermingled with Fire, all about it, and upon a sudden, overthrowing all the Works, with the certain Ruine of all persons standing in defence of the same: But many of the Enemy, fearing such a danger, in time stood off; yet at the springing of that Mine, Bodies of Men might have been seen hovering piece-meal in the Air, the torn and divided

Members, yet retaining their decaying vigour and
 and, instead of Darts, proved Instruments of Death to a
 But the other Mine, having cast down a part of the Em-
 pire, and the Mouth not being well closed, or else for that
 old Foundation of the Work reverberated the Force, the
 main operative strength of the Powder flew backward, where-
 by divers of them that went before the Banners, were killed
 by the fall, or flying of the Earth, thrown up into the Air, &
 buried in an untimely Grave: Some also not escaping the
 very fire: And now the Army began to prepare to scale the
 Walls; and another Company thereof endeavour'd to break
 the Bars and Fastnings of the Gates, when Prince Maurice
 coming a little too near to take a view, was wounded by
 a Bullet shot from the Town; which News presently put the
 hand to hand, yet he nothing changed therewith, still he
 maintained his Commands, and gave Orders to his Captains
 as he was wont at other times: But in the hinder part of the
 Army, the Report thereof was made much worse, insomuch
 that the Army began to be amazed at it; every one fearing
 to himself as present, the Evil which he most feared: Where-
 fore the Assault being for a while forbidden, lest the danger
 falsely believed, might open an occasion to further damage to
 ally; and because also, many of the Souldiers were wounded,
 and the inner parts of the Town were not sufficiently as-
 sured, though the Wooden Tower before-mention'd, was
 gotten very near: But the Rage of the Souldiery scarce
 began to be appeased, when upon another view of the Town
 the difficulty of the Assault appeared: However, the Be-
 siegers possessed all the ruinous places, which the Mines had
 made, and turned into heaps, placing thereon their Engines;
 but the Reminders of the Bulwarks were yet defended,
 which Prince Maurice labour'd also to undermine, and there-
 upon to give an Assault: In this interim, the Besieged had
 drawn a Trench about the Market-place, not that they hoped
 thereby to save the place, but onely by such delays to work
 for

for themselves an opportunity to obtain Articles. They saw
Artillery brought thither, and knew there was little help or
safety in that Entrenchment, but that the same would rather
be a Defence to their Enemies, and that if they should joyn
in Fight, they being the fewer in number, must needs perish.
Thus being subdued in all ways, before their Resolutions
floated, they obtained Articles that were neither hard nor
dishonourable: Particular care being taken for one *Sabbatius*
infantry, who was a Noble Person among the *Jesuits*; and
for the granting of these Articles, the *Ambassadors* thereof were
they of the *Senate*, that were present with Prince *Maurice*, and
of the Council; who considering the necessity of the time, for
they understood that *Mondragon* was mustering the *Spanish*
Army, rather chose, that the *Souldiers* Minds should be im-
pressed with a golden Victory, then held any longer in sus-
sistence; and whoever offer'd injury to the *Souldiers*, as they
marched out, was severely punish'd. There went six hun-
dred more, beside two hundred sick and wounded; so that
various kinds of death, near five hundred perish'd. Above
twenty days were spent in repairing the Works about *Strone*,
and various Debates in Council, while the *Hollanders*, and
such as lived at distance from the War, adjudg'd they had
no honour enough, and would not have the now wearied
Army go to stir up, or meet any fresh Dangers: But indeed,
being privately afraid, lest the *Frisons*, together with their
Fear should also cast off their Obligations, and refuse to bear
a share in the Burthen of the War.

At this time, there fell out another Impediment unex-
pected: for Queen *Elizabeth* recall'd all her *Souldiers*, to
drive the *Spaniards* from the Coasts of *Bretaign* in *France*,
not without upbraiding the *States*, concerning those *Auxi-*
liaries they sent the *French King*, without her Knowledge or
Consent. Notwithstanding all which hindrances, yet all they
that lived beyond the *Rhine*, as also the desire of continuing
their Honour, moved them to attaque *Corverden*, a Town and
Castle

Castle seated so, as not easily to be approached, and for that famous for many Ages. In the Wars of our *Antiquaries*, and even in this among our selves, every one as he possessed the Country, beyond or more inward, either lessened or increased the Works. At last, the *Spaniards* fortified thoroughly, to be as a Defensive Bulwark, both to *Drense* and *Groningen*; and likewise to secure a Passage into *Germany*; Five great Forts stood out beyond the Rampires, and there were little Mounds raised for advancing the Cannon; the Trench was an hundred Foot wide, and fenced before with Pallisado's; and that which added strength to all these was, the nature of the place it self; for upon the two sides thereof, *to wit*, between the *Zuyderzee*, and the Bay of *Dullart*, in which space is comprehended *Friseland*, *Drense*, the Territory of *Groningen*, and part of *Over-Issel*; the one among the Marshes, and lyeth between that and a little Bay, whereby the Country people used to send over their Oxen and Cows into *Asscher*, a little Country in *Germany*; and from thence, it first was the Original of *Coeverden*. This therefore being taken, both *Groningen* might be quite closed up, there being no other coming thither, than what was Artificial, and also the whole County of *Friseland* might be freed from the Incursions of the Enemy.

The whole Face of the Country is very plain and exceeding Moory, and full of Mud, which is never hard or dry enough to bear any Weight by the greatest heat of Summer, or violentest burning of the *Dog-Star*. For the securing of Provisions, because the Bounds of the *United Provinces* were as yet far distant, and there was no River, but onely a little Rivulet which runs by *Coeverden* like a Trench, it pleased the Prince to Garrison *Ottmarfen*. This Town lyeth in the extreamest part of the Country of the *Tubantes*; whither the Prince being come with part of his Army, while the Camp and Leaguer were Fortifying, he drove away the *Spaniards* with his Guns, whose Horse, rather than they would be Be-

sieged

passed there, broke through the middle of the Enemies. Here was kill'd by the Enemies shot *Charles Levinus Famarsh*, who having, for a long time, taken the part of the *Confederate Nobility*, at this time was General of the Ordnance, a Man excellently skill'd, as well in the understanding and management of doubtful and difficult Affairs, as the most prosperous.

Now was a very handsom Sally made out of *Corvorden*, wherein many were slain, whose Bodies the Besieged desir'd, that they might have Christian Burial: they were deliver'd to them: *Frederick Count Harenberg*, with six hundred Souldiers, part of whom were sent to him through the *Mulder*, defended the Castle, but he burn'd the Town, lest it should defend the Enemy, in their Battery and breaking down of the Walls, or else should be burdensom to him to long: yet he seem'd to maintain the Ground-plot thereof, though only out of design to protract time: untill the French by digging entred it, and beat out those who stay'd to fight in defence thereof, and then raising a Mound, he plant'd his Cannon for battery.

The Works which were without the Trench round about the Castle, being over-hastily deserted, the Besieged themselves, voluntarily set on fire the Bridge: And now as soon as they were gotten to the Trench, the *Princes* received Intelligence, what plenty of all things the Besieged had, only they had but one Well of water to drink off, so that in the night they were forced to come to the Trench for water, the same environing the Castle with a very great deepness: This he found might be dryed up with Engines, and likewise the Springs of the Well be stopped, or at least intercepted. But at the beginning of the work, it appeared, that there was an increase of Water under the ground, through continual bubbling Springs, which according to the nature of that Element, will follow, whithersoever the Workman can design to draw it: Nor was it long, before divers falling shoures yielded

comfort

comfort to the Thirsty Besieged, and put a stop to the Fire. But the French, which was fed by certain little Cuts from the Marishes, was drawn dry and fill'd : and the most safe passage had plac'd there so Devices, made of bar and Shurdles, so that the Saubdians might come to the very Walls; the Flanks and Fronts of the Boulders secured, either by the darkness of the Night, or a Line beyond them : Between which Covers, great Piles of indifferent distance being fix'd, were cover'd with Poles and Earth cast thereupon, to prevent the Enemies Fire, to preserve them against fire : Being thus convey'd, they denned the Rampire at the very Bottom; but the Cannon, from more convenient places, had beaten down the Curtain and driven away the Defendants.

While these things were doing here, *Maurice* in the mean while, furnish'd divers little Castles and Forts in the Country of *Arakan* : by the taking and forcing of which the *Moanders*, for some years past, had scolded them, as well great Booty, as exacted Tributes : This was his chief Care, while the main strength of the *Governor* lay at *Rangoon*, was by the hands of *Molander* and *Defender* almost destroyed. But as soon as the Duke of *Arakan* returned from *France*, *Verdugo* was very earnest with him, to carry his Army that way : But the Soldier was overburdened with Travail, and besides required, before he would do any more, the Pay that was due and in Arrear : Yet nevertheless he obtained, that Ten Thousand Foot, should be drawn together from sundry parts, and 7 Cornets of Horse should be deliver'd to him, to undertake that Journey, and if he saw convenient to fight the Enemy; besides, he was to be reinforced with Three Thousand more out of the *Garrisons* beyond the *River*.

Prince *Maurice* receiving Intelligence of these preparations, in regard the compass of the Leaguer was greater than he could safely make good against the Besieged, and withall defend

from an External Force that might come at them, therefore began new Works more inward, leaving the former: There came also to him one *Regiment* of *Colonel Sallberg*, as a Supply for the *Soldiers*, which the prosperous, though not unbloody Siege, had consumed and wearied: The *English* *Regiments* also returned, and the *Hollanders* *Auxiliaries* which had been in the *French* Service; *Count Philip* of *Nassau* order'd to bestow the wearied men into *Garrisons*, and draw out in their stead such as were fresh, with which he should defend *Gravemaer*, the Watch-Tower for the Sea, and turn towards the Enemy, if by chance he should enter the Isle of *Holland*, or either of the Coasts adjoining, or elsewhere, for the Seat of the War, and to follow him whithersoever he went: Also *Frederick Count Hermsberg*, *Commandant* *Intendant*, or *Captain*, had conceived to him the hope of Relief that would suddenly come to him, and therefore being required to deliver up the Castle, answer'd, That they must stay yet some Months first. A few days after the *English* *Regiments*, and the other Forces under *Count Philip* of *Nassau*, did arrive at the Camp or *Leaguer*; *Herzog* having got past the *Rhine*, by taking a long Circuit as far as *Berck*, had pitched not far from *Prinse Maer*, at a place called *Emichem*, prying with all diligence into the site and manner of the Prince's Camp; and survey'd with his Eyes, but by the Treachery of a Noble Person with whom the Prince, at that time, was very familiar; whose fault also the Prince afterwards pardon'd, though it were manifestly proved: The Enemy had conceiv'd a hope of straining the Prince's Army of *Victuals*; but when they knew there were two ways to supply him, and that the *Marishes* lay between them; and because his Forces were not enough numerous to be divided, he resolv'd to try the strength of his Weapons and Men in an intire Body.

Now were Fires seen frequently, whereby he admonished the Besieged, that they should not be wanting to his Design being altogether ignorant, that they could not sally, because their Bridge was broken down. But Night drawing on apace, the *Spaniards*, notwithstanding the delay in their passage from the Bridge, over the River *Kebu*, assaulted the Camp, where the Prince had placed *Stolberg* with his Regiment, and a strong party of Horse in a place very convenient for as well in regard of the Trees as the Waters. The Enemy had chosen to assault this place, because they guessed the Horse-Guards would not be over-diligent in their Watch, and the new Regiment was hoped to be unskill'd in all things belonging to War: and thereupon they began to creep up the *Trenches* in every part, to attempt to scale the Ramparts, and successively climbed up one in the Foot-steps of another.

But the *Nassauians*, although they suspected that Night, if with the light security returned to them, were to sleep, they were suddenly awaked with the noise of their Enemies Voices, at a distance, threatening Terror, and crying out, the Camp was taken. Nor could the *Battel* be discovered either by hastning thither, or the place: They who were unready, or half-asleep, catching up presently such Weapons as came next to hand, by chance made a stand at the doors of their little Huts, while the Horse fought with the Enemy Foot: Certainly, this danger was averted, chiefly by the Valour of the Commanders, who gathered together from the innermost Tents, the most courageous Souldiers, to make strong Defence: Above the rest, Coun. *William of Nassau*, who was the more careful in this regard, for that he consulted to the Opinions of many, had perswaded the beginning of this Siege, bringing out beyond the Camp, as many Horse as he could get together, fell in upon the Enemies Flank: All they that entered the Camp were slain; and they that followed them were stopped and driven back; and by this time, the

light appearing, turned the Invention of their dis-
 semulable Mark against themselves ; for being thereby
 commonly known, they were as certainly slain : But then
 they were without, stood round about the Camp in a Ring, as
 if they were yet ready, or resolved to take the same, put up
 indeed with a vain Confidence, because they had been used
 to Conquer, and for fifteen years together had onely seen
 the backs of their Adversaries, or their places of abode. But
 now the whole Army of the United States being together in
 one camp, easily beat off the rash Assaults, sometimes in one
 place, sometimes in another ; yet for all their Repulse, they
 stood in good order, not bending themselves to flight,
 though they were most cruelly gall'd by the Cannon, which
 was a great means of their future safety, after such a bloody
 fighting : And Prince Maurice conceiving himself pru-
 dently to have won the Victory, commanded his men not to
 pursue the Spaniards in their Retreat. In the Camp, (a
 strange and incredible thing to be fore-told) onely two of
 three were kill'd, but many were wounded, among whom
 was Count *Witt*, the Governour of *Frederick* : Many days
 afterwards, the Spaniards vauntingly drawing his men into
 battle, challenge'd as it were into the field, the other Army,
 who were not over-hastily to run into danger, as being ruled
 by more sound Advice. And now was the hope of the Ro-
 manes turned into fear ; when they saw their Companions
 march off from those Works, where they had at first gained ;
 and the rather too, because the Top of the Fortrefs, that was
 to be seen above the Rampire, was overthrow'n, and another
 which the Bohemians had substituted, was endanger'd by the
French. Hereupon, the other Officers and Souldiers also
 easily perswaded *Frederick* to surrender, who was very
 unwilling thereto, blaming him further, as not understanding
 the danger they were in : They desired, that they might have
 leave to consult with *Verduge*, but that would not be grac-

But

But the Princes granted the rest of their Desire, and readily, because the violent Tempests of the Heavens, and inclination of the Rivers Rhine, would cause a difficulty in bringing Provisions to himself, and his own Army. Thus the *Confederates* threaded, and continued, by the Prince's keeping of the *Principality*, though they of *Quier* desired, and consented to the same, maintaining, that as well the *Cities*, as the whole Region belonged to them, and they of *Dinant* firming to be part of their Jurisdiction, and never to be possessed by any Antiquity to them of *Quier*, unless they might not transmit their Enemy through their Borders.

The Armies were not yet parted from one another, but lay idle, out of a mutual Fear; the *States* gave theirs to the King of France, for that the Burden of the War lay more heavy upon him: Shortly after, when *Augustus* had made an end of all those that were ill before, by choaking them up, and *Alonso* and *Carrillo*, the Duke of Parma, though much indisposed as to bodily health, yet undertakes a new Journey into France, that he being present with an Army, might moderate and sway the *Parliament* of that Kingdom, which *Companions* and *Allies* of the *Spaniards* had summoned to meet the next Year. But his strength failed him, nor being able to undergo so great Toil, in the Borders of *Artois*, was either by the increasing of his Disease, or, (as some supposed) by poyson, he ended his Life: For some who pleased themselves with the worst of Rumour, stuck not to believe so.

This time of his death, agreed with the coming of *Henry* to King Philip; who, hearing by accident of the Duke of Parma's Infirmary, had commanded him, that is, *Francois*, to oversee the *Netherlandish Affairs*, that he might prevent neglect, caused by the Duke's sickness, and compose all Troubles arising by his Death. This Person was a man of very harsh Nature, and privately hated by the Duke of Pa-

And there were some who, not long before, did fore-tell
 the Duke's Death, or Retirement. The truth is, many
 things began to be discover'd, that manifested the King to
 be suspicious of, if not highly displeased with him: For he
 was look'd upon, to have hinder'd his Kinman *Far-
 nese* from being Elected Pope: And of late had commanded,
 that the Duke should not take up any *Interest*, unless
 by the Council and Consent of those, who were set up rather as
Opposition to his *Guardians*, than *Counsellors*. His Physicians said his
 Disease proceeded from the hard swelling of the *Spleen*, and
 the *Optical Humour*, between the Skin and the Flesh; of the
 growing of which Disease, it appears he was sensible, for that
 he abstain'd from Wine, and accusom'd himself to drink
 Water: and for avoiding the Gout, and other pains of the
 joints, he drank little of that too, or else it may be he was
 suspicious of Poyson: Most believe, that he had Poyson gi-
 ven him more than once: But *Authors* very much
 differ.

This dyed *Alexander Farnese*, even in the most flourish-
 ing time of his Age, being but seven and forty years old, of
 which he had spent fourteen in the managery of this War:
 his last five years had much decayed his Reputation, nor in-
 deed did he use the like diligence then as formerly: whether
 that after the business of *Ambray*, as being glutted with Ho-
 nour, he gave himself over to pleasures, or that being advi-
 ced of *Philip's* jealousy, he sought by sloath and stupidity, to
 procure a Remedy to allay the greatness of his fame: He
 was descended from a Family, as potent as antient, drawing
 his Originall and greatness from Pope *Paul* the third; At
 first being a young man, under his Mothers tuition, he spent
 his time in the *Low-Countries*, without any honourable Em-
 ployment, and was so contemned, that he was said to be of a
 heavy Spirit. There is scarce any man that can say, his pub-
 like and open Judgments were ever dissembled; The first
 Warlike Honour he achiev'd, was at the winning *Namur*,

when

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when he fought for the Spaniards, under the Banner of his Uncle *Don John of Austria*, against the *Turk*: Being made Commander in the *Dutch* War, he shewed how great he could be: In the quest of Honour, he was indefatigable, and courteous in his access, mercifull towards his Enemies, and for as much as could ever be discerned by his outward appearance, faithfull to the King, and not to be corrupted against his own Honour, and the Peoples affection. He was very conformable to Counsel, but was ryed up more strictly to an ordinary, to an Opinion once affirmed, and would not endure such as dissented. And then from the success of Affairs, he took too much to himself; and that very thing bred him many Enemies, and caused much of his contrary fortune, which indeed he took gently, though, which is more difficult, he bore his good fortune with a great Spirit. Some do observe, that for a long time he followed the advice and Instructions of *Caspar Robless*, a most ingenious and wise man. And that after his death, no one being prevaild with him, among variety of Counsellors, differing in opinion, he became unconstant, and wavering in his Resolutions, so that from thence his Fortune reculed from him. His manner of speech was Majestick, but withall, amiable, pleasurable. His Stature and other parts of his Body, but of a middle size, his Eye sharp and penetrating, the true Emblem of a warlike disposition. The rest of his, was not his own naturally, but may be rather called the faults of the Court and the Age. His detractors of his Fame, among whom *Campigny* was one, commanded lately by him to a recess in *Burgundy*, attributed to the power of the Kings Forces, or the wants and divisions of the Enemy: Both whose Conditions being changed, so also was the fortune of the War: On the other side, some wisely considering both, affirmed that there was no small difficulty, to govern with an equall hand, and keep in order many several Nations in one Army, some whereof, were almost insociable, repressing therein all Animofities, which

without, broke out soon after his death, and so from time to time more bitterly. Even in the greatest extremities, he carried security in his presence, so that most of the Seditions of his time were begun in his absence. 'Tis true, many Towns were lost; but it was, when he was employed otherwise, and as Fortune was pleased to wait on the Armies: But how great a part of them did he conquer? and certainly he could not resist the same Enemy afterwards, with any other Design, nor with naked Forces. Without doubt, all Discipline perish'd with him. His Funerals were celebrated even with the Tears of the *Netherlanders*, who wished such as would not grieve for him, the Reward of the Severity of former *Governments*.

The Third Book of the History of the Dutch AFFAIRES.

1693. BY the Duke of Parma's Death, the Expedition into France was broken off, and the Regiments staying upon the Borders, took some French Castles lying near them; and not long after, the Town of Noyon, the 16th day after it had been besieged, the Trench being first filled up, and the Works that were interposed, begun to be undermined. But the King of Spain was willing now to make a Peace, that he might the better employ his whole Endeavours against the *Low-Country-men* present good Fortune; and for the winning their good will, he confers greater Honours on those *Noble-men*, who, by their continued Obedience, were known faithful to him: Bestowing upon them the Command of several Provinces, and while one could be pitched upon

for the chief *Regency*, *Peer Count Mansfeld* desired the Name of *Granada*, a man as well in Age, as Experience before others, being now in the Eightieth Year of his Age. The Chief in the Council were *Peer Henriquez Count de Iray*, and *Sir Philip Ithura*, both *Spaniards*. This, in the *Assembly of Aris*, formerly had consented, That the *Publick Service should be in the Citizens*. But discovering the End, he prevail'd for the Institution of a Council of *War*, drawn by degrees, though not directly, draw all Things under his Care and Cognizance. That Council consisted for the most part of *Spaniards*; to whom, at this time, were added *Iray* and *Ithura*; who had Order, by Command, to protect the publick Charges, and to overlook the Treasury, which was rumour'd in *Spain* that he had perform'd with fidelity. The cause of believing this might be, as it then hapned, but unexpected Charges of the War, though often times one that pretence, are hidden all manner of *Disservice* and *Palings*; and the Mind being never thoroughly purged, but still full increasing; so that at last it becomes past all hope of Remedy. They said, who cast an Eye backward to those Things, that the *State* did more with Two Hundred Thousand *Arms* a Month, than was done on the King's behalf, within a hundred thousand, while Intirelly, superfluous Soldiers, and private Defraudations; scarce less the third part of the Receipts for the true intended purposes; That King *Philip's* Forces were sufficient both to Conquer the *Netherlands*, and to assist the *French*, if they were rightly look'd after; because his Father *Charles* the Fifth, with far less Wealth, had oftentimes mainained many great Armies, in several parts of the World. Therefore, that there might be settled in the now acquired Empire of the Provinces a greater Authority, or because the *Regent* should not be in fear, where were added several Regiments, and Money sent thither in abundance; and this was no more than necessary, because the Sea-men, that were continually to Guard *Amirerp*, unless they had presents *saide*

They would be ready to mutiny for their Day; and threaten
 to behave themselves as Enemies. And the Garrisons of
 Land and Sea, were no less audacious than they. But the
 Spaniards who were newly come, as they were ignorant of
 any thing, so they endeavour'd all they could, to repair
 what they saw amiss, that so they might creep into grace and
 favour. And upon a certain day, *Fernando* coming into the
 Army, was the Author of a cruel Sentence; and calling that
 Army, which was enforced by Necessity, he began to abolish
 the Customs of War; for he said, That the *Dispute* had
 been long maintained by the Wealth or Calour of the Hol-
 landers. But that mean and inconsiderable people, and if they
 looked upon with the Eye of Reason far unequal to the whole
 Netherlands, did thrive and increase, not only by the Spani-
 ard's Treasure, but by their very Forces and Kicks: That their
 stupidity and ignorance was the great hinderance of their own
 good; and that they fearfully wrought any Evil against a sub-
 tile Enemy: That the vast compass of Ground, among the Cities,
 under the King's power, do yield Tribute to the Enemy without
 danger; as if it were an easier matter to do, an injury by Arms,
 than to repel it: Rather then so, let all the Inhabitants be forced
 to take up Arms and so by doing, and suffering all Acts of Hosti-
 lity become liable to the same taxed with the Souldiery, that they
 being among all hazards, may not go free, distributing their Affe-
 ctions at their pleasure, but should behold the fortune of both Par-
 ties in one another's blood: But if the Enemy could not be withstood
 in all places, yet certainly it were better, that the whole Country
 should be wast, and be altogether uninhabited, than as it is now to
 be open to the Enemies Invasion, and yield them Contribution, and
 other means of Treachery, to know all is done: That now all the
 Regiments were weakened and corrupted, as it were by a Contract
 of Sluggishness, while every one laying aside Arms, seeks by Obliv-
 ion of others to confirm his own safety. Hence it proceeds, that
 they are ready to flee at the thought of a Battel, and chuse rather
 to Trade of a City, than to endure the first shock of their Enemy.

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The Romans, who were the perfect Exemplars of Military
 plines, always took care, that no Souldier should have
 Empliment than that of his Arms: *Hap oft it hath*
that even the stoutest Minds have been warm'd of
the hope of Safety, when on the other side, the most timor-
dants, have, by Desperation, become Valiant: The Souldier
for his Colours, should be taught, that there is no third way
between Death and Victory, to be admitted among them:
Peace mix'd with War, is nothing else but a hindrance of
Peace, and a means to yield daily nourishment to War. His
 words being deliver'd in a fierce Tone, drew many
 with him by his Authority, and the pretence of his
 Counsel: On the other side, some few who had Experience
 of those things, and did mind the Duke of Alva's Story
 how it was repress'd; averred, *That all things must be*
venient at all times: that the Customs of this Age are not
for such a Discipline: especially now when no man will take
Oath, unless he be allured thereto by Reward, and the ad-
vice of the War; That such Rigour is not the way to
Concord: nor is the War with the Bordering Neighbours
fatal, that it must needs be managed with the utter Ruine of
and Depopulation of the Country; but as in the frequent Dis-
ses of Neighbours and Companions, all hope of Reconciliation
to be thrown away; So in civil Discords, there is a gain to
be us'd, as being all under the pleasure of Fortune. Na-
the Rule both of Commanders and Souldiers be wanting,
Dispute may be argued by Examples, who would never exceed
Severity of War upon any, but in the heat of Battel; And the
ring of Corn, releasing Captives without Ransome hath for
Ages made their Clemency add a Lustre to their Fame
Prosperity.

Discourses thus bandied pro and con, at last it hapned
 as it doth too often in many Businesses, that the matter
 carried from the better. And therefore, Count Ma-

the Law, That all Prisoners taken in War, should be commuted in some corporal punishment, and so should all that assist the Enemy, by payment of Contribution.

The United States, as they were necessitated, set forth an Edict to the same purpose, That within a certain time, this Cruelty of the Spaniards, with bitter Invectives, might be resented. And now the Villages and Fields were Foraged with wanton Incursions; the Souldiers, so soon as taken, were hanged, and many Examples of strange Fortune were shew'd up.

First of all, the Priests and Nobility, intreat the Removal of this miserable Destruction from their Possessions, in regard they could not always be provided, to resist a sudden Violence upon their Fields, lying open to be invaded. But the Souldiery decreased, and such as remained, fearfully endeavour'd by all means, to shun any meeting with the Enemy, if they could but hear one anothers Voices at a distance. Beside, they cryed out, That they sold their Lives but for a little Money, and yet could never have that when it was due; but whether they had or no, they were sure to be drawn out to fight, and suffer in all manner of Wounds, and the Victory it self yielded them little advantage.

If at any time, by the Averseness of Fortune, a Souldier fell into the Enemies hands, while he was suffering death by the Executioner's hand, he was laughed at, because he had not fled in time.

The Captains and Tribunes, trembled in silence to think, that the more fortunate they had been, the greater was their hazard.

These things made them admire *Antiquity*, in the Obedience of the present Times, and at last made them return to their old Custom, to redeem their Lands with Tribute; to make Exchange of Prisoners; and that he who Ransom'd himself, should, for the same, give a Months Pay.

Which

Which for the future was punctually observed, and one violated these privileges, the same severity was to him by the Enemy. Thus with an equal terror, punishments of some innocent persons, the Laws were re-established.

In the Winter, some Horse and a few Foot, under the command of Philip of Nassau, were sent out to constrain *Zemburg*, and the outside skirts of the *Netherland* Tributary, and they wanted but a little of winning the town of *St. Vra*, the fault of missing it, being wholly in the hands of those who brought word, that on that side which they intended to fall upon, they had only two Gates to hinder them, as they found a third after the two other were beaten. After they had continued abroad full fourteen days, raging, the Enemies Garrisons all the while as before, sated, picquering with them, when either taking, or burning whatever came in their way, they returned to their Quarters, and laden with spoyle. The Condition of the Borders at this time, was most miserable, for a great many of Count *Mansfeldts* men, wasted and took away ever the *Nassavians* had left; the noyle of the *French* being also at the same time rumoured, which by small cards, threw both *Lorraine* and *Strasbourg* into a vast sea of mischiefs. Hence arose insumerable Complaints, but got very little remedy or redress.

As soon as the conveniency of the season permitted, the *Hollanders* being the chief of the Union, turned their minds from forreign business, to domestick cares. They concluded that without doubt, it was very necessary to take *Groningen*, for that one Town being torn from their Body, was much torment *Holland*: Therefore while it was yet Winter they hastened to prepare all things fit to that future issue, lest either the Enemy should prevent them, or the *French* should draw their Forces that way. But now the Fortifications, not so well proved of late in the former frustrated Siege

place, were defended by a great number of Souldiers, with French Ensigns of *Wallons* and *Germans*, and the countenance of their Officers. And the Winterly Waters, and constant Inoures, had more than ordinary augmented the natural moisture of the Fields: Against all which, there was only hope in celerity, while the flower of the Enemies Army was yet detained upon the Borders of *France*: The Duke of *Brabant*, were commanded to environ the Town, and that their store might be diminished to stop all passages going to them for succour. And forthwith the Duke, having prepared all things fit for War, carried this in Ships all his Foot-forces, which in truth, could not be much many, (for the *Frisians* had their own men, and Prince *Marinus* in vain desired Count *William* to come thither to him with ayd.) A great Lake lies before the Town, and waters indeed the greater part of it, spreading it self backward from the mouth of the *Mais*, since the year one thousand four hundred twenty and one, at which time, the Sea in a most impetuous manner, broke through all its boundaries, and drowned seventy and two Villages.

This (they call it *Marow*, by one common name with the Channel of the *Waal*, and it is probable, that it first received that name from some of the ancient Kings of *France*) is washed on the right side by the River *Dungen*, springing out of the fields thereabout adjacent. The Land on the other side of the Bank, is in the Jurisdiction of *Holland*, although for that it is doubtful, the *Brabander* lay a claim to it. It is part of the possessions of *Nassau*, by right of pledge. The Duke of *Assaye*, after the Peace made at *Gamma*, fortified it with an entry or inlet into *Brabant*. There were famous Pools that abounded with Fish, but now the Fish is almost all gone, being driven thence, either by Fords and shallow Sands continually encreasing, or else by the voyce and thunder of War about them, and the daily mischiefs done them by men. In the Bank, which contains the water (for the

the rest openly hiding the water with a thin film of Earth, (not being wrought to any thing) are in the running, and cover which lead to the Works of the Town, lying beyond the Trench. But the Northerly blast of the Spring, by coming upon the Lake, had broken down that part of the Bank, being weakened before by digging. And again, the way (for there remained no other) the Darts and Shot of the Castle, which the Enemy yet held on the neighbouring Bank of *Dungen*, infested all that attempted it; This was difficult in the access, but a kind of hurdles being made, and covered with Linn, were put there, that they might come and be as a Trench for such as should assault the place. And out of the Isle of *Dungen*, which is hard by, were made many Shot, and at the same time Count *Hohenlo*, least fresh men should be sent out of the Town to supply the Castle, under the narrow and strait passage (a happy adventure) where upon it was surrendered.

In these labours, and fortifying the Camp, almost a month was spent before *Manisfeldt* approached. He sent part of his Troops before to *Turndout*; but Prince *Maurice* his Holiness voluntarily made an incursion upon them, while yet they were but coming together into a Body; for they being of no use among the Marishes, the Prince had quartered them in Town, so as they could well infect the Enemies marche. And Count *Manisfeldts* Son *Chimlas*, being safe returned from the Enemy, was in danger among his own men, for being called out of *France*, by hasty Messengers, where he had first taken *Nojon*, as is before mentioned, and afterwards *Keller*, as he required a Centurion of a Spanish Band (being then in the Borders of *Artoys*) who had been found guilty of a Rape to be brought forth to punishment, he scarcely escaped the fury and madness of the rest, himself being struck at with the Souldiers Weapons under his Command, they also casting off their Knapsacks, as if they had been going to fight. These tumultuary licentiousnesses, were customary in foreign pri-

with them, in regard there was wages due to them for a
 few months. *Mansfeldt* Being a *German*, and having a re-
 gard to his own Honour, and his Fathers greatness (which
 he perceived envied,) was much vexed, wherefore leaving
 the Town of *St. Paul*, which they had set upon and
 garrisoned himself, with some trusty Regiments slipping away,
 came to the Army and augmented its number, which the
 Countess marched with it but very slowly, its own
 multitude hindering its speed. For having 12000 Foot, and
 4000 Horse, their Confidence was such, that they be-
 lieved immediately to over-run their Enemy, who was not
 so strong as they, for Prince *Maurice* had not such a
 number. Wherefore from this action, Honour was to be
 given to the new Governour, and they hoped from hence,
 to purchase glory to the one, so to strike terror into the
 other. Neither did any suspect the immense largeness of the
 Field, in regard there were such incertain bogs, and so ma-
 ny *Mires* scattered up and down among them, and they were
 so inclosed, that as the place yielded not room for the Armies
 to fight, so the Fords and shallows afforded no place for
 伏兵 or Ambuscadoes. Wherefore observing, I suppose,
 the ease of the Siege, and in what manner the War was ma-
 naged, he thought fit only to venture with a few, because the
 other part of the Camp did not merit the like fame, either
 in danger or event; and truly this first example of his,
 was given with a very true consideration, in praising the po-
 licy of the Ancients, who ever made use of all things to the
 purpose, rather than for ostentation.

The Prince had pitched his two Camps in several Fields
 that had easie ascents, that he himself might defend the left
 side of the River and other places near to the City towards
 the *West*, the other part towards the East, *Hohenlo*
 had the charge of; the whole Leaguer, every Regiment
 having his proper Station and Tents, between which

were

were the Ways and Markets, was like a City, and every side fortified with a strong incurvated Rampart, upon were planted many Cannon: This could not be weakened at a distance, and the Enemy could not come to fight, without great hazard and damage. Near the Trench that ran before it, wherein there was a double Row of Piledoes, headed with Iron, least the falling off of the Water should leave them bare; or, on the other side, by a too great increase, should overflow the Works: There were Scones and Engines fitted on purpose to let out the Water. Ditches being also fitted with two Bridges, by which means there was a very near way to the Camp, and a Cross-way made over the Marshy places with Cawses, where they were cover'd before with the Hurdles and Baskets, and cover'd with Mud and Loam; all that passed that way were secured on one side: And then whatsoever part of the Fields had been more wet than was convenient, it soon became firm, by the throwing in of Faggots, Bivins, and other like Stuff; and if any where they were hindered by Edmunt, and the force of the Waters, were like either to throw down, or carry away the great Heaps cast therein, immediately the Border of the Bank was fastned with great Stakes beated with Iron: So that the places were no more like themselves, but quite changed; the Marshes were made solid, and where the Enemy formerly was afraid to fall into a Quagmire, there were now firm Fields. All the Ground lying between the Camps, was encompassed round with a large Rampart and Trench, hardly to be walked in three hours: Here and there scatteringly were some Watch-Towers set up, and in the more open places Forts, that frighted any from approaching them with Guns, and Darts thrown by the Soldiers: Yet for all these things, the outwarder parts were never the more carelessly strowed with Calthrops, and digged full of Pits, which every where yielded nothing but danger, though from causes to them unknown; but the Horse especially, were

in all hands afraid thereof: The Fords and Inclosures prohibited either Entrance on any part. Part of the Ships with long extended Horns, menaced the City, being eyed fast one another, with strong Cables and Anchors: by which means, no such Relief, but any *Messengers*, were kept out of the Town: Some *Vessels* also were thrust forth into the *Quagmires*, which, according to the Ebbe or Flood, either swam, or stuck fast, hiding other Boats, that served to carry Provisions, and other things necessary for the War, to both Camps, in so convenient *Creeks*; and the *Martiners* being commanded to come a shore to assist *Hobnobs*, without murmuring, were very serviceable. Most of the Work boasted the Industry of the Souldiers, as being built by their hands, a great Novelty in that time, whose pains was a great saving to the greater charge of *Day-Labourers*; besides the Excuse of the *Country-People*, whose Mulitude being forced from their common business in the Fields (as is usual with the *English*) rather procures an Envy in them to Liberty: or else being noxious in time of danger, are by their unskilful Crowd more burthensom, than helpful to an Army. But by the diligent Care of a strict Discipline, so far were the present Customs of the *Country-People* different from those of former Ages, that here the Camp was both to themselves, and their Cattel, a place of Refuge. The Souldiers placed and secured them, they sold their Provisions, and received ready Money for the same, in whole Fields, if the *Spanish Commanders* had pitched, all the Money they could ever have raised, would hardly have been sufficient to have redeem'd them from spoil and injury. Whereas here, under the Fortifications of the Camp, they Manured their Fields, and sowed them with Seed, as being assur'd of Security, not onely for the present, but the future time. And it was found by practice, that they who are *Lovers of Justice and Honour*, shall voluntarily receive those advantages, which others shall hardly extract by Cruelty, and other thwarting Endeavours: It is scarcely

credible, how much this Continent abated the price of Victuals, when they that forcibly commanded the same, were afflicted with all kind of Penury.

Mansfeldt having viewed all these strong Fortifications, grew much troubled; and, as it is the Custom of an exceeding great fear, resolved on nothing; and, among the rest, which at first seem'd to please him best of all, was now most disliked: however, he fortified himself, not far from *Prince Maurice*, with so great a quantity of Artillery, and other Engines, as if he had rather been going to assault a City, than a Camp: When he had staid there ten days, and the Horse coming out from *Breda* had straitned him in Provisions, hoping that all things might more readily be brought from *Boisledue*, he removed towards *Count Hobenlo's* Camp, preparing immediatly to drain the overflowing Lake, into the Channel of the *Maes*: But supposing that too great a Task, anon he thought to drive away thence the Enemies Ships, or to break off the remainder of the Horse left there, that so he might the more freely enjoy, and have the benefit of Passage.

At length he gathers together Faggots, Bavins, and other Brush-wood, as if he intended to break over the shallow Fordable places of the Marishes into the Town; nor so much out of any certain hope, as that lest he should seem to have no hope at all: Which while he vainly attempts, and that he ought not to try his Fortune in divers places, the sight of the Town, and the last hopes of the Besieged Souldiers forbade: By this Idleness, and lying still of the Enemy, *Prince Maurice's* Works were mightily forwarded; but the small number of his Souldiers was the greatest Trouble he had, for that they were almost spent with continual Labour and Watching: And the *Frizens* being again desired, That they having been helped before, would not now leave their Companions wanting Aid: Having for some time delayed, at last send four Engins, but not before *Verdugo* was come with Three Thousand

and Men to *Slachteren*. While these things were doing, there were several light Skirmishes about the Fields, Count *Hohenlohe* being more ready thereto, than was necessary: Nothing more was done, because Prince *Maurice* being wary, beyond the Nature of Youth, would not hazard a danger in the open Field; and *Mansfeldt* was utterly out of hope of prevailing upon the Prince's Camp by Assault. But the Town however, was continually batter'd with the great Artillery, whose greater number being with Prince *Maurice*, had broken and spoiled the Houses, and made unserviceable most of the Cannon in the Town: So that now the Galleries being appoynted, advanced as far as the main Bulwark, which stood before the Rampire: And on the South part unto the Town, which was least of all feared, not for the joyning thereof to the Town, but because it was encompassed with a great Trench, a Bridge was made over in the Night, the Contexture whereof was great Bull-Rushes. The Keepers hereof were easily surpriz'd, as they lay scatter'd here and there, and negligent by the industrious Souldiers; (for they that took upon them the confidence of being Spyes, and looking inwardly, brought back such Intelligence) a few of that negligent Guard escaping into the Town, filled the same with great fear.

Before this time, there was no Obedience given to Command; for, it seems, he that properly was the Governour of the Town, was then absent, being gone out a little before the beginning of the Siege, and there was none other in the place for that Employment: From whence it came to pass, that Works were often erected, and as often thrown down, according to the wavering Counsels of the several Commanders; of whom, two, to whom the Government of the Town had been committed during the Siege, dyed before; and now the Third, while he runs to meet the Noise of Terrour before-mention'd, being kill'd with the stroke of a Stone, clearly made an end of his Government. Thus there was no

fear of any thing but the Enemy, which Prince *Maurice* did greatly augment in them; when having interposed *Mansfeldt's Letters* to them, which he might have detain'd, he yet sent them to them: For now *Mansfeldt*, having taken counsel to draw away, admonish'd the Besieged, *That they should not therefore abate or diminish their Courage giving them (though fallily) an assurance, that he would, by some other means, drive the Enemy.* But the Besieged staying no longer, Article for their Lives onely: They deliver'd to Prince *Maurice* fifteen Ensigns, there were six hundred that went out sound men, free either from Wounds or Diseases, who left behind them great store both of Provision and Ammunition. But they that had had any hand in the former betraying of the Town, were excepted out of the Articles; both the Prince and Army being all new exasperated, by the memory of the Treachery, from the sight of the Town, and their former and present Labour and Toil in the regaining it. And so, the same day, the Prince took *Gertruydenberg* from the Buyers; he made the Sellers expiate their Crime with their Lives.

Count *Mansfeldt* understanding how matters went, knowing that his old Age would be blamed, and much worse Counsel prevail after the Event, and that the Reports of these things would be tossed to and from in the Ears of the People, was much afflicted; suspecting moreover, the Fidelity of the Town of *Besleiden*, least that the People thereof, being of a busie and crabbed Disposition, and having no Garrison to awe it, should fly from them, in a tottering and decaying condition, to their Enemies, crown'd with the growing Successes of smiling Fortune: For Prince *Maurice's* Souldiers, who then held the Castle of *Crevicour*, by making a Dam overthwart the River *Dijcs*, which, at that City, runs into the *Maes*, had made it ove flow all the adjacent places: from thence, Corn, Fruit, and Pasture for Cattel, being lost, by the damage of private persons, they molested the publike Peace: Wherefore it was thought fit to appease them with Benefits

and

and Kindness, whom they were not able to restrain by Fear or Force: And the Prince finding that *Mansfeldt* made haste to besiege that Castle, prevented him, by sending before some Horse, which should hinder and stop the Enemy, at the Passage over the *Maas*, and keep them out of the Isle of *Rommel*; and presently after, himself with his whole Army, coming by Water, places himself in the middle, between the Castle and *Mansfeldt*; and having fetched a convenient number of Cannons and Engines from the next Towns, there being no Rampire or Bulwark yet about the Castle, (for which cause he suspected the suddain surrender thereof) he compelled them, leaving their Tents behind, to take little less than a shameful flight into the Fields about *Cuyck-Anon*, placing a Bridge upon the *Maas*, as if he would fall upon *Boisleduc*: by this false fear, he put a stop to any new Endeavours of the Enemy. At last the Commanders departing, with part of the Forces towards *Frizeland*, began to make that the Seat of War.

Since the taking of *Steenvic* and *Coevorden*, situate more inwards upon the *Iffel*, and the other *Frizon Cities* and *Castles*, had cut off from *Groning*, both the benefit of the Sea, and of Rivers; there remained onely one Passage out into *Germany*, and that was the *Bourtang*: The cross-way whereof is not very broad, and begins at the Bay of *Dullart*, not far from thence, running through great Marishes, environing the whole Country of *Drent*, with a long *Circumference*. The violent coldness of the Winter, troubled also with cross Winds at the beginning of the Year, had hindred Count *William of Nassau*, who was contriving by what means he might frustrate the Enemies last hope; but now the Spring being towards, he put to Sea, where, as he sailed, he spied *Verdugo*, stirred up thereto by *Messengers*, to have possessed all the streights of the passages; and being forbidden to fight by Command, and considering, that it was an unadvised Act to proceed further than they were sure of Provisions, he landed

in the next place, from whence, by opening the *Solferino*, he might drown the Fields with Water; or shutting them, might, at his pleasure, hinder them, when overflow'd, to be drain'd; and thus, to retard the Enemies March. But when *Verdugo* had sent part of his *Souldiers*, to waste the Country of *Frineland*, Count *William* not willing to suffer or pay for that Damage, lest he should give matter of Complaint to that Faction of the *Frizens*, who did not love him, (for they were some private Fends broken out) he himself went thitherward, and, where he could, fortified the Border against the like *Incurfions* for the future: Here the Enemy being deceived with vain Rumors of other Attempts, the Count supplies *Coerorden* with all manner of Necessaries, which before was in great want of many Things.

Thus the Summer being spent, and the Enemy turning his Forces towards *Gertruydenberg*, after they were gone, Count *William* removes the Forces he had receiv'd, marching by Land, and taking into his power all the Castles between *Coerorden* and the *Bourlang*: Upon the very *Bourlang* it self, where there is a narrow passage between the Country of *Widen*, and the Lands belonging to *Munster*, the Marishes that are next being disjoyned, (for the Summer and Labour together had made this place more passable) by a kind of Sandy Cliff, he commanded five Companies of *Souldiers*, to erect some Huts against the *Wander*, and to raise a strong Fort: Himself, with the other part of the Forces, (because he had Intelligence of *Recruits* coming to the Enemy) went behind *Groening*, being induced thereto by an early conceived hope, that the City would Revolt to him, as soon as *Verdugo* was gone, who as yet lying in the Suburbs, waited for more help.

In this mean time, *Frederick* Count *Heremburg* was sent by Count *Mansfeldt* with a strong party of *Souldiers*, (because either the Enemies Garrisons, or the Nature of the place had precluded all other ways) to the Town of *Otmarsen*, and the
Castles,

which we told you before were deliver'd to Count William, and these he took with great Force, but not without the loss of some Blood: From thence puff'd up with that success, he went with *Verdugo*, to destroy the *Fortifications*, rais'd upon the *Boisrang*: But the greatness of the work, in so short a time, the inaccessibility of the Marishes frighted them from their Design; and Count *William*, being daily informed by his *Scouts*, that they were coming against him, augmented and strengthened the *Fortifications* of his Camp; wherein remaining safe, he slighted their Power abiding in the Fields: Nor did he march with any Colours, wisely considering, *there was no necessity thereof for him, and that every thing would infest the Enemy*. With this kind of delay, and some light Skirmishes, the Enemy even wearied out, made towards *Caerorden*, through moist and troublesome ways; but finding there was firm Ground underneath, they dry'd up the upper moisture with great heaps of *Bavins*. And when the place made them know, that *Stratagems* and sudden *Heats*, would be to little purpose, with them who were ready to receive them, *Verdugo* goes away to the Castles, hoping the *Souldiers* whoesd therein would quickly want *Victuals*. But herein his *Intelligence* failed him; for they had been twice of late furnished with all Things possible: Then they tempted the Fidelity of *Caspar Ensem* the *Governour*, both by *Rewards* and *Terror*, but he was resolv'd against both.

But now the Year wasting very fast, the *Spanish Forces* between *Mud* and *Showers of Rain*, were ready to sink to nothing, besides there grew among them a scarcity of *Victuals*, and they had scarce received in 8 Months, so much Pay as was due for two, and they pillaged and wasted all the adjacent places, running out even into *Germany*. Afterwards, the Cold that follow'd, added to their misery of Want, and both of them bred a sad Disease among them, with a great *Pliz*.

Some part of the Souldiers fled both from their masters and the Siege together, and not as of old did they retire by single men, now one, and then one, but by whole Companies at once. And Count *William* did encourage them to, promising them rewards, who ever would come over to him. From hence the Besieged, began to gather both Courage and Confidence, to make Sallies. Shortly after the Winter made them quiet, while both sides prepare Provisions and other ayd for their friends: But the French Commanded Count *William*, to besiege the Castles that had been lost about *Groningen*: but now the lateness of the year, and the bitterness of the Weather, rather than their Officers Commands, hindred any further motion. Onely a part of the Regiment raised for *Verdugo* in *Germany*, being ignorant in the use of Arms, was met by some of Prince *Maurice* Souldiers, and slain; But in several other accidental meetings, they fought variously, they being generally, either killed, or taken, that were loaden with Provision or Knapfacks. And Count *Salmes* harassed all the Land of *Wase*, that refused to pay Tribute, with the taking away of their Cattel, and some Prisoners: The Castles which he took in his passage, were after his return, recovered by the Enemy, and *Philip* of *Nassau* making a Road out of the City of *Limburg*, depopulated all the Country lying round about. But the ambushes layd by the Prince himself, to surprize *Bruges*, deceived him, at which time, passing by the Sea and divers Rivers, with the dewes and cold, he was thrown into a Disease, by meanes whereof, the return of the Ships being hastned, one was cast away. The fault of both these miscarriages, was in the Officers, who undertook the Conduſt of them in the night.

But In the King's Army, where many began again to grow scant, the Souldiers fell to mutiny, the very *Spaniards* themselves beginning the first Sedition: and so little Reverence did they shew to *Charles Mansfeldt* who commanded them, that they intercepted and kept the Provisions that were sent

whose wickedness the Souldiers of other Nations, a great while detested, but soon after, observing that the Mutineers received their pay, they refused any longer to be quiet, he reduced to the same courses, and turning out their Captain, which they believed to dislike such tumultuous proceedings, they set up the most abject among them, by the common choice of the whole Bands: This Fellow was thus made a slave over life and death, terrifies all, and seares all, he now will no longer acknowledge his Authority from another's will; but taking courage, he may now with equall danger, either take or refuse the Command: However, being full of discord and cruelty, while they impose upon themselves, both Counsel and Laws, and there is no pardon admitted to any offence among them, they confess the necessity of a Law, themselves being witnesses of that good, which they chiefly violate.

There was another thing that added fuel to the fire of the Souldiers rage, and that was, the sudden and too great parsimony of those *Spaniards*, who managed and ordered the Treasury, in the revoking all augmentations of Wages, which the Duke of *Parma* had granted to any for their more worthy Service, or out of favour. And this mad mutinying frenzy was not only in the confines of *France*, but among all the Garrisons of *Germany*, maintaining it self by Rapines and Tributes: At which time, the City of *Nuiss*, while part of the Souldiers there resident, were gone abroad to fetch in booty, turned out the rest: And this Rule was followed by as many as could, and served to the Souldiers for a Lesson, that either they should moderate their avarice, or increase their strength: In *Berck*, that was kept by seven Companies of Souldiers, who had cast off all their obedience, there the Mutineers would have no Captain, as the rest of the Souldiers, but chose out of themselves a *Senate* of one and twenty: nor was that Honour perpetual, but changed according to the times. They exacted Tribute of the Country, lying round about

bore them, but with a better Discipline, than of late was done under the Command of their *Professors*.

This Revenue, which within fourteen months, had come to near an hundred thousand *Florens*, was divided among them as part of their pay. And the rest was afterwards given them together with indemnity: Upon such termes did *Harman Count Hevenberg*, make an Agreement with them: Many accused the Bishop *Bojarnus* his negligence, that might have recovered his Town with a little charge, and chiefly, because the Duke of *Parma* onely had kept it: But now being forced to stay in expectation of the coming of the new Regent *Ernestus*, in whose favour he was confirmed, he was for a while quiet. But the *Hollanders*, though they were free from all the before mentioned mischiefs, yet were afflicted by the angry countenance of the Heavens; for in the end of the year, a very grievous Tempest falling upon the *Mys*, sunk in the angry Ocean, a Fleet of Ships lying there at Anchor, to the number of fifty Sayl, that were ready to go into *Italy*, among the Islands and Shelves filling all the adjoining shores with Shipwracks and Lamentations.

1594. *Ernestus* Duke of *Austria*, sent at the beginning of this year, came into the *Netherlands*, and undertook the Government thereof, which proved fatall to himself, and very unfortunate and lamentable to the *Spaniards*. For the *Frisians* were absolutely taken from him: *France* withdrew it self: his Arms proved unsuccessful: the treacheries of his peers were infamous: the Enemies Affairs were famously happy and flourished, but the *Spaniards* under him, were poor and malicious. All which evils prevailed, either to make life lifeless, or death to be necessitated. There were many causes that had procrastinated his coming, as the *Turkish* Affairs, want of money, and the *Gout*, a Disease familiar and customary with him. But when he came, there were many solemn acts done by the *Netherlanders*, in Honour of the Regent, and with great shews of joy, such as they had hardly used in former

not to their Princes, even in the best of times; for now being almost tyred beyond all patience, they interpreted the distinctions of evil for great happiness. Neither had they any Count *Manifolds*, who under the vain shew of Authority, was equally ridiculous, both to his own Souldiers, and his Enemies: they had changed an old feeble man, for a person of great Nobility; and therefore they gloried at once, of that Honour, and their restored Laws, that according to the ancient Custom, one was sent to govern them that was of Royal Blood, and by Kinred allyed to the King: They remembered, that *Alva* and *Requesense* had stirred up the War by their foreign Authority: And the Duke of *Parma*, (though otherwise we l enough liked) was maligned for his Country sake; That *Don John*, who had attained Royal Blood, by all wayes, both of Birth and Verrue, wanted rather the moderation, than the affection of the Nobles and People. But that now there was truly come, the off-spring of *Emperours*, with a *German* uprightness, neither infected with hatred or malice, and consequently, more prone to concord: He had governed in behalf of his Brother, the *Emperour*, both the *Pannonia's*, or *Hungary*, beloved by the Subjects for his mildness, in the taking care of them, and the blandishments of his leisure time, not much provoking the Enemy, nor himself by them often provoked: Not averse from fighting, when the *Barbarians* urged him, by disturbing his peace, and it may seem, that he was the rather chosen, as one who might compose the *Netherlandish* Affairs, the Citizens being even tyred with War, and the King well knowing, that it would be in the *Conquerours* power, to make what Laws he pleased for the settlement of peace.

This Duke *Ernestus*, was of such gravity in Conversation, that the *Netherlanders* interpreted it to pride. But which is proper to his Countrymen, being not Superiour in his Affairs, he was easily ruled, either by Counsel or Command: With this mediocrity of disposition, he had so pleased *Philip*, that

that he intended to have married him to his Daughter, and strongly argued in the French Council by *Embassadors* to confer upon him the Kingdom of France: fearing perhaps that if he should marry her to any *Princedom*, and sometime after his Issue male should fail, that Spain by access to the Crown of France, would become a Province there. But Providence provided otherwise in that affair, brought *Henry of Bourbon*, through divers variety of Fortunes and settled him in the Kingdom: for he being grieved himself, that being born to a Kingdom, he should once be depelled for the pretext of Religion.

Many of the *Princes* protesting, they resisted him for other causes, and by that means alone, could not submit his Fortunes to him; seeing his Forces almost consumed, and other things that were the main supports of his hope. He began to grow unsettled in his mind, between some of his Friends, applauding his noble constancy, and others persuading for most advantage.

At length, either that he believed nothing more sacred than the Peace of a Kingdom, or that he had embraced the former kind of living, more out of Form than Judgement, he was Reconciled to the Church of *Rome*: which was not of so much disadvantage to the *Spaniards*, but that many years after, he continued his hated and War against him, neither till of late, by the strong endeavours of *Amers*, were the Cities of *Picardy*, adjoining to the Borders of the *Netherlands*, reduced unto his obedience. Nay, at *Rome*, a great while he incensed Pope *Clement*, and the most powerful in the conclave, by threats and force, lest they should open, or propose a way for the King's Repentance, and Reconciliation, calling him a Renegado from Religion, and a dissembler of novel Piety.

But at the first being had in suspicion by both Parties, it well that he departed from, as that he came over to; afterwards by a sweet and well-constituted moderation, by giving to

the chiefest Power; to those, Safety, in the Exercise of Religion, and some Honour; he exceeded both their Request, and made a Harmony between them, among whom there was nothing but Discord: So that now all were content, except a few, ignorant how great a benefit they had receiv'd, whom no *Felicity* could ever please, no *Revenge* sa-

tisfaction; *Trade* and *Commerce* beginning, in this *Cessation* of Arms, and the People well pleas'd with this Quiet, it came to pass, that the strongest and most potent Cities, with the Heads of them all, *Paris*, and the chief Heads of the *Faction* and *Revolt*, submitted to him, caused either by private Words among themselves, or the fear of a *Forreign* Antho-

The *Spaniards* hereupon, when the Duke de *Mayn* came to them, were of opinion to restrain him, as one that was contrary to their Design; but the *Regent Ernestus*, having more regard to his Fime, hindred it; although it were known, he was the chief Instigator of the chief Leader of the *Faction*, yet in to the King, and merit thereby his Pardon: yet there were some, who detain'd by their own *Covetousness*, or the *Spaniard's* Policy, did all they could to hinder *Peace*, delaying by the same the performance of their *Expectations*. *Picardy* chiefly, and the parts thereabouts near *Houalt* and *Artois*, were molested and perturbed by the *Spanish Forces*. And the last Spring *Charles Mansfeldt*, who made War in those parts, had forced *Capelle*, a free City there, having assaulted the *Rampires*, when the Trench was dry, to surrender, before King *Henry* could send thither any Succours. Shortly after, the King himself being conducted with some Troops to *Lan-lan*, staying upon those Confines: Towards the end of *Summer*, *Mansfeldt* being driven away, who had indeavour'd to raise the Siege, the Town came again into the King's Power. The *Confederate States*, about this time, had given a Summe of Money to King *Henry*, upon condition, That he should

turn his Forces upon the Netherlands: But that Queen Elizabeth would not hear of; who fore-saw that, together with the War, all use of him, and respect to him, would cease. The secession of the King from the New Religion, was variously reported both in England and Holland; so as hardly any one had bin further examined and discoursed; with more variety of Language, and freeness of Judgment: Others took it with Hatred and Disdain. The Catholics being receiv'd a hope, that in time, the other dissenting Religions, though at present receiv'd in publike, might be reunite; and that as France had follow'd the Rule of Germany, so the rest would follow the Pattern of France.

But all League and Alliance with Neighbors, were by the King inviolably observ'd: And now the State being govern'd by what private Policies the Enemy gain'd upon them, order'd very diligent Care to be taken, That no sort of thing, that might prove dangerous to the Publick, might be said to the People; And that Masters which instructed Youth in Learning, should not instill into their Minds evil Opinions. Which done they turned all their Counsel to the carrying on of the war, while the Enemy would seem to seek after a peace: And because Ernestus having recruited the Army, was reported to have enhanced the Fame and Terror of his new Regiments, he sent out some with Commissions, both into England, and into Germany, to raise Four Thousand Foot, and some few Horse: These Souldiers supposed to be met by the Enemy at the Rhine, though in vain, marched safely and unknown to the Enemy: But, on the contray, Ernestus his Musters were impeded by want of Money, and other Casualties: For the Regiment of Francis Saxon Lawrenburg assembling by little and little within the Territory of Amster, part of them being slain by the Hollanders, the rest melted away to nothing, and Count Oldenburg denied passage to those that remain'd together of them, through the Land:

The Lord of *Cimac* also gather'd Souldiers, consisting of *Flamens* and *Walons*, being partly promis'd, that he should keep a Garrison. But they that were Listed by *Vandugo*, a part of them ran away; the rest were consumed either by Poverty or Diseases. Another Regiment belonging to *Landenberg*, were kill'd, partly by the Enemy, and partly by *Peasants*, about *Carper* and *Aquisgravi*. Others went to *Hungary* to those Wars: So that the new raised being either dispersed, or voluntarily departed, and the Souldiers disobedient and refractory, all their hopes were frustrated; and their boasting, *That they would divide the Army of Thirty Thousand Men into two parts; and thereby make War on both sides the Rhine*, came to nothing. *Brussels* himself, by how much he had raised mens expectations of him, by so much he fell into present Contempt, especially when *Leisure* and *Plaisure*, *Idleness* and *Love* began to be seen as publike stains upon him: So that he was looked at by eminent and most bitter *Invectives*. Before he overcharged his Fame among the *Netherlanders*, in that he would have imposed *Spanish Garrisons*, upon several other Cities: And was with great Contumacy refused; and by them of *Namur* and *Lisle*.

At the first beginning of the *Spring*, marching into the *Field*, Ambushes were laid, but in vain; for the surprize of two Cities which would have been of great advantage; *Bastogne* was the one, which very seldom gave opportunity to such undertakings, and now preserved by fortune; for the *Guards* had no other notice of the Enemies approach, than the falling down of a Stone: *Maestricht* was the other, and there also was a miscarriage by the fear of the Captains, which the *Prince* had sent before in a Ship, and because there were some Souldiers, who unskilled in such Expeditions, knew better to pillage than fight, unless by chance sometimes, we have no more power to command our Courage, than Success, when a fatall Cowardise, and a suddain fear shall

shall weaken, and infatuate the Counsel and Count of those, who at another time, are Sons of Valour, and stand out at no danger.

From hence Prince *Maurice* went beyond the *Rhine*, resolving to set an end to all those great Enterprises formerly begun in *Friesland*, to which purpose, not only *Count William's* strength, but several new Companies were drawn into a Body: leaving behind only *Count Habbelt*, with six Regiments to guard the Borders of *Holland*: Not long before this, *Portuguese's* Souldiers, while yet the Waters were covered with Ice, assaulted *Delphais*, a Castle situate on the River *Esmer*, they came on at first in a deep silence, on a suddain, made hideous out-cries, on purpose to terrify the Defendants, and they rushed on so unadvisedly, that the *Martins Bank*, which by the unskillfulness of the Leaders, being carried beyond the Trench, reached the Bottom, there was a sudden tumult, and long dubious Fight, until a Neighbouring Ship coming in with Darts and Guns, and the valour of the *Defendants* beat off the assaillants with great slaughter.

Then the *Groeningers* sent to *Ernestus* Gifts, with humble Supplications, that he would not defer forthwith to send the General, and all the Strength of the Army so often promised, to avert and prevent the common ruine and destruction of the City.

But the *Prince*, knowing that he was feared in *Brabant*, and therefore that part of the Enemies Forces staid there, and that another part was engaged in the *French War*, sending before him Pioneers and Engineers, as well to secure him in his march, as in a Battell, if need should be, steers his course towards *Corvorden*. He had ten thousand Foot divided into seven Bodies, every of whose Flanks and Rere, were guarded with Horse. It was a new devised Policy, that the Souldiers armed with Lances and Pikes, and a few Engines, or Guns in the Front, should break the Enemies Troops, (for *Portuguese's*

in the greatest confidence in that part of his Forces, when the *Cavallery* being wearied, would easily be routed. Upon the left side, were placed the Carriages and Wagons, that brought Provisions to the Besieged, with some of the best and stoutest Regiments. At the right side they were armed with Artillery, and the River *Vidre*; *Verdugo* also had drawn up his men in Battel-Array before the Works, as he had desired to see the Strength and Courage of the Enemy, knowing he could easily retire into the Coverts of his Woods upon occasion. Here the Prince took Counsel, whether he should break through the Fortified Marshes, to the River, or seek a more secure way to get to the Castle. But he considered, under the silence and covert of the night, draws his Regiments cruelly shattered with long penury, and ready to mutiny at the eminent danger, together with the Duke of Parma's old Souldiers, marching with them towards *Obdam*: there he pitched his Tents, and suffered the Souldiers to glut themselves with prey, instead of pay, wasting the fields of *Germany*, robbing and stealing with so much more greediness, for that they believed they should not stay long there, for fear of the Enemy.

Some of these Souldiers were sent beyond the *Esse* to *Loppe*, a Town under the King's Command. Others were directed away to *Groening*, that the common people, who are naturally unstable, might be kept in awe by them, and any danger arising from sudden fear, be prevented: After the appearance of day had discovered the nocturnal flight, and that the Castle was open: and the deliverers and Besieged, had with joy among themselves, and extraordinary thanks to the Prince, saluted one another: the next thing in design was, what had hitherto been aimed at, to set upon *Groning* by force, which in the former years, they had so lately certified. Although it was very strongly fortified both with Walls and Bulwarks, neither wanted any thing, either of Victuals, or other Warlike preparations for defence:

And not a few of the chief *Frizons*, had rather the City should have continued in the Enemy's power, than come into their own, as believing it would draw the Trade from all parts thither. However, the Horse being sent away, that they might stop all passages against the Enemy, as well at *Sttenwic* as at *Coeworden*, and the *Bourlange*, leaving only the *Zuiplen* Regiment, to trouble and restrain the Enemy, it need should be, the great Guns were carryed by Sea.

The Prince at his first setting out, came into those Fields, that formerly had been unfortunate in the great slaughter of many of his party: for he was descended originally by his Mother's side, from the *Saxons*, who dyed in the Siege of this place, or else his hour long in vain, compelled him to quit that unhappy possession, nor had it been of mean advantage to his Uncles, that the Civil War had invited them thither. The ancientest Inhabitants thereabout, and such as had survived the many years of the troubles, shewed the very place, wherein *Adolphus* of *Nassau* dying, stained with his Noble Blood, the spoils taken from Count *Arenberg*, by him slain, and the first success in this quarrel: They could point out also the Castles, by whose Sieges, the Count *Lewis* of *Nassau* in vain, hoped the defection of the Cities, and the peoples reciprocal endeavours for liberty. Then not far from thence, *Limmingere*, and the Coast hard by, fell for the slaughter of seven thousand men.

But the Prince and Count *William* (for they both commanded alike, without either discord or emulation) as if having survived the glory of their Ancestors, they would remove the unlucky *Omen* from those places, they take up their Quarters round about the Town, the Prince himself lying on that side, where *Groening* turning away, as it were from the *Frizons*, looks full upon *Germany*, but not any thing stronger in that part with Towers, Forts, or Rampires annexed to all Bulwarks, or with any out-lying Fortifications. But before I declare the Siege of this famous City, it will be worth our

time, to shew the situation of the place, and the several sorts of Nations, that frequently meet there on several occasions, and the rather, for that we have nothing any where else to this purpose.

The Nations beyond the *Rhine*, included within the *River Ems*, without all peradventure, are of famous Antiquity: the greatness of whose Age, as is common with other people, was made fabulously incertain, before the *Roman Empire* propagated the fresh memory of things by their Annals: then was the Valour and Fidelity of the *Frisians* highly renowned: The name of the *Frankes* was of a later Edition, part of whom lived, as is believed, by the River *Salinn*, which the Ancients named *Sala*, and we by adding a syllable to the word, call it *Isala*, or *Iffell*. And from this River *Sala*, were the *Salsky* Laws denominated. I cannot set forth the Foundation and Original of them, more then of all *Germany*, the Ancients maintaining with a constant Opinion that they who lived there, were *Aborigines*, that is, at what time the Generations of mankind increased, or ambition forced them to haile the Sea in quest of new Habitations, they were such as first possessed this utmost shore, or boundary of the Ocean: But in the mean time, I may not deny, that part of the *Normans* and *Saxons*, and what other Nations frequent those Maritime Coasts with their Fleets, being left in those places, grew up together into one Government, and used the same Customs: And afterwards, they by the same example, poured out the superabundance of their increased Generations, at further distance into the next, and also into remoter places: But chiefly it is to be observed, in two Kingdoms, to wit, of the *French* in *Gaul*, and of the *Angles*, or *English* in *Brittain*, whose beginnings must be drawn from these and other bordering Nations: But I cannot assert their manner of living, or what manner of Government they had in those ruder Ages, with any certainty, unless I should suppose they had alwayes had Kings: but then that was not a name of arbitrary and

unlimited power, but as it still is in *Germany*, where the chief managery of all great affairs, is as well residing in the people as the *Princes*. But afterwards, the *Empires of Germany and France*, being united (though quickly disjoyned) the middle people ran one way after liberty, the *Princes* drew another way, to subject them, by which means, all things became unsettled, and nothing stable. And then *Christian Religion* not being alike received by all Nations, as it disjoyned the Government, so it disaffected mens minds one towards another, while others assuming the vizard of Sanctity, made themselves Imperious *Priests*. The wiser sort, rather chuse themselves Captain, and seek forreign Wars against *Barbarians*, encroaching upon them by Sea and Land; from hence they fell to War among themselves, and though they agreed in Religion, yet there wanted not quarrels, which under the pretence of Piety, were at last disputed with fire and sword. Thus the *Bishops and Counts*, dividing the *Hollanders* among themselves, seized likewise at once, all the bordering Nations they could gripe within their reach; for in the first place *Zutphen* beyond *Iffell*, was added to *Gelderland*: Hence, all that Region, which is properly called *Over-Iffell*, and under that name the people of *Twente*, *Zallandi*, and *Drente*, were all subjected to the *Bishops of Utrecht*. But that part of *Frisland* which lies within the *Ulye*, after a long contest and Rebellion, submitted to the Jurisdiction and Customs of *Holland*. That part which lies beyond the *Lake*, and divided by it from the rest, was cruelly afflicted with War, and morall Battels, being oftner beaten than subdued: because the *Princes of Holland*, scorned to rule at the pleasure of others. And the *Frixons* esteemed their liberties, both descending to them from their *Ancestors*, and also confirmed by several Decrees of *Emperours*: Wherefore taking Counsel among themselves concerning a moderation, out of their own number, they chose one to be a *Moderator* in their chief Affairs, giving him the name of a *Pedestate*. But *Greeningen*, a most strong

strong City, from all Antiquity, and the chief of *Frizeland*, was much advantaged by the conveniency of the River *Leent*, and the Neighbour-hood of *Germany*. From thence of old, besides the fierceness of their nature, this City had nourished a certain hope, that as it was the *Metropolis* of that Region, so in time it should command over all the Country of *Over-Issell*. Which being denyed by the Fortune of War, remaining yet great in its contracted Jurisdiction, extended its bounds to the Rivers *Leck* and *Eemes*, and forbidding any Merchandizes to be exported into other places, unless they were first brought, and offered to be sold in the City.

A Fortrefis of this Potency, after it had once gained Reputation by *Covenants*, and the use of right, sometimes chose foreign Princes, and as oft changed, and cast them off, to whom they paid Tribute in Honour, as their defenders, but ever with a *Salvo* for preservation of their Laws; and this was well enough at present, while they endeavour to get favour; but when these Tributes were afterwards consumed in envy and prodigality, the mischief of the example appeared, it being natural to Princes, by any meanes to keep what they have gotten, and to increase by force, their beginning Wealth, if they be not absolutely obeyed; wherefore the City growing stubborn, and not contented with the liberty it enjoyed at present, but impatient of servitude, though at the same time shaken with many intestine discords, yet from the hatred of the present Lords, it still chose other, being ignorant of that good, for which Arms are taken away from the people.

Thus first experimenting the Bishop of *Mirecht*, it fled from them, for fear of the *Saxons*, to the protection of some living beyond the *Emss*, then to *Gelders*, and lately devolved to the House of *Austria*; yet the *Groeningers* kept to themselves a power of chusing all Magistrates, save onely excepted, who was the Prince's *Legate* or *Deputy*, who sat as Chief

in the Supreme Assembly of the Judges, that had Cognizance of the Rights of possession in Lands. In this Warre, wherein all things have been unriveted, being vexed with most horrible Seditions, at last it conspired to the Spanish *Dominion*, under the pretence of Liberty: This was not, in other Cities, tormented with Differences in Religion; for when the Laws raged most furiously against all the Professors of the New Religion, those that fled from all other places, found here a Refuge and shelter: But because there arose great Discords between them and the Citizens, the *Confederate Lords*, either out of a Love to Truth, or in favour of the Nobility, gave Sentence against the Citizens: But the *Spaniard* being more crafty, favoured the City, and therefore it submitted to his Government; being perswaded by one thing, they rejected Religion, and all Leagues, to follow *Remberg*, (so prevalent in all men is Thirst of Hatred and Revenge.)

It is to be remembred, as we before declared, that the *Greeningers* had refused a Garrison; for so they had agreed with the King, who also to gratifie them, indulged them with the freedom from many Burdens: But of the common sort of *Spaniards*, they hired Three Thousand: The *Forreign Soldiers*, to the number of Nine Hundred, kept the Suburbs: There was hardly any where to be found so great a quantity of Provisions, Guns, Gunpowder, and other *Military Engines*, as was here: The Camp was placed a great distance from the City, that the great *Artillery* might do the less harm to the Houses, but was most strongly fortified, both against *Invasions* from within and without: A firm and wholesome Plain extended it self between the Rivers *Horn* and *Scynediep*; which Rivers beginning in the Marishes of *Draught*, run through the *Trenches* of *Greeningen* and intermingle with the Sea at a place called *Reidsep*. And because all the Army was not sufficient to encompass the City, therefore on this side they thought fit to make their Assaults and Approaches, be-

ing here also able to receive the Enemy if he came, that so they might, by opening the Rivers, overflow all the circumjacent parts: And it was found by Experiment, that the adjoining Waters were no less advantageous to the Tows, for keeping away the Enemy, than it was prejudicial to the inclosed Succours. And the Prince also carryed the Rivers so, that he might easily bring his great Guns over the Fields, against the scattering Forts: some whereof, being deserted, were easily won. But the best and noblest of them all named *Alberdyd*, when the *Governour* had defended it with more Resolution than the present necessity requir'd, the Bridges and Ladders being taken, it was assaulted by the Souldiers with so great fury, mad to revenge the slaughter of their Companions, made in the same place the Year before; that neither the too late delivery was accepted, nor the word of Command, how, and when to give the Onset was staid for: Thus they made a great slaughter, which was also increased by an accidental fire then hapning: This Fort being taken, provisions were more easily brought out of *Friseland* into the Camp, the people of *Emboden* sending in no small quantity, and *Verdugo* terrified them with Threats, bidding them take heed, they betrayed not their Affection: Some successful Sallies were made, both out of the Town and Suburbs, the *Keepers* of the *New Works* being tyred out with continual shows; for those Works, out of a *Military Ambition*, were more hastily, than warily promoted.

The next and greatest Care was, by little and little, to undermine on both sides the Port; the one whereof was defended by the Bulwark adjoining to the Trench; the other, by an outlying Fort. The great Guns, on both sides, plaid very furiously; and however the Rampires, and other Works made of Earth, resisted the Force of the Attempt, yet the Bridges, Gates, Towers, and other Buildings, were utterly overthrown: And some *Letters* being taken, that were sent to *Verdugo*, it appear'd by them, that their store of Gunpowder, what be-

tween a prodigal Expence thereof, and other Accidents, was well near consumed. They were advised therefore, least being left by their *Assaies*, some of whom were in *France*, and other continued mutinous and full of Sedition, that they would not, being thus shut up by the Army, rashly, and without reason, seek their own ruine.

To this it was answer'd, but not as if it came from the Besieged, but such as were proud with the Memory of their order and more novel Affairs; That they should not be persuaded by the greatest of their Commanders, without danger, although they were not all of one mind, but had many causes of difference among them. The Assemblies of the Commons, whose Authority was greater in the publike Affairs, than was necessary, had delivered all their power to the Magistrates; and a little before the Siege they had sent *Messengers*, to get them some succours: But the *Netherlandish Cities*, took no Thought of their so great danger, all their Labours and Endeavour being busied about the *New Regent*; they knew so profusely to waste their Money, as if they had not known, that by the want thereof many times, the greatest Affairs are hindered, and Opportunities lost: Therefore, there were some who proposed, that the City should be deliver'd to the Duke of *Brabant*; *Hohenlo* was a main stickler in that Advice; because, if it succeeded, he promis'd to himself, that he should be his *Deputy-Governour*. But the Siege utterly blew away all those Imaginations, which being once begun, there follow'd frequent Treaties between the Besiegers, and Besieged; sometimes, that they might bury their Dead; other times, that they might exchange Prisoners; and upon many the like occasions: Sometimes also, they made short Truces, which, at last, the Townsmen desire one to be continued, until they could send to *Bruxels*, for a more certain Reply, but it was meritedly refused.

Jorgins, who was the principal person among all the Magistrates, before that the *Consul*, and now a *Colonel*, withstand-

ing *Peace*, and confirm'd therein by the encouragement of the *Prince*, had drawn unto himself the Rout of the poorer sort of *People*, who had neither any hope or fear in the continuance or change of the *Weal*-publike: These threatned death to *Maynagers*; that should come from the *Enemy*; and likewise to every one else, who but spoke well of *Peace*; not abstaining in the interim, from committing *Murders* and *Loues*: But now the *Ravelins*, and other nearer places, began to preach *Raine*; among which Evils, it was far the most miserable Spectacle, when the *Darkness* of the *Night* was turned into *Light*, by the burning of *Houses*, fir'd by the *Enemy* throwing and shooting *Fire-Works* into the *Town*: And, as the *People* gather'd together in *Heaps* and *Multi-tudes*, to save their *Houses* and *Estates*, either were themselves burned in the *Houses*, or else maimed and mangled with the *Besiegers* Bullets. At last, what should they now, being between *Hope* and *Despair*, avoid? or what should they defend? since all places were equally fill'd with *Horror* and *Lamentations*: But, for all this, the *Priests*, and such as the *Spaniard* had obliged to him by *Pension*, attribute to this obstinate stubbornness of their peculiar Faction, the name of *Constancy*: Nay more, at this time, some out of the *Garrison*, that lay in the *Suburbs*, passing the *Trench* in little *Boats*, took the confidence to enter the *City*: These, on the one side, calling them in: those, on the other, forbidding them: from whence there arose a most violent *Sedition*, wherein, at the beginning, there was some *bloud* spilled, but soon after it abated, for fear of the *Enemy* abroad.

The *Prince*, that by the prosecution of the *War* vigorously, he might, at some time, force to thoughts of *Peace*, began to undermine the greatest of all their *Forts* within the *Trench*, wherein there remain'd some marks of the *Fort* or *Castle*, raised there by the *Duke of Alva*; and that he might the better conceal the *Policy*, by some other more apparent *Design*, he seems to threaten the taking by *Storm* of the *Bulwarks* already

dy batter'd and shaken. But when the Assailants saw the vast concourse of the Townsmen to the place, as if afraid to come on, they retired; at which instant, the Gunpowder that was hid in the Mine, being set on fire, the torn up Ground threw the dispersed Multitude into the adjacent Ditches and Trenches, and cast some, at a greater distance, into the very Camp or Leaguer: Others of them were swallow'd alive into the gaping *Chasms* of the disbowel'd Earth. Then might have been seen some Souldiers (*Scots* by Nation) with Haile and Valour carry'd them towards the City, together with such as fled, but hindred from entering it, because the Planks that made the Bridge passable were broken; however, they maintain'd the place, opposing great Bags, fill'd with Sand, against all Shot and Darts thrown at them: And now all the whole Army burned with a desire of doing somewhat more, earnestly requiring the Slaughter and Ruine of the City, which they said must be won by force: That this was the City, by whose wickedness all places beyond the *Rhine*, for 14 Years together, had either been exhausted by War, or at least spoil'd: Wherefore, now they ought to require in the punishment thereof, satisfaction for the Ruine of so many Castles, the laying wast of so many Fields, and the Blood shed in so many cruel *Battels*: That this might be an Example unto the rest, that they should resist untill they were subdued; and malapertly, with insulting Answers, scorn Messages, and Offers of Peace: For what could be more glorious for a *General*, than to take the benefit of his Victory upon a Rebellious City, Triumphant in the Slaughter and Spoils of all that relate to him? But if he should prefer the public good, before the Injuries offer'd to his Blood, or the Revenge of his Ancestors, yet this City was not to be preserv'd, having always been injurious to the Neighbours, untractable against the Laws, and perfidious to Liberty; against which, having for some time oppos'd, it had almost brought Ruine; and, at last, if it should be subjected, would yet be infamous.

The

These Things were publicly urged, as every one had before-hand, in his Imagination, divided the Spoil of this most opulent City: But the *Prince*, and the *Senators*, who were present with him, thought it more convenient, for carrying on the Remainder of the War, that the *Souldier* should be restrained from his licentiousness and cruelty against the *Citizens*: Thus *Embassies* and *Prayers* prevailed; within the *Agreement* were inserted several Degrees of Things; nay, the very *Priests*, who had departed out of the City, and all that belonged to them, consented to the *League*; and that they, together with their Companions, would, by an equal Right, be admitted within those *Articles*.

Thus they accepted a *Garrison*, while they were accustomed to this *New Government*, and *Count William of Nassau* was made their *Governour*, being before the *Governour of Frisland*: Both the *Farriga Souldiers*, and those that belonged to the City, marched out safe the Seventh of the Calends of *August*, (that is, *July* the 26.) The *Prince* entering the City, restored the *Protestant Religion*, casting out all Images, and, as he had concluded, appointed *Magistrates*, especially chusing them out of those who had before been banish'd for their Religion, the *Laws*, for the future, being in force: Concerning the *Discords* of the *Natives*, which formerly being disputed by Arms and Fighting, were not yet appeased; there was a *Settlement* made by the *States* of the *Confederate Union*.

And, in the interim, *Otho Hartius*, and *Hierome Commanus*, came from *Bruxels* to the *Hague*, as if they had been sent upon private Business to the Lord of *Cimace's* Wife, who flying from the Severity of her Husband, lived here, as it were, in Banishment among the *Hollanders*.

They did not Treat of *Peace*, as a Business of so high a Nature did deserve; but onely cursorily seemed to bring *Letters* from *Ernestus*, wherein were discover'd the Charges and

and Burdens of War, and the great Commodities of Ancient Commerce and Obedience: That there were never any Discords had continued perpetually, but some few had been decided by War, but the greater part thereof settled by Peace. Wherefore, *If they had hitherto been terrified by any Treacherous Dealings, yet he hoped they would not blame the well-known Reputation of the House of Austria, or have him in Suspicion, as desiring to be the Author of Peace: Nay, that he left his own Country and his Brother's House, with no other hope, than that he might restore a true and sincere Harmony and Concord among Christian Nations: That it would be seem the States, interchangeably on their part, not to hazard the prosperous estate thereof, their Affairs, and the ambiguous condition of their Adversaries, upon the Danger and Fortune of an uncertain Warre, but rather take advantage from the present Times, wherein they may rather prescribe, than receive the Terms of a Peace.*

Hereunto the States, being now more firmly settled, answer'd, as to their Cause, magnificently,

That it was for Religion and the Laws, which in the time of the Emperour Maximilian, the Arch-Duke Matthias, the Brother of Ernestus, had by the Sword protected; That since that, by the implacable Malice of the Spaniards, having been forced to Arms, they have not been ignorant of the various Chances of Warre, but God had appeared for them, even gasping under the Burden of Oppression.

And now being raised by great Alliances, and their own Valour, they had rather chuse that (to wit, War) to be a Judge of the Event, than an Enemy so often found perfidious.

And as the Spaniard could not lay aside Arms, without the Consent of the Kings his Allies; so also the same Impediment lay upon them by several Leagues. And here they shewed several Examples, when Peace had either vainly or falsely been pretended to be sought; and they had no more Reason

Reason, at this time, to hope for better, or more safe proceedings: For Philip was so far from remitting old Offences, for advancement of the *Peace of Christendom*, that he would rather suffer the *Barbarians* to enjoy all *Europe*, than he himself would leave off, to infest and trouble other Kingdoms by Arms and Treachery.

That it was most evident, from *Letters* of the same Philip, written to *William Clementine*, wherein he was commanded to delude *Caesar* with fair Words and Promises: adding, *That the Turkish Power would easily be diverted from the Spanish Empire by Gifts and Presents*: Nor did the States forbear to signify, *That the power of concluding a Peace was Deputed unto the Præfects, but the Right and Power of preserving it was in the Lords*.

In short, what hope could they have, while the *Netherland*s were oppressed with *Foreign Souldiers*, and the *Spaniards*, who still sit at the Helm, would by their nefarious and cruel Counsels, would absolutely reverse all the good which *Ernestus* intended.

The Opinion of many among the *Romanists*, in hatred of *Peace*, was too commonly cast abroad, *That no Faith is to be held with such as differ from them*: Meritedly sure was the Mischief of that Invention turned upon their own Heads, while they, by an endeavour of setting Men together by the Ears, break off and spoil all *Commerce*.

To all those that practice Equity and Honesty, they never alter their Evil Habit; and least they should enjoy their Perfidy too long, themselves became an Example against themselves: Nay, the very Common People, who, for the most part, are first weary of Warre, being intraged with the Memory of the late Villanies of the Enemy, would not by any means hearken or incline to any Thoughts of *Peace*.

And

And now the *Spaniards* fearing Prince *Maurice's* youth grown famous by so many Victories; and the league of the Kingdoms, from the greatness of their terrour they so far extempered infamy, that they hired murderers by particular flabs to bring that to passe, which they were not able to compass with all their Armies: And without doubt, there was no time so detestible for such horrid wickedness, inasmuch that from hence, no one could expect from them any peace, who by giving place to hatred and revenge, would even violate the Laws of Arms. For in this very year, wherein they desired a Treaty, first a *Priest of Namur*, afterwards another *Renegado Souldier*, were hired to become assassins, but prevented barely by suspicions, gathered from the extravagancies of their looks; but the designs of so great Treason being once, though with difficulty, and but darkly, discerned, were soon after, for fear of the wrack, laid open, and the whole contexture of the horrid villany discovered; wherein first the Prince himself, then his Brother, *Henry Frederick*, and after them, several other persons, eminent in the Commonwealth, were designed to be slain: and every one for a particular cause; as *Leominster*, because he had revolted from the Kings party; *Aldemund*, because he had excited the Duke of *Parma* to disloyal mistrusts of the King; *Oldenbarnevelt*, because he was looked upon to be averse to peace.

The Traytors names were *Mickel Renichon*, and *Tail Furius*: but let us see the *Archborders*, who being persons in eminent place, and capable of Honour, yet had bound themselves to the perpetrating this infamous act. And they were as fellows. First *Fontayne* and *Ibarra*, two *Spaniards*, *Stander* the betrayer of *Deventer*, and of the *Netherlanders*; *Laurens* and *Barlaymont*, the heyr of an inveterate hatred to the House of *Nassau*, and also *Affonville*, of old suspected for the murder of the former Prince of *Aurange*: Of all these the Traytors gave particular accounts and demonstrations partly by force; but chiefly, by a voluntary confession, after they

they were condemned to die, and could not hope for any reward or favour, for casting aspersions upon others.

Nay more, the Promises and Exhortations of *Ernestus* himself were related, to *Renichon*, by assuring a large Pension for his Reward: but to *Furius* in these very words. [*If thou performest, what thou promisest me, and dost kill that Tyrant, thou shalt surely go the ready way to Paradise:*] yet there wanted not some, who from hence would interpret, that the countenance of peace, which the *Regent* would seem to have put on, was but dissembled; averring, that he openly countenanced a face of modesty, the more nearly to hide the cruelty of his heart: However it was, 'tis certain, that *Commauld* and *Hartius*, who were in *Holland*, when this Treason of *Renichon* was discovered, denied *Ernestus* to be in any manner culpable therein: adding also, that *Barlaymont* would be ready, if they would give him a safe conduct to come and send pledges for his safe return, to appear and refute the before mentioned scabballs; but in regard he could be admitted no otherwise, than to be punished, if he were convicted, the conditions were refused.

About the same time, *Lodowick Lopez*, a *Portuguese*, but of Jewish extract, being a Physician in *England*, was apprehended, who was convicted by proofs and Letters, to have undertaken to poyson Queen *Elizabeth*, for fifty thousand Ducats promised to him by the *Spaniard*, for the same, for which he was, as he well deserved, put to death.

The Authors of the Treason, were said to be *Christopher Mar, Fontayne* and *Stephen Ibarra*, then residing at *Buxells*, whom Queen *Elizabeth* contented her self, to have sharply reprehended in certain Letters to that purpose, sent to *Erasmus*: wherein she gave the name of *Jesuites*, to the inciters of such villanies, and desired that they might be delivered to her, to be made a publick example: this she urged, not that she imagined to obtain her Request, but that she might thereby cast the greater ignominy on the *Spaniard's* Reputation.

tation: There were several other Attempts of the like that broke out not long after, from a sort of men, wonderfull by their vast increase, their Lenity being as ready to promise the perpetrating of a Crime, as to discover it.

Towards the end of the Year, the Order of Jesuits began to be infinitely hated through all France, by means of one John Castel, a young man bred up and tutor'd among them, and perswaded by his Masters, that no Kingly Rights or Priviledges belonged to him that was separated from the *Roman* Church: This Fellow, when the King returned out of Picardy to Paris, endeavour'd to have stab'd the King in the Neck; but the blow, by the bending of his Body, hit him upon the Tooth: The Parliament of Paris so abhorred this monstrous Fact, that they were not content with the punishment of the single Offender, but pulled down the House that nourished such a Viper, with all its Superstructures; they raised a Pillar to preserve the abominable Memory of so horrid a Fact, and from thenceforth banish'd the Jesuits. For these, chiefly, both the English, Hollanders, and French, did impute the fostering of such Doctrines, on purpose breeding Youth, whom, under the Notions of Piety and Magnanimity, they inflame, and encouraging them with Old and New Examples, how often Tyrants, who are Enemies to the Publick, have been destroy'd by the Fortunate Darings of private Hands. Concerning this Order, because Opportunity presents it self, and others have spoken little concerning them, I intend succinctly to Discourse.

The first Founder of that Order was Ignatius Loyala, who being much weakned by a Wound received in the War of Navarre at Pompeiopolis, withdrew his Mind, being yet Warlike, and full of Courage, unto Businesses of a more penible Concern. Among the rest, he grew ambitious of Establishing a New Order: To which, in hope of its future Greatness, he would not, according to Custom, give it its Name from some more famous Man or Woman, but even

from JESUS himself. Being Assembled by Authority of them who can License such Novelities, they revered with incredible Study two Things chiefly, *to wit*, the *Pope's* Power, and the *Spaniard's* Wealth: And at their beginning, they were main and eminent Props to the decaying Cause; inducing in defence thereof, what had hitherto been neglected, Manners unblameable, and sound Learning; they exercised themselves in frequent Disputes against divers Religions, which in those times had insulted over the *Romane* Name. They augmented their Glory both in *America*, and the *Indies*, where, among *Barbarous Nations*, by the Teaching of Christianity, they added mightily to *Philip's* Empire: yea, and many famous Miracles have been done by them, as is believed with great facility from confident Asseverations; for that the Longinquity of places excludes further Tryals: however, they are in abundance, whether in real Truth, or but pretended. They are the persons, in whom thou may'st require fidelity and modesty; Their Authority with the Vulgar is very great, by reason of their Sanctity of Life; and because they instruct Youth in Learning, and the Precepts of Wisdom, without taking any Reward for their pains: They have their Provincials in every City and Nation, and there is one Superiour over all the rest throughout the World, who is for the most part a *Spaniard*: They command with great Wisdom, and obey with equal Fidelity: They follow not the common Custom of other Orders to live all together: It seemed too poor to include within Walls their growing Society; They Baptize and solemnize Matrimony; and the first thing they are taught, is, To lay aside all Humane Affections, and to cast away the fear of Death: They chiefly take into their Society none but such as are very eminent, either for Ingenuity, Bloud, or Riches; and they reap a great benefit from all those things: For, first, they distinguish Ingenuity no less piously, than they chuse it, pitching always upon such whom they hope will grow famous, either for Eloquence, or digesting pious Meditations into Writing.

By their *Nobility*, they are admitted into the greatest *Councils*, being of an incomparable Sagacity, in making *Secrets* and *Experiments*; and because there is no Engine so strong as Religion, for the laying open of *Secrets*. And their *Wit* fits them for *Embassies*, and all other *publike Employments*. By which *Policies*, though they are the youngest of all other *Orders*, yet they have far surpassed all the rest in a short time, both in *Reputation* and *Wealth*; and therefore are hated by them, and their manner of Life upbraided, as contrary to Rule: But they being above the Envy of their *Emulators*, even rule Prince's Houses, by a laudable moderation; for they observe a mean between *sordid submission* and *severe arrogancy*, neither totally eschewing, nor following other mens Vices. These are the main Wheel, whereon the *Spanish Empire* moves, by which they maintain *Peace* at Home, and sow *Trouble* and *Sedition* abroad. For those *Catholics* have receiv'd a portion of these mens Spirit, which through *France* and *England*, yea and *Holland* it self, do in the former maintain the Rights of a Kingdom, and in the last dispute against it. And although they are banish'd all those places, upon pain of Death, yet is that Danger no Obstacle to them, nor doth impede either their Confidence or Policy. But the *Emperour* did not forbear again to motion the making of *Peace*, although before refused, and stain'd with such monstrous Actions, as we before related, upon the common pretence of *Germany*, viz. the Care of his Brother's Honour: Nor did he seem onely to admonish them to it, but calling a Diet at *Ratisbon*, of the Princes and Cities of the Empire, he has caused it to be concluded, *That they should be compelled there by Arms, for that they dampnified both themselves and their Neighbours, by the perpetual miseries of War.* But these things, as they made onely a Noise, never proceeding further than Words and Threats, so they were accordingly taken notice of; for the *Turk* then chiefly, being ready to fall upon the Cities of *Hungary*, as well the Care as the Forces of the

was taken up, and could not have leisure to mind the Affairs of such as belonged not to them.

This year also, the *States of the United Provinces*, received every great and most honourable Signal of Affection from *James King of Scotland*, as well as the Kings of *France*, *England*, and *Denmark*, who were invited to the Baptizing of his eldest Son, born by his Wife, who was the King of *Denmark's* Daughter. And their Liberality was correspondent to the Honour done to them, as witnessed their most rich Presents given to the *Princely Infant*, who was named *Henry Frederick*. They renewed their ancient Amity with the *Scots*, and restored all the Rights of Trade and Commerce, and all other matters formerly concluded with the Princes of the *Netherlands*, and particularly with the late *Charles*: But a Partnership in Arms was in vain wished for by the *Scots*, and the *Dane*; and that the Princes of *Germany* should be engaged to the same Affinity; for their Peace was safe and undisturbed; and there was no reason why they should go to smother themselves into other Folks Troubles: 'Tis thought there was some hope gather'd from *Scotland*, not without cause, offended with the *Spaniard*, who had for many years disturbed the Peace of that Kingdom by Factions: From hence proceeded many of those sharp and severe Laws against *Catholicks*; and hence, by increasing hatred, came those who would transfer the most just Hope and Title of *James* to the Kingdom of *England* upon the *Spaniard's* Daughter, but solely by most absurd and incongruous Arguments; but nevertheless, such as discover'd a mind ready to do him any injury. But as well the *Scots*, as the rest of the Princes, cast off from one to another the beginning to thwart a Power so formidable to all. The Embassadors that had been sent into *Scotland*, returning by *England*, the chief whereof *Waldgrave* *Baronet*, whose Noble Birth advanced the Honour and Worth of the *Common-wealth*, together with *James Count Palatine*, consulted of certain Matters; relating to the

Leagues: Then began to appear, how much those *Princes* were envied, which had been bestowed, to gain the King of *Scots* Affection; the Queen of *England* objecting to them, *Their unseasonable Magnificence, while yet themselves wanted Foreign Aid.* Nor did it proceed so much from the Humour of her Regal Disposition, that would endure none to vye with her, as that she being a wise and subtile Woman, and who would keep the Succession incertain, as one of the main strengths of her Kingdom, she would not, that a Prince, though next to her, both in Kingdom and Bloud, should be appointed her Heir by the Option of her Neighbours: Therefore, according to the Custom of angry persons, she requir'd a part of her old Debt, and if they gave her not satisfaction, she threatned War: Whereto a modest Excuse being made, they were at quiet for some time. And, in the meantime, that they might make amends for their Offence, upon her Request, They obey and grant, *That they will adde some Money and Ships to her Fleet, for driving away the Spaniard from Britaign in France:* For the Enemy being sciled in some strong Ports, lay at lurk upon both Shores, to get the possession of that Sea, which passeth by both *France* and *Spain*: From whence proceeded the *English-mens* fear; nor could the *Hollanders* sail to the *Westward* with any safety: But now the *English* and *Dutch Fleets* being joyned, they drove the Enemy from most of the strong Holds situate on the Sea-Coast.

But the War, after the taking of *Groening*, continued in the Countries beyond the *Rhine*, although there were other Things, which promised their Hope a Reward of their Labours.

But at the instance of Mounseur *Buzanval*, King *Henry*'s Embassadour, it seemed more just, since their own Affairs had so well thriven, to look towards their Allies, because that there was sharp War upon the Borders, between the *Nether-*

lands

lands and France: Some there were that would not have sent Souldiers to the King, but Money, which *Buzanvall* withstood, affirming, *That the King his Master had better learn'd to order Souldiers, than Money*: And so far did his Reasons prevall, that he had not onely very great hopes, but the Charge likewise already begun, would forthwith be laid aside for a New Expedition thither.

The *Spanish Souldiers*, who had hitherto made War upon the *French Borders*, after they had received their Money, and taken the benefit of what Licentiousness they pleased, being excluded from all Cities, lest they might grow more insolent by Idleness, under the Conduct of the Lord of *Cinnace*, besieged *Cambray*: For that City, as is before set forth, was delivered in the Name of the Kingdom of *France*, to *Balagny*, to be kept for King *Philip*; but he, on the contrary, usurped it to himself, from thence the Neighbouring Country was wasted: Nor had the *Spaniards* long continued the Siege, but they wanted all Things necessary, excepting Provisions: However, lest that they might seem to do nothing, they surrounded the City at a distance, but with very careless Guard; for being in their Friends Country, they supposed themselves terrible enough to the Enemy, being in no manner changed from what they were before; but onely in this, that now being under Command, they re-acted the Crimes of Sedition; among other of their Exploits, many times, fetching great Booty out of *France*.

But *Henry*, the greatest part of the *Traitors* being subdued, finding himself really King, and that he was so increased in strength, that, though till this time he had been able but weakly to defend his, now he appeared able to vindicate himself, and to threaten an equal Return for Injuries.

He accused Philip in an Edict, That he had, without any probable Reason, broken the League that he had made with France five and twenty years before; That he being King of France, was content with the Dominion of his Ancestors, which by the Divine Providence, he now enjoyed, and being an august and magnificent Possession, he did not desire to intermeddle in the business of other Princes. That he would not seek a cause of War, against any Neighbouring Cities of the Netherlands, and hoped he should be forced to one, by injuries put upon him: but since they had compelled him, he exhorted the People of Henault and Artoys, and others his Subjects, to fall upon those foreign Soldiers, general hated and burthensome to all about them, whom none ever had without danger but an Enemy, and to drive them out of French Territories, and also from Cambray: which if it was done by a set day, he would bring thither his Armies, and put his force upon them: This was all received in silence, as it had been denyed, for the Cities durst make no answer to Philip shortly after, mindfull of his affections to the Catholic Religion, and remembering the League himself had formerly made with France, declared that the Prince of Bearn, (for he would not vouchsafe the King of France any other name, who had vainly pretended himself an honourer of that Religion which he had opposed, and now called himself King of France, was to be prosecuted with War on all hands: but this came too late, for after they had for a whole year, displayed their Ensign on the Netherlandish Borders, all their actions seemed to claim a shadow of right: But to this foreign War, King Henry appointed Commander in Chief, Thomas Viscount Turenne, who then raised the Repute of the name of Buloyn, renowned also by Alliance to Prince Maurice, whose Sister Elizabeth descended by the Mothers side from the Royal Stock of Bourbon, he had married. And in this he would be more affectionately diligent, in that thereby he advanced above the power of the League, a Prince bound

by private Alliance, and also very high in the King's

It was thought convenient, to carry the War into the Province of *Lutzelburg*, because this way he might have a passage for his *Italian* and *German* Levies: for the *Hollanders* hoped, that if new forces were raised, it might be possible to bring to nought the old, being neither many, nor well agreed: and this either by the *Netherlanders* consent, or the suspension of War: But a Messenger met *Philip of Nassau*, who was hastening his march towards the *French*, with supplies, consisting of eight and twenty Foot-Companies (for the *States* having onely promised twenty, had now of their own accord, augmented the number) that they understood by four *Switzers*, whom they had taken, that *Charles Mansfeld* lay in the middle between them. Therefore for securing the Journey, he took five Troops under the leading of *Francis Vers*, and a well ordered number of Foot, least it should give any opportunity to *Mansfeld* pressing upon them, and leads them beyond the River *Moselle*, to the Borders of *Max*, for the Enemy had prepossessed all the places on that side.

The greatest part of the Troops, having either gained by force or force, a passage through *Germany*, returned into *France*, but the greatest strength of their Horses was consumed in the length of their Journey. But the greatest damage that fell upon those was, that the Horsemen being far from home, became licentious, committing many robberies and rapes, which either for that Reason, or else in regard of their Religion, or some other causes, mightily turned the peoples hearts against the *Hollanders*: But the Earl of *Balk* having in charge matters of greater concernment, but his Forces not able to compass the same, nor daring to besiege *Lutzelburg*, after he had received the Auxiliary Forces, towards the latter end of *Autumn*, went to *Paris* for further Counsel and Instructions.

And it appeared by the Event, that by reason of the constant allowance of *Pillage* and *Rapine*, the Strength for supplies were hastned, both with great damage at home, and other hazard: And that the Enemy came not into the very heart of *Holland*, during the sudden and most sharp Frost following, was not the success of their Counsels in their defence, but the evil Fortune and Discipline of their Adversaries. For Sedition had spread it self all over the King Army, and the end of one mutiny, was but the beginning of another.

This madness, as well for the generality thereof, as the variety of the remedies applyed thereto, far surpassed all before it; because the Tumults began not in single Regiments, but several Nations at once; not in the Borders, but in the very Bowels of the *Netherlands*; for now hatred had enflamed the Souldiers avarice, which is the prime cause of all such extravagancies: The *Italians*, a Nation by Nature envious and spiteful, observing that the *Spaniards* had their Wages payd them, in regard there was likewise at the same time, pay due to them, presently imagined themselves slighted and affronted: At first a few of them onely complained, That then they lost the esteem of their labours and blood, when the Duke of *Parma*, the chief column of their army, and a most just rewarder of vertue in all, dyed: but although he were dead, yet from him the *Spaniards* possess the honours and Grandeur, that at present makes them insolent: For they were now as despicable, hurried from place to place, at the option of a few, who make a stalking-Horse of *Erasmus* his good Nature, and the Kings Wealth: But it should suddenly appear, that they had Arms, wherewith they could challenge their due against all those that defrauded the King of his Treasure; neither ought they (the *Spaniards*) to be displeased at the Example, since they themselves first broke the Ice: And if any one resisted them, he should find, that

andly breed, who before this time, had brought in Sub-
 ject the reall *Spanys*, not that which is now so called, be-
 ing an abominable sink of the basest Nations, who reckon
 force and cruelty, instead of all other Vertues.

Their first threats were now seconded, not onely by Com-
 mands and inferiour bands of men, but the valiantest of their
 Commanders began to speak the same Language: with
 such encouragements, as if they had been possessed with
 some sudden frenzy, all the *Italian* Souldiers marched with
 their Colours to *Sichewen*, a Town of *Brabant*, which, in re-
 spect of its strength and Scituation they seized, from whence
 they fetched in booty all about, even as far as *Bruxels*: with
 this, many Souldiers of other Nations joyned, as *French*,
English, *Epirots*, and even from *Italy*, such as had formerly been
 a service for the *Netherlanders*, and all under pretence of
 force and hope of rewards, they refusing to entertain none
 as *Spaniards* onely.

All these disturbances, the Officers were present, which
 annals of such nature, is very rare, as if they had now
 been about to contest the honour of their Nation, not by any
 sort of Authority, but so prevalent more or less, as they ap-
 peared themselves notably active in heading the Souldiers.
 New men were daily listed, and enrolled in the Com-
 munes: the mark and badge of their faction, was a swarm
 of Bees, before which stood the King, and this by a military
 and facetious quip, they called the *Common-wealth*. They
 imposed Tribute upon Lands, and exacted Toll of all things
 that were carried out of the Country. Prince *Maurice*, and
 the *Hollanders*, politickly fomented this Sedition, for fear,
 lest if they should reunite, they might receive thereby some
 looked for damage; and the rather, because there was a
 very great Frost, which had continued near seventy dayes,
 and had covered with Ice, both the Marshes and Rivers, that
 they would bear the greatest and most weighty Carriages.

Thus

Thus while the Enemy Country, was tormented on one side with the French War, on the other side with murders of their own Souldiers, first precluding all places to reduce them to poverty, and afterwards, by raising all Provisions to an excessive price, The Treasury was taken into consideration: and therefore they being graciously heard, who were sent to Prince Maurice, declaring, that they were not oblig'd to the Spaniards by any right of Country, Kinred or Alliance, but only served them for pay; which not being given to them, they supposed themselves no longer tyed to the defrauders. And if any should come to assaile them, they would make use of the Law of Nature, which hath commanded to all Creatures, even by instinct, self-preservation.

Thus a Truce was made with them, but when they demanded Tribute in the Land of *Cuyck*, where the Prince had some paternal Possessions, *Herman Count Herman*, was ready to defend the Country people denying the sum, if the Prince upon his Request would have permitted him. But here also the Souldiers necessity, who could not so much weaken one side, was more prevalent, than all the Reason of the unarmed multitude, which things, when they came to be related at Court, as they were by the Spaniards represented to the worst, there was a division in Judgements thereupon, some averring a necessity of mercy: but others replied, that although in some Cases gentleness was necessary to be used towards Souldiers, yet these being grown most insolent, and having also a national hatred, were to be made exemplary, lest the Souldiery should make it a Custom to murther, and throw off their obedience, as often as they should fail of their pay, so soon as it was due. Besides this, the necessity of the time did incite and provoke the most moderate persons, because otherwise, when there was the greatest occasion for them, they would obey no orders or Commands.

Among all these advices, it was not concealed from them, that further rigour was thought upon for them; for they, knowing to the subtilty and craft of their Nation, had hired spies, who gave them *Intelligence* of all that passed. Nay, some of the *Noblemen* did voluntarily favour the *Italians*, out of hatred and impatiency of bearing with the *Spaniards*. *Munitions*, *Ammunition*, and all things else fit for War, were abundantly provided for them, when the *Spaniards* came in the same Province with a strong party of Souldiers: At first they dissembled the cause of their coming; but when they were not able to come near the *Italians* in these Arts, they marched out seriously to shut them up in the Town, and being so inclosed, by Famine to reduce them to Reason.

Upon greater numbers are gathered together, and several Castles assailed, with the loss of much blood, and so much misery was used, that they are reported to have been primarily slain in the *Spanish* Camp, that either by foresight, or other affection, repugned those Counsels. But now none would suffer it, that they should come to punish a fault in others, whereof themselves but lately, yea, and often before, had been guilty.

Thus on both parts, they shewed a most pernicious example. These, in that they would savagely shed the blood of those who had been mutually engaged with them, and were bound by the same sacred rye of an Oath: Those, that being taken for Enemies, they desired Aid from Enemies indeed. For though they made their first Address to the King of France, yet he commended them to Prince *Maurice* as nearer, that so keeping the Sedition a foot, he might, when time should serve, have aid from them, and enjoy the Valor of so many Courageous Men; whereupon, Pledges being delivered on both sides, they confirmed the Truce formerly made.

Then

Then they delivered up the Forts and Castles, and because they durst not rely upon the Town, against an Army approaching with Cannon, and other Artillery, the whole Bands, accompanied with their Wives and Children, marched away in the Covert and silence of the night, through places not infested by the Enemy.

They took up their Winter Quarters not far from *Andover*, being secure both in their Rear and Flanks, for that the City of *Brada*, *Hesden*, and *Gertruydenburg*, did inclose them, and were at all *Esclayes*, places of refuge for them when in danger; and in the *Interim*, for their more useful Company, places of abode. If they wanted either Victuals, or Provisions of War, they were supplied not otherwise than as Allies and Companions; And besides this, the Prince not despising the fame of liberality, even from Enemies, furnished them with *Artillery*, and added to them some Horse, that in their going abroad, they might more powerfully compell the *Country* to pay *Tribute*, or revenge themselves upon occasion by depopulations. Thus daring to do even the greatest acts of Hostility, yet not positively becoming *Renegades*, they made up as it were, a third party in the War.

Things being at this passe, shortly after, the *King of England* sent *Messengers* to them, promising their pay, impunity, and a free *Pass*-port; But when they understood by some intercepted *Letters*, that they should be circumvented and brought to punishment, a long time after they suspected all things: Nor were the only troubles in these parts, round about they were as unquiet: For not a few, both Horse and Foot-Souldiers, when they fled from *Verduennes* Camp, being pinched with the extreme want of all things, and helped by the People of *Cleves*, went beyond the *Rhine*, and so into the parts next unto *Brabant*. Besides the *Garrisons* of *Dunkirk*, and of *St. Amand*, and *Capelle* began to grow refractory to Commands: And to be brief, the very *Spaniards* themselves, but a little while before appeased, now again

want.

ving their prey, had begun a Sedition in the Town of *Se-
l*. And the causes of all these evils, proceeded from that
negligence, and ill husbandry in the disposing of mony,
that *Ernestus* was not able, to punish the meanest offen-
ces. As also that the *American Fleet* was shattered and
ruined by cross Winds, and retarding diseases, almost into
a total Condition, as the *Spaniard's Credit*: Moreover,
there were other damages they suffered by the *English*, who
though they were not so fortunate this year, in the South
part of *America*, yet in *Brasile*, their Voyage proved well,
having taken the Town of *Fernambuck*, where they got a
rich and wealthy and plentiful spoyle.

The following Winter, as it proved very dangerous by
the fierceness of the Frost and cold, and other wants, to the
Spaniards lying at the Siege of *Cambray*, so it gave opportu-
nity to *Ferdugo*, to make a Journey into *Frizeland*, and then
about *Groenigen*, wherein he only vented his malice, in
ravaging the Country, and burning the Villages. And now the
Country belonging to the *United States*, when he returned
out of *Germany*, lest he should often do the like, lay in the
way to hinder him. This Winter also, the *Hollanders* suffered
very great loss by inundations; for the Waters having been
long frozen up in the Rivers, as soon as it began to thaw the
flood thereof, together with the Snow dissolving, and falling
avalanche from the tops of the Hills, which was much in-
creased by great Rains, made both the *Mass* and the *Rhine*
flood over their Banks, and drown all the adjacent places,
making a great destruction of Cattel, and doing infinite da-
mage to the Country all about.

Towards the end of this Year, an uncertain expectation
had attracted the mindes and eyes of all People, concerning
the famous Judgment, while some think severity expedient, but
others by too strict and nice a scrutiny, blame every pretence
given to such as are studious in mischiefs.

Arnold

Arnold Dorpius, sometime *Governor* of *Zyricus*, when it was besieged by the *Spaniards*, and familiarly conversed with the *Prince of Aurage*, with whom he was very free in Discourse, so managed both his own, and the publick Affairs, that he was become the Object of Envy, from the common peoples vanity, in giving him the Name of *The Rich Dorpius*. He, at the Death of the *Prince of Aurage*, being laid aside, had received from *Maurinus*, lately returned from a *Danish* Embassy, so of the Covenants agreed upon with the *Dane*: It fortuned, that the Embassadors sent from *Erasmus* shortly after to the *Dane*, objected the same things, that there might be an Alliance with them, whereby the *Holanders* might be dispossessed of, at least disturbed in, their *Northerly Navigations*. Thus the Secret was known to have been disclosed by *Dorpius*: From hence a stronger suspicion was conceived of him, and while his Papers are perused over and over; at last, a Copy of the Letter is found, wherein he exhorted *Erasmus*, To put himself into a Disguise, and come to the *Hague*, where professing himself hitherto unconcerned in the War, but now the Author of Peace, he would strike a blow in his Enemies from the common people, and would win both to himself and to all Lovers of Concord Reputation and Trust. But what *Dorpius* constantly avetred, That this Letter was written for other purpose whatsoever, than to try his Wit, and exercise his Learning, he was freed from Prison, and confined to his own House; but afterwards, by giving in Pledges, he was discharged; the heat of the Judgment, as is usual in such cases, was shing by little and little: and, as in the power of many, he last he procured his Pardon. But *Maurinus*, who descended from the great and publick Session of the Judges of *Holland*, to be an Assistant in *Dort*, had made himself a part of the Commonwealth: being now degraded from that, was put afterwards to write the *Annals* of his Country, and had therefore an *Annual Pension*; not so much for any great hopes of his Last

ing, as that the Leisure of the Man; being of a great Ingenuity, and well Learned, but of an active and restless Spirit, seem to be employ'd in some Noble Affair.

The Fourth Book of the History of the Dutch AFFAIRES.

AT the beginning of the Year, *Erasmus* called a Council at *Brussels*, wherein he discoursed be- hind of the great Things he was wont to undertake; which at a glance, were excellent Matters, as if he had intend- ed to confirm their *Antient Laws and Customs*: But power was not given to the *States*, according to the Old Custom, of doing concerning the *Weal-publike*: Only the Bishops and Nobles were summon'd to meet, because the Nobility are an *Ornament*, and Authority to Sovereignty, and the Clergy are bound to be faithful by the Tye of Religion: The Commons are fidgeting and unconstant, being greedy of any kind of Power; and therefore, except in the case of Tributes, are not to be hearkned to. As soon as he had gravely declared the pains he had taken for the making Peace, in all other Things he desired their Counsel: Whereupon *Arschob*, a Noble-man of the first Rank in the *Netherlands*, is Reported to have made a Speech in these words:

Our Fore-Fathers, in precedent times, not in any manner by as- sum'd *Hatred*, but only because they were commanded, took up Arms against most valiant Nations, but chiefly the French; nor were they ever frightened at the Dangers, or started at the Evils that

that follow Warre, while they fought in Defence of their Princes
Grievances: And therefore they brought to pass the most difficult
Matters by their Valour and Wisdom. But now our Arms and
Counsels are at little use, our Miseries and Calamities are the
things wherewith we are best acquainted: And this War, which is
nick-named Civil, certainly cannot be believed such, especially in
the contemplation of the Mortall Fars between Fellow-Citizens
and Countrey-men: What then! Do we desire Peace? Certainly
it had behooved us long since to have cared for that, while these
things we would have had preserved, had yet remained in being,
before our Cities were burned, our Fields wasted, and a general
want had surprized our Families, which is like (for ought I see
otherwise) to lye upon them even to Famine: But if yet, after
thirty years continual slaughters, we have not deserved rest, or
at least free us from another War? Must we go against the
French? first let us secure our Backs from the Hollanders: Is
it so seem more convenient, so take Vengeance on those first, and then
safety is very necessary: let us not blow up our hopes with too much
self-conceitedness, lest while we court what belongs to another we
danger what is our own. But you will say, Peace is now offered to
us: I answer, It is so indeed: But, pray consider, what cause
the French? And how do the Hollanders desire
Peace? No surely, I rather believe, they are sensibly displeased
as well as ours, at their own sufferings. They cry out, let the For-
eign Soldiers be all sent away, for they are full of cruelty and
pride, and utterly discordant to our Customs, who have no sense of
Modesty, nor more Fidelity or Conscience, than to serve their oc-
casions: We say, these things are spoken maliciously, and by En-
emies; true: yet those things we suffer by them is little else, than
what Enemies use: Ask the people of Artois; Inquire of those of
Hainault, and other Provinces near thereby, to whom the Proprietors
impute the Dearth of such Fertile Countries: They will tell you,
certainly, the French took away a little, but the Spaniards took
more of all; and the like may be said of all other Forreigners, who

they disagree among themselves, yet unite to ruin the *Netherlanders*. Thus under the Names of War and Sedition, we make a Prey; but the Injury done to us, leaves not off here, we must be delivered to the Rule of Forreigners; so stupid are our selves accounted by them, while our voluntary patience makes us become their Laughing-stock; whose Lusts and Pleasures they still prevail above our Complaints, and it be thought we encourage wickedness, by conniving at it, we shall at last be forced to do that, which the necessity thereof will sufficiently excuse both to the Christian World, and to our Sovereign the best of Kings.

While he was yet speaking, the chief of every Degree came round about him with a general Consent, and rejoicing. That there was one found amongst them, that durst publish the Troubles of their Minds. But the Spaniards were enraged against him with Fury; for divers of them were so set on: *Fountain* had avoided to be at the Assembly, because he was too great to be preferred before *Aveschoot*; and his great real potency, that he would not slight the appearances thereof. I have observed, this very *Aveschoot*, through all the terms of this War, to have adhered to the Spaniards with good-will of heart, being such, as bearing an unsported fidelity to his Prince, yet would not make his Honour subservient to the Lusts and Pride of Strangers; and being sensible of his own Authority, was accustomed ever to use his freedom without check, mocking at the King's Ministers, because their Arrogance was hated by all, but himself was never feared beyond words: Wherefore now secured, by the firmness of his old Age, he cast out those Words, which were looked upon as Oracles, so highly did they please the Peoples minds: Without doubt, the *Netherlander's* Hatred to the Spaniards, was never greater, since the Peace made at *Compiègne*; and some believed, that the *Hollanders*, as much as they could, heighthen'd it, if as formerly, under the old

Prince of *Auranga*: So now the Government was not in many hands, but one Single Person managed the whole Frame of Authority, and all the Secrets of Leagues and Amity. The too great power of the *Spaniards*, and the Reciprocal Hatred for the difference of their several Customs, were the first causes that inflamed the *Neiberlander's* miseries. *Enam* given much to sleep and gluttony; and also, being taken in the very act of *Adultery* at *Antwerp*, was Reported to have very narrowly escaped Ruine. *Stephen Barra* was a Man of a more approved Ingenuity and Diligence, but all his good Qualities were sullied by Pride; which also was the cause of an irreconcilable difference between him and *Charles Mansfeld*, inasmuch that *Charles* had very high ill designs upon him: And the *Spanish* Soldiers took hold of this Pretext, to cry out, *They would be commanded by no other Officers, than those of their own Nation*. *Christopher More* was a good Counsellour, and together with *Idiaques*, ruled Spain; but he usurped also the Right of Domestick Power: Yet *Didacus* there a man of so bold a Spirit, that he complained to the King's *Letters*, of the small Authority the *Spaniards* had with *England*, which he supposed the chief cause of all the present evils: *Taxis* was more subtle to pry into Dangers, and was perwade to win the *Neiberlandish* Nobles, with great Promises of Honour; but to keep the ordering of the King's Treasure still in the hands of the *Spaniards*, watching as with a private Knot, tie unto himself all other Matters.

Ernestus having heard out *Archobis*, and being in his own Nature full of delay; and knowing that he could by no means best prevent their Violence, answer'd, *He would advise with the King, to whom he would also be an Intercessor, in obtaining such things as related to the Peace*. This hope improved their Minds, although their Evils were not yet removed: For after both the Kings of *Spain* and *France* had proclaimed War, the lesser Towns of *Lutzenburg* being possessed, which

could not resist the Storm; the Count de Bulloin wasted all about, hay, and ranged even to places far distant with Fire and Sword: But yet the Enemy met with four Troops belonging to Philip of Nassau, which they either killed, or put to flight, being circumvented by Ambushes, and the flowing of the Rivers; and afterwards, in a greater sort of Honor, the Victors prosecuted their good Fortune: against the more potent Cities. Policy was rather used than Force, yet the Success was not therefore answerable: There was Chance, which really might have increased more Parties in the War, and made it break out in all the Borders, if there had not been more difficulty in keeping, than acquiring; of which this is compassed often by Boldness and Temerity, but must be maintained with Care, and many excellent Factors. Hoy is a Town of the Bishoprick of Liege, which Authors believe to be the Remains of a greater, and more Cities spoiled of old by the Incursions of the Barbarians, and the Tradition persuades this, from the running of the River through it, which a Stream breaks into, that runs with more violence, than scapinsels of Water maketh shew of. This Brook gives Name to the place: The Soil that is about it, is very rugged by reason of Iron Mines, and answers to the Nature of the People: It hath an Arched Bridge, on the rising Bank, on the right side, is over-looked by a large Castle, seated upon a little Hill: It is a choice place of Residence for the Bishops, in regard of its pleasantness; and not difficult to be Assaulted, because of its steep Ascent. But while it was assured, both by Peace and Right, those few that were in Garrison, and spent their time in Riot and Idleness, and did their Souldiery Duty as a Work of Supererogation: and by the like neglect all the Buildings Erected upon the Rock, were equal to the Foundation of the Castle. One of these Houses, by the consent of the Owner, Heraugier, the Governor of such Stratagems, who was Governour of Breda, by him taken, commanded to be fill'd with Thirty Souldiers,

who, in the Night, by the help of the Window and Ladders, going out, and first using silence, then by continual beating of Drums and Shouting, alarming the Prospect, they took the *Keepers* of the Castle, and bound them; in help of whom, while it was yet but the Dawning of the Day, their Captain came with six hundred Horse, and one Thousand five hundred Foot: But the Townsmen, though at the beginning of the Tumult, they ran to their Arms, when they saw many Souldiers at their Gates, and others over their heads, affrighted with that double *Terrour*, losing their Courage, they submitted. Then *Heranger*, placing therein a Garrison, sent his Horse abroad into the Fields, and the Count within the *Mans*, which were subject to the *Spaniards*, to collect *Tribute*. This Exploit of War, committed against a Prince who was at Peace, and however he did not affect the *Hollanders*, yet in regard there had been no Hostility declared against him, according to the Custom of War, might with more facility be answer'd to the *Spaniards*, than excus'd to him. Nor was it altogether unlike that of *Bonn* and *Bonn*, which being formerly taken in War, should be retained now that the whole *Archbishoprick* of *Cölen* was in peace. When therefore *Bojoarius*, the Bishop of *Leige* and *Cölen*, was sent to examine the matter, and it was answer'd by the *States*, That it was rather out of present Necessity, than a Right they claimed; neither would they do any Damage to the Government, or Subjects; but only having taken a Town from the publick Enemy, they were ready to restore it, when Arms were laid down on both sides: And that *Bojoarius* did not deal justly with them in suffering the *Spaniard* to enjoy it; and thereupon the Conditions were refused, wherewith they were solicited to Reason on, being in themselves very reasonable, but that the convenience of the place perswaded the contrary; for that Castle was a great Safeguard to their Journey, that the *Holland* and *French* Forces might the more securely meet; and in that Town they intended to place those *Italians*, which had formerly deserted the War, long

from the Borders of Holland, and in a rich Country, where
they have their fill of Plunder.

As soon as the Bishop saw himself slighted, or at least de-
layed with Procrastination, gathering together some New
Soldiers, whereto were added fifteen hundred Foot, seven
hundred Horse, and fifteen pieces of Artillery, under the
leadership of Lamot, he besieged the place on both sides; for
the King's Commanders voluntarily gave their Assistance,
their Interest being no less concerned, than the Bishops, lest
the *Hollanders* should come to possess all the parts
of the *Meuse*, and so connect the Country: Nor did the
Bishop want an honest pretence, because the Country of
Louvain was fiduciary to the Princes of *Brabant*, by severall
Treaties of *Philip Duke of Burgundy*, and *Philip the First of*
France. The Town was easily gained by Scaling Ladders,
and Breaches, for it was but meanly fortified, and all in it,
excepted, were slain. The greatest part fled into the
neighbouring Castle. But from the next Hill, which the *Hol-*
landers had neglected to possess, being higher than the Foun-
tains of the Castle, it was sorely batter'd, and below it was
mined: For there was present a great Number of the
French Inhabitants, who, being accusom'd to dig for *Metal*
in the Iron Mines, were very skillful in the Art of undermi-

ning. *Stratagem* judged, that the *Garrison* might have held the
place longer; and with the hopes thereof, he had gather'd
more Forces for their Relief: But fearing, at length, lest
his Journey should be hindred, by the overflowings of the
River, although there were in the Castle Subterfuges and
Secrets, to prevent the intraging of the Enemy, at the Siege
the Castle was surrendred, being observed by many, that he
was better at suddain Enterprizes, than the patient enduring
of tedious Hazard: He complained, That the Succours pro-
mised both from the *French General*, and the *Italians at Siehem*,
had fell short of his hopes, in answering the Event, and that the

Wall where in they put their greatest trust for defence, namely, it was supposed solid, but made up of two Walls, which gap'd in the middle, and that the innermost parts of the Castle, were the Enemies Battery, laid quite open. The Soldiers that march'd out, that they might not be abused by the Bishop's men, were protected by the Spanish Commanders, with so much honour, that some of them drew their Swords for their Enemies against their Companions in Arms: For *Herangier* had Covenanted with them, not immeritedly fearing, lest the Law of Arms should not be observed by the *Leigens*: The Bishop was not content to have punish'd those, whom he thought guilty of the Stratagem, but he took from the City its Liberty, as suspecting it to be unfaithful to him: Nor did he leave off to seek Revenge against *Herangier* himself, obiding to him Cowardlineis, and sending a Transcript of his Letters to the States, wherein he had irreverently spoken against them.

Prince *Maurice*, and such as with him were conscious to the taking of *Hoye*, defended him chiefly among the rest, being thus brought in question: The possession of this *Franck* City was not kept long, it being regained the 4th day after it was taken; and the benefit of the Fact was lost, though the Envy thereof remained: And by chance it had hapned, that the same day, wherein after wards a Messenger arriv'd with the News of the Rendition of the place, contrary to men's Expectation; the States believing the strength and security of the place, had given a rough Answer to the Bishop's Legate, to wit, That they would deliver *Hoye*, when the Enemy surrendred *Berck*. But the Spaniards added to the possession of *Berck*, that also of *Hoye*, and when they once had it, kept it, until their Wages were paid, and the Enemy remov'd from those parts, and then they thought they might with safety enough deliver it.

Herein *Philip* sought the Fame of Piety, protesting, That he would rather bestow out of his own, upon the Church of *Leigens*

in the Low-Countries, then that he would, under any name whatsoever, take ought away that was its proper right. Perhapp'd of them that marched out of *Hoye* with *Hesperi*, were slain by fourscore Horse of the Enemies, while they laden with prey, and too coverous to preserve the prey, they hindred themselves; In like manner, were they punished, who going out of the Garrisons in *Over-Issell* under the Territory of *Munster*, were in the night by the enemy surprized.

Among all these Affairs, King *Henry*, that he might continue the Enemy lying about *Picardy*, to look to his own business at home, commanded his Generall the Count *de Bulloigne*, to raise an Army as he could make, to enter into that Country which obeyeth the *Spaniard*, by the name of a County, taking opportunity, from the conveniency thereof, because there was the greatest passage for Traffique, both into *Italy* and *Germany*: The first Onsets were very violent, with great terrour taking the Towns, and killing every where all such as came to resist, which, at the best, made but tumultuary croud of the People of that Country, who had not, through the whole course of their lives, known what War was, so that it might rather be termed a Butchery, or Massacre, than a War or Fight. Yet did not all this make the *Spaniard* remove his Forces out of *France*, towards the *Netherlands*: but upon knowledge of the danger, *Velasco*, Constable of *Castile*, (which is an hereditary name of dignity) who then governed, *Millayne*, for the *Spaniard*, with a select number of Horse and Foot, drawn out of the *Travlers* Garrisons, marched over those Mountains of *Alpes*, in the deep of Winter, while their tops were covered with Snow, and in the passage took some Cities, resting at the River *Saone*, where staying for a great Recruit of Horse, and other choyce Souldiers of *Germany*, and *Spoleto* in *Italy*, and hereby giving no opportunity of fight, the *French* Forces began to moulder away.

Among these hazards, and flying Messengers, *Erasmus*'s sickness grown more violent by the Winter weather, began to get the upper hand, and besides, he knew he had incurred the *Spaniards* hatred, yet had not given any satisfaction to the *Netherlanders*, and that his Enemies accused him to the King, as a guilt stuck upon him, as well his endeavours in War as Peace, with the thoughts whereof, his grief increased, that soon after worn away with a lingering Fever of Flux of blood he dyed. His death was suspected, as it is generally of all Princes, but was without any troubles or emotions attending it, the hope of peace subjecting the mind and the tedious labour of a multiplied War, employing the rest. The *Physicians* looking with great circumspection, on the true cause of his death, upon the dissection of his Body, delivered their Opinions, *That there was a Worm in his Body then living, which gnawed all the parts lying near it.*

The *Vacant Government* was by *Philip's* Orders, supplied by the *Senate*: among whom, the chief management of War and Peace, and all other business Foreign and Domestic, rested in *Fontayne* by the name of *President*; for *Erasmus*, a little before his death, had by writing, committed that charge to him *pro tempore*, by the advice of the other *Spaniards*, and shortly after, the King confirmed it. Nor was he unfit for so great a place of Honour, although otherwise vicious enough, as the Affairs of the *Netherlands* managed by his care, witnessed, as well as those of other places. But the *Low-Country Noblemen*, that could hardly bear him while his power was far less, and but derivative from that of another, now received and carried with envy and disdain, the Ensigns of Honour, which they took from his hand; crying out, that certainly, their Fore-fathers were *Prophets*, when speaking of this their own Country, they foretold, that they should in time become a *Province* to the *Spaniard*, That after *Alva*, and *Requesens*, or which is later, *Roda* for a short time, and as it were for a shew, they had their own Laws, but the same

presence of the *Spaniard* quickly returned: That now the whole power of peace was in strangers, who being equally treated with their former Lords, yet came not near to them in Honour and Dignity.

That every one murmured to himself, and some of the more courageous stuck not to speak out to others, viz. That it was very grievous and ignominious to all people, to be subject to strangers: nor is the hatred of Kings so vain, that when the Governments of many several people is to be bestowed, they will give to others the Command of them, who are unwilling to be in servitude. Therefore *Charles Mansfeldt*, out of a sense of Military Honour, finding himself to have been taken notice of with an eye of Enmity (as one who had contended first with the Duke of *Parma*, then with *Ibarrá*, and now with *Pontayne*,) and that he was laid aside under the pretence of Honour; with those Regiments which *Philip* sent to the *Emperour*, he departed to fight against the *Turk*, who at that time grew very potent in *Hungary*. There being next of all to *Matthias*, who was General of his Brothers Army, he no longer used his ancient Valour and Policy, against the well-skilled Enemy, before among all the dangers of War, he was taken away by sickness. But Duke *Arcebat*, that the *Netherlanders* might never see him inferiour to *Pontayne*, voluntarily exiled himself to *Venice*, protesting he went thither, where he would dye free, and where *Pontayne* should have nothing to do with the more happy People, because the *German* Souldiers, that kept *Bruxells*, making a small disturbance, he had endeavoured wholly to possess the City by some Regiments of his own Countrey men.

This was odious to all, so that now the tumults of others were not more feared, than the modesty of the *Spanish* Souldiers: And the rest of the Cities were possessed with the same fear: Hence grew a double distemper, from these complaining that they were excluded, from the others, that they were almost detrudd; however, upon this occasion, the
Fields

Fields were harassed by both. Whereupon, when a new misery was added to the calamity of the former year, and with the very fear of want, the price of Victuals was inflated, the common people took to themselves such liberty, as is proper to poverty, and thereby vented their griefs and sufferings. This made the mindes of all people of all degrees, more inclinable to peace, the desire whereof had been first inflamed by the hopes of it given them by *Erasmus*: nor was *Franco* any longer able, by vain experiments, to resist the current of their resolved desires. The Family of *Croy*, was the most earnest of all in labouring for peace, of which Family, the *Marquess of Haute*, sent Letters to *James Malory*, of allyed to their Stock, but then of great Eminency in *Prince Maurice's* Court, which were the very Index of his affection, and being by *Malory* shewed the *Prince*, and by the *Prince* to the chiefeest of the *States*, *Malory* was commanded to write back to the *Marquess*, that there would be hopes of peace conditionally, if the *Spanish* Souldiers going out, not onely of the bowels of the *Netherlands*, but *Luttenburg* also, and *Burgundy*, would remove from them all cause of fear, whereto the *Marquess* returning a reply, but passing by the whole demand in silence therein, *Malory* was again commanded to write to him, that there might be means of agreement and Concord between the *United States*, and the *States* of the other *Provinces*, he found out, but that they would have no Treaty with the *Spaniards*. Therefore an Embassy was prepared to be sent to *Prince Maurice*, in the name of the *Belgick Noblemen* (for at this time, *Araschot* was not retired to *Venice*) whereby they desired him to be just and favourable to their allyed Nobilities.

To this Treaty, came *Theodorick Liesveldt*, sometimes *Chancellor* of *Brabant*, when *Franco de Valois* held the Government, together with *Masius* and *Hartys*, all wise men and well skilled in the prudent manage of Affairs.

The Prince was then at Middleburg in Zeland, to whom being brought, they spoke seriously to him, to the effect following.

When first the foreign Souldiers had made a prey upon the Netherlands, by means of intestine discords, the Senate, who then had the Authority, determined that civill strife, and made the League to a League: Nor will it be any difficulty for them, as they have agreed among themselves, to free their Country from foreign Arms: Not long after that first League, many things intervened by the fault of both sides: or else by the wrath of the Divine Providence, which hindered the well-nigh cured wound, to heal and grow well as it should; but rather made it worse than before: At this time, the same Senate sits at the Helm of Government, and being wearied out with the same, or greater Calamities, do intreat for an end thereof from their Neighbours, and they might be confident, the Senate would not be willing to give them satisfaction, and this they might expect with more reason, because the Covenants were desired of them, while they were prosperous, and in a flourishing condition. That they had no doubt, but Prince Maurice, where such a thing may be with Honour, would rather chuse to leave his fortune, than by trying to force it to forsake him, in regard there is no thing so much possessed by a wise man, as long prosperity. In good reason therefore, they hoped, they came to advise with his Highness, who had among many of the most famous Souldiers, to preserve intire his own Honour: That he had many great Governments, and plenty of all other things, wherewith to content the greatness of his mind; That the Family of Nassau, was not onely famous for Arms, but had been generally renowned for other excellent Endowments of Peace: That it was their hope, he would embrace those Honours which should be attended by joy of all, and the teares of none, and that he would rather expect obedience from the Princes of the same blood, then compell any to execrate his Greatness. But if he was best pleased with such Honour, as was gotten with the expence of sweat and blood, there were honourable Warres, wherein he might advance

advance his Standard against the Enemies of the name of Christ, so would his Prudence and Valour, arrive to that height of glory, as for the greatness and Honour of the Adventure, should exceed the ambition of the present Age.

To which Prince Maurice, a few of the Deputies of the States being present, according to the usual Custom, made answer to this purpose. *Wishing to God*, that he might be happy, as to set an end to these civil discords, both for the benefit of the present Age and Posterity; That he would account it more glorious, than the Name of a Conquerour, or then any Triumphant Garland. If therefore now at last, they were truly sensible of the smart of the Spaniards injurious dealing, they should then have Courage suitable to their own Honour, and the greatness of their Ancestors; So it would come to passe, that Freemen with Freemen might make what Agreements they pleased; That by coming into the League of Union, they were not only vindicators of liberty, but would be Companions of Kings whose Authority they were now oppressed under; Nor would the dissimilitude of Religion, be any greater abstacle to Concord; than it is now in France; But it would not prescribe any rule to them therein, the Judgement of Religion being to be left to God, and the several Nations professing the same; Between the United Provinces, and the other parts of the Netherlands, there are many things common, as ancient Allyances, rights of consanguinity, and the Customs of the place: but between them and the King of Spain, all things were discordant and hostile, necessity continuing and increasing those things, which were begun at first, either to please his will or lust. That it was not possible for the United States, to enter into Articles with their Enemy, whom they were forced to abandon, and renounce for their King, and indeed, such Covenants would not be called a peace, but a yielding; The malice of that Tyrannizing people is implacable, and there is no question to be made, how he would use his power in peace, who stretcheth it so in time of War. That time, and the vicissitude of Affairs, would bring many things to passe, which were but vain to hope for at present: But how should they ever give con-

him, who thought it lawful to set to sale, the Heads of his
 Enemies: That they would not rip up old sores, or
 revive former transactions: since all men remem-
 bered the Father the Prince of Aurange, and himself.

When *Lievelde*, acknowledging himself to owe the Prince
 all Honour and respect, began further to say, that
 the *Netherlandish* Lords to him, neither they
 the *Spaniards*, were consenting to those Counsels. The
 King, forewarned of his intent, putting his hand into
 his bosom, he pulled out the Writings whereby *Pontane*
 gave him license to come, thus by an evident demonstration,
 saying specious words: Thus the Embassy was dismiss-
 ed, because they had not power of treating, unless in the
 King's Name: This form of new answer, was variously de-
 bated upon, not onely by the Tongues of the vulgar, but of
 the more prudent sort part; of whom, got both Honour and
 Wealth, by the War, and the other part wished for peace
 only, because they earnestly desired it.

The *Spaniards*, and such as followed them, thought it was
 a sufficient offence against the Majesty of the King, if he so
 soon the care was committed, since these disasters sitting
 under the Helm, were called to treat upon their own accounts,
 should pardon them: What was the Event, say they, of such
 Embassies to the Union, but onely to make them more intol-
 erably proud; for having but from mean success gotten con-
 fidence, they take the confidence, not onely themselves to shake
 off all Reverence and Obedience, but they instruct other Pro-
 vinces to do the like, to enter into Treaties, and do any thing
 without the King: yes, they should go again and hear the
 rebellious *Hollanders* proposing Laws, whereby they would
 make themselves Conquerours of King *Philip*: And if it
 were hitherto doubted, yet now certainly it was manifest,
 that they despised, nay hated Peace.

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And according to the Example of *Switzerland*, without any others would throw off their Allegiance to their Prince Government, that they might grasp within their own. There is but one kind of peace to be had with them, and that they must be compelled and beaten into by Arms, and certainly that would not be long about, if the *Netherlanders* have no less courage for duty and obedience, than is in the Union to maintain the contrary. But others, and they of the moderator sort, would by no means, this peace, so far as it should now be lost; for what marvel is it, say they, if the *Hollanders* had rather yield to the rest of their Brethren of the *Netherlands* than the King, whom they, considering themselves, of their guilt towards him, dread as a terrible revenger? That nothing was demanded contrary to Religion or Sovereignty, and the very particular concerning foreign Soldiers, was consonant to the desires of all, and as well advantageous to the War, as necessary for the Peace. That the Ambassadors might be appointed, and instructed by the Kings Order, whose name forever was used in the sending them, and that the *Netherlanders* Fidelity was not so unshaken, as to suppose they would annihilate that Power by Articles, for which they had so long maintained a War. That the Prince might far better connive at, and bear many things, than absolutely grant them. And if at last, expectation was not answered, it was lawful for the King to recede a little from the extremity of right for publick advantage; That he ought to cast an Eye of pity upon their misery, and how many people lay even at the last gasp ready to expire. That the fortune of the War had been various, which had been weighed on this side by doing, on the other by suffering damage. Our Enemies have Pastures, Manufactures, and the Fishing Trade, to maintain their vast number.

And besides, what is infinitely more than that, not only Rivers and great floods, besides their efflux, and return thither as to their Head; but the boundless Ocean is traversed for advantage:

Hence is that multitude of Strangers; and that whole Nation are included with their narrow bounds. They who truly know them, say, 'tis necessary for them to have War. On the other side of the *Hispaniolized Netherlands*, are ridges of the Stock of their Fields, have a dry shore, and dangerous to Shipping: yet are their burdens, and the scarcity of all things, hardly to be remedied, or made amends for by any gain. Moreover, all places are made wast and exhausted, and whatever remains, is never free from discord and trouble.

It might be disputed indeed, whether Peace can be made; but needs not be questioned as to War. At last, after this, there was another fear added, lest the People of the United Provinces, vexed with the endless toyl of their misfortune, should choose a new Prince, wherein 'twas uncertain, whether they would admit a foreign Power, or content themselves with the Vertues and Valour of some Domestick; there was yet some hope, that a vacancy in the Commonwealth should not be admitted; but if they once pitched upon a Prince, the War would either be inexplicable, or worse, if ever gotten, attained with loss and infamy.

In these varieties of Judgment and Discourses, some there were, that applauded a Truce, averring, That the Hollander's affairs stood hitherto upright, by their Unanimity and Concord; and that their Concord was supported by Fear: These being removed, the Vices of Equality would quickly succeed, and emulation of Cities, which they could hardly restrain, even against all the dangers of War. In the interim, with people covetous of Wealth, there must be a Traffick of Minds; and the great ones being corrupted, the Commons (according to their Nature) beginning once to love, would quickly cease to hate: Neither would they be willingly brought under the Burthen and Hazards of War again, if they were but once mollified by the immunity of some small time of peace: In brief, the Word would quickly pass for Kings: The Hollanders being thus brought under, among whom is the
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chief strength, Courage and obstinacy: It will be easy for him to determine, in what manner to order his Forces against the ravaged and torn Body of France, and the Womankind Kingdom of Brittain, when that should only support the War with confusion, Wealth, and this fight only for fear.

This Counsel was confirmed by Lipsius, with many examples out of ancient History. However, Taxis believed the greatest damage would accrue to the Netherlands, were the Kings obedience by a Truce. Thus in variety of Opinions, all things were destined otherwise than they happened, according to the Custom of Fortune; who being a great enemy to humane Prudence, for the most part keepeth secret future Events: But lest the People, all their hopes of Peace being utterly cut off, should run into Sedition, Rumours were scattered abroad; that the Treaty was prolonged; that the Authority of Foreign Princes might intervene. And for that purpose, the Emperour sent Letters soon after, subscribed to the States of Holland, which they received, and read in their General Assembly, wherein they returned the Answer. That they wished for Peace with their Neighbours; but had often declared why they could have no peace with the Spaniards: nor had any thing happened; which should constrain to alter their mind. unless after the Kings sending possession and fines to destroy them, they should therefore give credit to the report of such monstrous and barbarous actions: And together with these Letters, they sent others to the Emperour, written by Taxis to Philip, and by them intercepted, wherein as he confessed it necessary for the Netherland States, to make a Campaign with the United States, as it were, upon equal terms, so that he would refer all things to Fontaynes pleasure, setting forth many Evasions, and first of a dissuading, that neither the Spanish Souldiers should be sent away, nor the Germans admitted as Moderators of Peace.

In these parts this year, Philip Count Hohenlo, and Georg Eberhard, Count Solmes, were solemnly married, and their

was celebrated, with Playes, Feasting, and publick
 Games. *Her husband's* Wife was *Mary*; *Count Solmes's*, *Sabina*;
 the Daughter of *Lamoral Count Egmont*, that of the
House of Orange, both famous and well approved Marches;
 as well in regard of the great Merits of the Bridegrooms, as
 of the great Birth and Nobility of the Brides, both whose
 Names, as was yet fresh in memory, became Sacrifices for
 the Liberty of their Country.

Among all the mischiefs of Civil War, this War one; that
 of loss of money was mightily enhanced, and every Nation
 discovered the use of raising the same, even into a matter
 of Law; which some were of Opinion, to restore to an
 old Standard, according to the Trades and Commodities
 of the Provinces. But of a sudden, even they who forbore that
 seditious licentiousness, failed and gave over the attempt.
 There remain strong Arguments of an unsettled Society;
 more just the Event, than their consent and vanquished
 Interest among themselves. And besides, some Commo-
 ners among their Neighbours, had made them attentive;
 that lest they were shut out by right, even loved to be in-
 volved in a Neighbouring War, and making factions; for
 the *Spaniards* had openly declared their mindes and design;
 in claiming the Principalities of *Cleves* and *Juilliers*, as by
 the Minority and tender age of the former Prince, so by the
 minority of his Son and Successor. The Government hereof,
 distracted at on the one side by the Wife, a Woman of
 very insolent and shameless Conditions of the Family of
Bavaria, and supported by the *Austrian* greatness: On the
 other side, by some Noblemen of the Country of *Germany*, as
 the Princes of *Brandenburg* and *Newburg*, who by their
 Wives, the Sisters of the Duke, took to themselves, the hope
 of so great an Inheritance; but altogether without the Em-
 perours knowledge or consent, who when a male line is ex-
 tinct, supposeth the right of bestowing those Principalities to
 be now reverted to him.

These latter were favour'd by all the *Protestants* in those Regions, and by some *Catholicks* also, who feared the *Austrian Families* Pride, ever grievous to the Subjects, besides the Burthens of *Tributes*, with other *Charges*. These therefore using the Name of the *States* of *Frislanders* and *Monts*, they free the Duke, who had been so inhumanely kept and bind, that the grief thereof was believed to be no small cause of increasing his Disease, and removed the Wife from her Guardianship, as one that endeavour'd mischief: In short, Count *Stuartzenburg*, hitherto a Follower of the *Spaniards*, was observed to Lift Souldiers in those *Quarters*, as go, as himself gave out, to the *Turkish Warre*; but others conceiv'd it was to strengthen the *Austrian Faction*, it not being probable, that Forces which were to be used in the support of *Hungary*, should be raised in the most distant part of *Germany*, as if they were purposely to be wasted and consumed by a long March, after they had long been in pay no purpose. But the *Reverence* of the *German Empire*, was only Obstacle that kept the Souldiers of *Holland* from compass, and restrained their *Inursions* into the *scattered* and unprovided Country. At this time, the *Elect* of *Brandenburgh*, began to seek the Friendship and Alliance of the *United States*. The same also did the Nobles of those Regions, desiring the Loan of a Sum of Money for a short time, which would soon and easily be paid, when they had done to themselves both the *Government* and *Treasury*. Some of the *Hollanders* would have speeded this; for by that means they should have peace with all those beyond the *Rhine*, and by the same Bond, their Armies and the *French* could quickly be joyned. Others, more prudently, averred, That to speake a pretence for War, ought not to be given to so potent an Enemy in those Dukedoms; That there come to take place not onely those who affect the *Spaniard* in *Cleves*, but the *Neighbouring Bishops* and *Priests* also, when of *Munich* would be as well wanting to those that craved help, as

themselves: nor could it possibly be defended by their Forces, being so far distant from them, and so scatter'd: Wherefore they must wait, till their Minds and Forces grew meet to undertake such a business.

At this time also, the City of *Emblen* had no less Troubles; for place situate beyond the River *Ems*, into whose Mouth runs a little Rivulet: It is part of that *Friezeland*, which contained the *Cauchi*, an intermingled and broken place, possessed part by the *Hollanders*, part by the *Danes*; whence that Region is now called *East-Friezeland*, because the ancient *Frizons* on this *Eemes*, lye against it towards the North. Their Nature and Customs, were like the rest of the Country; and, as to their Liberty, being left both by the *Kings*, and the *Emperours* of *Germany*, when they did not bear Rule, they were content with any kind of Governance. All publike Affairs were taken care of by Conventions of the people divided, and sometime in common of the whole Nation: Judgments were given by some; choice was well to their greater as in their lesser Assemblies: Among these, all such as possessed Lands or Farms were counted noble; and he who possessed most, had most honour, and for was onely accounted noble: But these, when they had fortified Castles, and strong Holds, became not onely to themselves, but to others, a Succour and Refuge, both in Domestick and Foreign Wars, yea, and kept always in readiness a standing Force to repell any Injuries that should be offer'd to

The Moderators of the Conventions and their Judges, who for their Defence against Factions, by sittle and sittle, either through the Discords or Carelessness of the People; drew to themselves what they could possible; and when sometimes the memory of their Liberty returned to their Thoughts, they would fall into Civil Broils among themselves, to be revenged one upon another. Among these, the lineage of *Grathes* became most notable by Marriages, Inheri-

stances, and injoyment of many Lands, which from Custom became a Jurisdiction: Thus, at first, the *Dorpes* of *Emden* were by him gotten, and afterwards growing more handy from others, he took the Government of the Town being yet but mean: From this Off-Spring *Ulderick*, in the year 1454, first drawing privily to him others of the nobler sort, and under-hand working upon the people, from the Emperor *Frederick*, he took upon him the Rule of all that Tract of Land, which is stretched from the *Eernes* to the River *Vuuser*, along by the Sea, by the Name of Earl, or Count, together with all Authority belonging thereto, as much as the *Frizon* Liberty would permit: And after ten years, he published certain Instruments in Writing, as Laws, but more contractedly than before, lest the Rights of others, who began within this parts to grow ambitious, and to get honour by the law means, should be damnified. He moderated his Government with so much Benignity, either leaving or granting many Things to the people of *Emden*, and many Things to the *Magistrates*; and his Son *Edsard*, by adding more, grew potent in the fidelity and love of his Subjects: that by their help he not onely hoped for the Dominion of *Graeningen*, and the Principality of the adjoining Country, but also enjoyed and held the same, until the *Saxons* Arms, the *Geldrian* Rebellion; and lastly, the *Austrian* Violence, invading all things beyond the *Eernes*, ejected and threw him out of all.

This man's Son, altogether unlike his Father, and so governing, that he himself needed to be govern'd by others, in short time left both his Life and Dominion. At which time when the Christian World began to be shaken with Dissensions about Religion, *Emden* following that Profession, which in other Countries was sought after with Fire and Sword, by the opportunity of the River, invited thither and maintained a great multitude of strangers, as well *Dutch*, *French* and *English*. The Lady *Anne* of *Oldenburg*, was the

Governess in the name of another *Edsard*, her Son, using with great Civility and Moderation the growing Principality and not according to the Custom of *German Princes*. She bore a great Reverence to the study of Religion and the laws, which she judged not so much a safeguard to Liberty, as Authority: By this place of Refuge, together with her mildness and sweet behaviour, it is almost incredible, how much this City increased, containing therein no less than six Thousand: Soon after this follow'd all the Vices usual predominant in a flourishing people; as among them *Pride* a *Luxury*, among the *Magistrates*, and those in *Authority*, *Envy* and *Emulation*: Nor was it yet come to the height of vice, so long as *John*, a younger Brother of *Edsard*, by counsel or fear, being of a mild nature, restrained his Brothers more furious Disposition: But *John* being dead, *Edsard* differing in Religion from the Townsmen (for he held the *Augustane Confession*, and the Town owned the Discipline of *Geneva*) began more and more to have in Suspicion the Townsmens Felicity: His Wife descended of the Royal Stock of *Sweden*, and a Regal Inclination increased the Difference; and, among other things, this was related as one cause, That she detained to her own use, some parcels of Household-stuff borrow'd of the Townsmen, under this pretence, that it exceeded the Rank of private men. Now by the Inttigations of those, who out of design of novelty, either flatter'd the Prince or People, a dangerous Contention arose, and came to that height, that the Earl interpreted the Assemblies and places of Meeting devoted to Religious Uses, Conventicles of Seditious persons; and with the Collections of Money, which the City made out of a pure intent of Charity to relieve the poor, he gave out, they designed to raise Force against him: But on the other side, a troublesome sort of Tumultuous persons crying out for Liberty, and (which is the most violent perswasive of all) Religion, being ignorant of all Civill Customs and Laws, only turbulent under that pretence of

Religion, oftentimes do pervert a good cause by ill managing. The unconquer'd Valour of their *Progenitors*, and the fresh and near Example of the *Hollanders* with the *Frisians* were mention'd : And what could they do more honourably, than to unite themselves into ancient Name and League of those most valiant Nations ? Now the Earl imposed Tributes and Burthens upon Merchandizes ; now he somnits Affairs, that he imposed Magistrates upon them of his own nomination : Hitherto the People's Rage and Fury, though fierce and obstinate, yet vented it self no other ways than in words ; but when they saw a Garrison in the Castle, they threw off both at once Shame and Delay ; and forthwith made a private person, their Leader run, to Arms ; they assault the Court, the Gates, and all other strong places in the City. Neither did they onely choose Collonels and Captains, but by the worst of Presidents, they set up new Magistrates, deposing them, who withdrew themselves from the Troubles in regard of the Oath taken to their Prince : The Keepers of the Castle were compelled, through Hunger, to desert the same ; and all things being thus forcibly seized, they immediately, without any Dispute, resolved to court the help of the United Provinces : Both Parties dispatch *Legates* to the *Hague*, to agree with the *States* : Those accused the rude and unruly multitude of Sedition, in whose Revenge and Example, the *States* were concerned, who flourish'd in Concord ; and if Authority should thus be despised by the Vulgar, it would be to the injury of all Superiours. These, on the contrary side, called to mind the Hatred of sincere Piety, violation of the Laws, unjust Taxations & a Dominion obtain'd by Arms and Faction ; as if they demanded of the *States*, Whether they thought such Things tollerable : And they humbly desired, That they would have compassion on their Associates, both in Religion and suffering : They added further, That the *Court* had endeavour'd the Friendship, both of the Pope, and King Philip, by whose assistance he would oppress their Liberty,

and recovering Possessions other where, deliver up the City to the Spaniard as a Gift. And they were well informed by Spies, that the Enemy placed the main strength of his War therein, if he could but attain the River, and well contrived Port, and indeed there is hardly any River more desirable, than that of the *Emme*, which running into the Bay of *Duylart*, divides the Territories of *Emden*, from the Jurisdiction of *Groningen*, and from the midst thereof, dischargeth it self into the Ocean with a large opening, capable of Ships of the greatest Burthen, and very safe by the interposition of several Islands; among which, its passage is somewhat incurvated; and this would make it easie for the Spaniard, to raise a new War in *Friesland*, and to set forth a Navy to Sea, which hitherto in these parts, he could never attain to.

The *United States*, who foresaw as well the Danger, as the Envy, if they should be resisted, dispatch'd away an Embassie with so much policy, as should neither cause the Earl to lay aside all fear of them, nor the People too confidently hope their Alliance: They commended Peace to both, and if it seem'd convenient, they might, according to Law, decide the matter; for their taking up Arms, was but a greater cause of Suspicion: That now they were Enemies to neither party, but if further Contentions did arise, they would declare themselves such, in particular, to them that began the War: But when News was hastned by speedy *Messengers*, relating, That *Enno*, the Son of *Edsard*, had levied Souldiers, and was fortifying *Port-Knocken*, over against *Delphexyle*, straightway the number of Ships, which were want to guard the *Emme*, was increased, and a Regiment of *Frisons* commanded to march toward the City for the defence thereof, and to drive from the Bank those new Undertakers; And the City also overjoy'd, as if thereby secure, deliver'd both it self, and its Fortunes, to the protection and warlike defence of the *United Provinces*: Neither, at that time, did any thing advantage *Edsard*, more than to make them *Arbitrators* of the Quarrel,

by whose power all things were managed. He offer'd them also a League and Alliance in Arms, fearing lest the City might anticipate him of that favour. But it will not be amiss to commemorate what manner of peace the *Arbiters* sent by the *States* to *Delphazle* made, and the chief Heads or *Articles* thereof; That as they judg'd in the Affairs of *Embassy*, so Posterity may judge of them. The Heads of the said *Agreement* were these:

That Religion should not be a Net for any one; That within the City, the same Religious Rites should be us'd as were accustomed; but without the City, the Earl was at liberty to use his own Religion; That in all Religious Meetings, only matters of Divinity should be handled, some one super-intending the same, if the Senate please to nominate him, as is usual in the *Psalteries*, and among the *Hollanders*, that under pretence thereof, no disturbance might be made; That the said Religious Assemblies, should nominate and ordain all Ministers for Preaching, but the Prince's approbation to be required therein; that the Possessions belonging late to Religious persons, should be equally divided between the Earl and the People; That four of the *Burgomasters*, and nine of the chief Assistants by Lot, should have the chief Authority, the other by order every year being changed and altered, none continuing in power above two years, lest they seek to gain the Sovereignty; That the Senate should name two in the places of any departing, if which the Earl to choose one, although he us'd before, according to his own will, to create what Magistrates he pleas'd; That all business, either relating to the City or Sea, should be order'd by these: As the incorporating the City into *Guilds* and *Fraternities* for the better distinguishing the people, the keeping the Keys of the Gates, and giving the Watch word to the *Guards*: They had likewise the power of giving Judgment in Civil Affairs; as also to punish with Death, as they saw cause: They that were guilty of more heinous Crimes, being Strangers, were punished by judges appointed by the Prince; That the Senate it self (which consist

should, by its own choice and suffrages, supply it
 and such as were admitted into honourable places, should
 take an Oath of Allegiance to the Prince, and likewise for the
 Administration of Justice in the City; That such Laws and
 Ordinances should be confirmed only, as were agreeable with the an-
 cient and municipal Law, so as every City separably might have
 the ordering of its own Revenues: But Falder being a new City
 added to the old, and so more conformable in their Duty to the
 Earl, should, for the future, enjoy the same Priviledges with
 Embden, to take off all occasion of future Discord; And that
 the Citizens might be the better assured of Pardon, the Earl should
 take away the threatening Terror of his Castle, and deliver it to
 the City, and for the future should not keep them in awe by Forts
 built upon the Banks of the River, such as came thither with
 Merchandize: For all which Concessions of the Prince, the
 City would make to him a Compensation, with a great Summe of
 Money.

This were the People's Desires gratified by Securi-
 ty, and the Prince's by Greatness: Nor did the Co-
 venants displease either, though yet they were found
 fault with by malicious and upstart People; However,
 it was concluded, That all future Earls and Magistrates
 should swear to this Peace.

Things there being in this manner settled, The States ad-
 vis'd the Earl, that he would mollifie and sweeten all jealou-
 sies and offences with clemency, lest the Spaniard esteeming
 a counterfeit friendship, before a reall fidelity, should at
 once compel him to treacherous actions, and engage him in
 a War with his Neighbours; The Citizens of Embden like-
 wise, were commanded to apply their endeavours to the pat-
 tern of their Neighbours, and not by casting off their obedi-
 ence, to encrease their miseries; That a civil War was well
 redeemed with a little serviitude; for even they themselves
 (the

(the *States*) have suffered and born the more furious nature of their Princes, so long as foreign Tyranny was kept away. Hereupon, the Souldiers on both sides being disbanded, quietness might rather be said restored than concord; for the wound of dissension was not so perfectly cured, but that as it often festered anew, so it was fain to seek fresh Remedies.

This year, and the subsequent time for a while, all the Affairs of the United Provinces to War, proved unsuccessful, as if by a short contempt of their poyant fortune: The whole Spring, and part of the Summer, was spent by them in idleness, only some few of their Souldiers warring in *France*; but their own discords hindered the motions of their Forces in other places, though often called upon by *Buzenual*, for Succour. For the *Frisian* Cities, being malicious to the Countryman, and by the rustick likewise hated, complained, that the burthens common to them both, were not faithfully distributed, for that many things of great profit in the Country, were either partially remitted, or totally omitted. And they of *Zeland*, did very sharply quarrel with the *Hollanders*, concerning the Customs for exported Merchandise, and by this means, a long time deferred to pay their Tribute money into the Treasury of the Union: They also of *Geldres* and *Over-Issel*, excusing themselves by poverty, growing from the Enemies continual incursions, at last the *Hollanders* too, who bear at least two third parts of the common charge of the League, took example, either to imitate or revenge the humour: For if men follow after their profit, not more out of necessity, than Wisdom or Policy, while the Enemies Affairs were very unprosperous, and themselves had most advantageous Trading, and the *French* War raging, that time certainly, called for their more vigorous endeavours, and not to cast off all to a season, when the people being more impoverished, must, through the mercies of unprosperous events, yet run the hazards, and bear the burthen and heat of the day.

Neither

Neither did the successes in *Lutzenburg*, answer expectation: for though several Forts and Castles were assaulted and taken, yet neither was the Enemy much damaged, or the Victors any thing advantaged thereby. But after King *Henry* by making a great Progress in *Burgundy*, had drawn either the Forces of his Kingdom, the Earl of *Bulloyns* Forces being exhausted, who by an ostentous defiance, had brought the *Spanish* Army against him, he was not onely not able to perform his threats, but also unable to defend himself, he saw the *French* Borders pillaged, himself being only able to assist them with a helpless and sorrowful look; By the infirmness whereof, and because the Souldiers began to grow insolent, through hunger and thirst, having nothing but water to drink, *Philip* of *Nassau*, much against the Earl of *Bulloyns* will, made hast to return, but by a contrary way to that, he went out, for that the Enemy had blocked up. But the Fort being commanded to go back, by the way where *France* is encompassed by the Sea, that so they might sail into *Holland*, himself with the Horse came into *Gelderland*, through *Germany*. And *Fontayne*, by how much he held a spited Government, by so much he the more earnestly studied, that his Adversaries might have no cause to accuse him for any thing besides his greatness; His chief care was for the Souldiers, to strengthen the old, and to recruit them with a new Militia, and well knowing the Revolt of the *Italians*, and whatever miseries followed thereupon, was accounted his fault, for the mitigating the envy he had contracted, he supposed to reduce them to obedience, would be his readiest way: wherefore hastning the conclusion of the Agreements, begun by *Synessau*, but interrupted and broke off by his death, in regard monies did not yet arrive, he gave them pay from day to day, and pledges for performance of what was agreed; Notwithstanding which, being Commanded to take possession of *Tillemont*, they refused to follow their Colours: yet they made an advantage of it, averting the use of those Souldiers, which

which they themselves wanted, even against the Enemy; and shortly after, divided them, some under new Officers, others into Garrisons.

The King of Spain's Forces were hardly at any time greater, or more numerous than now, yet being far dispersed in several parts, were never able to compass any great matter; In *Burgundy*, under *Velasquez*, was a strong Army: In the Confines of *Artois* and *Picardy*, after the departure of *Charles Mansfield Varambous* was quartered, to besiege *Cambray*, and by making excursions into *France*, to revenge *Rapine* by *Rapine*. *Mondragon* attended Prince *Maurice*, to observe his motions, and in time to meet or prevent him.

In this lying about *Hulst*, there were four thousand Armed men, *Vordago* with six thousand Foot, and fifteen hundred Horse, being Commanded, drew near to *Fert*, to drive the Earl of *Bullem*, who had less Forces, out of *Lutzenburg*, and to recover the Towns by him taken.

The Walls of this Town of *Fert*, by continual Batteries, and breaches, lay open, yet a great power of the *French*, being sent to help the Town by a fierce and violent Assault, did repress and beat off the Besiegers; But this Town thus freed from the Siege, being soon after by accident, for the greatest part burned and spoiled by Gunpowder, by the Earl of *Bullem* himself, was dismantled and ungarrisoned. In the interim, *Vordago* turning his strength against weaker places, after a few Assaults, by a growing Disease, and the accomplishment of his Fate, dyeth, report also being both doubtful and suspicious about his death: for he merited a name of Honour, although in the unsuccessful Government of *Friesland*, as rather wanting opportunity and strength, than Valour and Industry. He was faithful to the height of Religion, and eloquent beyond the mode of a Soldier; His nature was full of urbanity, and thereby easily distinguished from other *Spaniards*, who generally do not use so prayseworthy a quality, and

and because he was raised from nothing, to great Honours, being born of a House not ignoble, though impoverished, he remembered his former Fortune, as much as was necessary.

The Cities of the *Netherlands*, made it their general Request to *Fontayne* at last, that he would stick close to the Siege of *Cambray*, offering him a great sum of money, and also Soldiers, because while neither the City was closely besieged, nor the *Spanish* Army reduced thereto from their lying scattered up and down, they were spoiled by both; But he of his own accord, that the time of his Government might not passe away without something memorable; and that he might supply the empty Treasury, he sends to *Varenboudin* his Camp, and increaseth his Forces, to make them up twelve thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse; With this Army, he secured all the adjacent parts from the *French*, and that done, he took *Castellat*, being first much weakened by Battery, and afterwards forced them to surrender, who had retreated into the Castle.

This is a Town in *Vernandois*, near the Head of the *Scheldt*, which another *Henry* King of *France*, had appointed for a defence to *Cambray*; and if any invasion should happen out of the *Netherlands*, for a frontire Guard to the Kingdom.

About the same time; *Heuse* a Town in the same Borders, was taken by force, with such variety of chances; as have made the Relation wonderful, and brought it almost within the compass of fabulous. The Government thereof was on: *Gowers*, one of those *Frenchmen*, who under pretence of the *Roman Religion*, had sought to win foreign favour to his advantage. This man, at what time the greatest Affairs in those parts were turned against the King of *France* his Fortune, Covenanting with the *Spaniards*, for a great sum of money, delivered up the Town, only retaining the Castle, while the Articles were performed; But by the Policy of
Fontayne,

Fonsyne, drawn out, he was overcome together with his two Brothers: his Mother, and his Kinsman, *Orville*, still remained in the Garrison, with the danger of which dearest Pledges they were threatned, unless they forthwith departed.

The Woman between fear and affection, consented: but *Orville*, being nearer to the incensed *French*, by secret Messengers, sent to the Earl of *Bulloigne*, and the rest of the Kings Commanders, who then resided in *Picardy*, who coming, and being admitted into the Castle, all the whole day after, there was a sharp conflict with the Towns, wherein there were twelve hundred Souldiers *Spaniards*, *Wallons*, *Germans*, and *Italians*, nor was the Dispute ended, without the loss of some Noble Blood; for *Humerus* a great Souldier, well experienced in the Art of War, and beloved of the King, was slain: At last, they hewed out their passage by fire and Sword, and they who with *Orville*, survived the Fight, were delivered for Pledges, according to Agreement, to prevent the *Spaniards* threatnings; But the Captives, by the treachery of their Keepers breaking Prison, brought the Castle into that danger, that they were fain to be discharged by Articles.

Thus by *Orville*'s want of Courage, the *French* obtained the Castle, which he had resolved before to keep for himself, And *Fonsyne*, because the Town being taken, he came too late, changing his fame into fury, brought the Governour before the Walls, even ready to die under the hands of the Executioner; There he in a weeping tone, now beseeches his Mother, then his friend, if they had any mercy, any consideration of his blood, that they would not imagine while he stood under the stroke of death, to raise to themselves Trophies of Honour and Dignity; And when they answered, that it was not in their power, because the *French* possessed both the Town and Castle, he was immediately strangled before their faces.

Let these mens unhappy examples be a warning to others, and make them know, that they who follow several sides, by wavering Judgment, make themselves be esteemed Enemies by both.

From thence the Enemy proceeded to *Dorlans*, that so *Cambrai* might be compassed behind, it having been in vain, and without success, attempted about that time, by the treachery of some Priests, and of the Townsmen. Here while *Valentin Pardon Lamot*, was viewing the place, and observing the Fortifications by Moon-light, he was killed with a Bullet-shot from the Town.

This was the first of all the Commanders, who had formerly foreseen the discord of the States in the greatest Affair, and the increase of the *Spaniards* Wealth; He was eminent in vertue, and more than ordinarily skilful in Military understanding and Policy, manifesting what he ought to be that will, as he did, from a common Souldier, come to be General of the Ordinance, Governour of the Town of *Graveling*, and attaining great Wealth, had the name and Honour of an Earl.

The Count *Bulloigne* had sent into the City a Garrison and soon after, he himself, together with the Count *St. Paul*, came thither to bring both Gunpowder, and other Provision and Ammunition. But *Villars*, the Commander of the Vanguard (this *Villars* had by King *Henries* Command, the charge of all that Coast by the Sea side) while he, greedily desirous to fight, contemned the Command of his Superiours, being circumvented, and taken by *Fountains* Army, was, together with many other Noblemen thereabout, slain, because he had revolted from the *Guisian* League, to King *Henry*: (this day was then, by chance, the Feast of Saint *Jean* the Apostle, which the *Spaniards* look upon as a very lucky day to them, and often by such belief make it so) the rest got off, Fortune giving a Pardon to the errour of both parties; for if the *French* had joyned Battel with greater Forces,

Forces, which then the Count *Nevers* had raised, both the way into the City, and the place had layn open to them in Victory. And the *Spaniard*, if he had followed his Fortune, had put the *French* to flight, and there would have been little difference between this *Battel*, and those of *Pango* and *Quintins*: the *Conquerour* assailed the Castle, which was defended; for the *Governour* of the place, *Gunnachs*, while according to the fashion of the times, he consulted rather his own safety than the Kingdoms, out of twelve hundred *Footmen* which he had with him, he took onely a few such as he could confide in into the Castle, leaving the rest in the Town, that they might be ready, if any necessity should accrue, which proved to be his ruine; for some of the *Spaniards* being sent to review the breach made in the Castle by the Cannon, when they perceived it deserted, testifying their joy by a sudden shout, they drew more of their Company to them, who breaking into the Castle, they pursued their opportunity so close, as they likewise at the same time entered the Town; when death and slaughter raged without controul, for where Valour could not defend the *Armed men*, mercy nothing prevailed for the safety of the unarmed.

Now while the Army wearied with these Affairs, rested themselves in *French* Garrisons, towards the latter end of Summer, Prince *Maurice* drawing together the *Souldiers* that had remained with himself, and those other Regiments returned with *Philip of Nassau*, for Service, and minding to gain those few places which the Enemy yet held about *Friesland*, sat down before *Groll*, a Town in the Territory of *Zutphen*. The Garrison consisted only of six hundred men, there were but few great Guns in the Town, and no store of Provision for a long Siege; and besides, the Well or Ditch that supplied it with water, was easily to be drained, or dried up. And these things were the main causes of the *Princes* hopes.

The design being understood by *Mondragon*, who with a
 small Brigade marching out of *Auxep*, infested all the
 way in his way, beyond the *Mass* and the *Rhine*; he
 had about five thousand Foot, and about a thousand Horse; but
 by much multiplying their number, *Prince Maurice*,
 though he had twice as many in his Army, distrustful Provi-
 sion for the Siege, and burning what they could not
 carry away, marched to the *Isell*, intending to stay for the
 Army which *Germany*; But *Mondragon*, not daring to
 venture upon his Camp, but content to have raised the
 Siege from *Grolle*, and not to have broken the mutual quiet-
 ness of the year, retreated: keeping the River *Lupps* for his
 defence against the Enemy: For *Prince Maurice* followed
 being now satisfied, that he came not with so great an
 Army, as had been reported: He sent therefore beyond the
 River *Philip* of *Nassau*, with five hundred Horse, suddenly
 fell upon the Enemies Cavallery, as they lay dispersed and
 going. But *Mondragon* receiving unquestionable Intelli-
 gence of these directions from some Renegades, sent into
 the same place all his whole strength of Horse; *Philip*, as
 soon as ever he was come out of the narrow wayes, into the
 open *Champayne*, was presently inclosed, and they in the
 mean time not able to give any help, themselves also being in-
 volved, as in the confused violence of their flying Com-
 bat, so also in the straightness and lubricity of the wayes, but
 the fortune of the fight between the Horse near at hand,
 was ambiguous; by the endeavours of some that violently
 fell in upon them, the Enemy was at a non-plus.

But the Commanders being unserviceable; by reason of
 the wounds, quickly abated their Courage; some remain-
 ing yet intire, freshly set upon the troubled Enemy, but the
 greater part fled even to the River *Lupps*, upon whose Bank
 on the other side, the *Prince* stood ready with his Army to
 receive them.

This Leader was neither great nor memorable, for
 other thing than this, That the men of greatest Quality
 Commanded bore the greatest share in the misfortune; *Philip*
Philip of *Nassau* himself, while he most strenuously
 gained the Fight, being first wounded, then taken Prison-
 er; after, among the usual respects of his Neighbours,
 Count of *Heremburg*, he yielded up the Ghost. The
 fulness of his Spirit was not to be doubted, having formerly
 been very successful in War, wherein 'tis probable, he had
 miscarried, if the fervency of his mind had by age been
 within bounds.

In this Fight also was slain *Erasmus*, one of the *Count*
Solms. But *Erasmus* of *Nassau*, *Philip's* Brother, raised
 himself; and after all, the dead Bodies were buried; and
 then did any thing else happen; while the Armies lay
 and each attended the others motion and Counsels, to
 ing the Ruin, and more secure times of the year; so
 that *Prince Maurice* his men attempting *Alersa* by a Na-
 tural Stratagem, and being come to the Trench, while
 cut down the Palisadoes that stopped them there, the ap-
 pearing, they were forced to retreat; At length, *Maurice*
 first drew off to Winter Quarters, not able any longer
 to bear the incommodious season for War: he was a Com-
 mander of ninety years of Age, who coming to command
 Army, then publickly ready to fall into Sedition, found
 means to prevent that growing evil, by sending part of
 beyond the *Maas*, and keeping the rest on this side the
 river, he not only repressed their madness, but separated
 Counsels; Nor did the *Prince* prolong the time much
 him. Immediately after this, *Maurice*, by his
 helped to encrease the Funeral Solemnities of that year,
 ing a very old Soldier, and continually in the War,
 the first beginning thereof in *Alva's* time, to himself
 knew how to order and rule the Souldiery, as well by

and there are scarcely so many, and so famous, as any of those great *Commanders*, who were his Predicted, to be remembered, as there are of him; no, to forget his felicity, that being never timorous of danger, but always desirous of Honour, he had yet arrived to very old age, having never received any wounds; The *Duke* of *Brabant* dyed also, known only by the *Nobility* of his Exaltation, and nothing else.

This Year also, *Don Antonio* deceased, who formerly drove out of the Kingdom of *Portugall*, by the *Spanish Army* under the *Duke of Alva's* Conduct, when he might have held *Flanders*, not quite drooping both in *Africa*, *Italy*, and other places possessed by the *Spaniard*, yet fled for Refuge to *France* and *England*, and in vain placed his hopes on the mercy and Charity of *Christian Princes*; yet refusing the Aid divers times offered to him by the *Turks*, and the *Mosses*, which he would have the World believe he did out of *Fury*: his *Friends* reported that he was poisoned, because he would not be wrought upon to confer his right of Crown in that Kingdom to *Philip*, notwithstanding all the promises of *Moneys* and *Honours* made by *Philip* to him.

In these varieties of Fortune, *Fontenay* was not long at rest, but set forth against *Cambray*, nor did the reason of his going to attain the same, appear in publick; however, many of the *Netherlandish Nobility* attending, and several *French Commanders*, who disdained the pardon of their own *Prince*, and also the *Souldiers* after the spoyle of *Dortrecht*, being greedy of the greater booty, and moved with the intreaties of the neighbouring Cities offering them money, in a manner, compelled them to shut up all the Avenues into, or out, of the Town, and, under the shew of a Siege, to wait for an opportunity of surprizing somewhat.

And King *Philip* himself had written to him, that it was dishonourable ast, that a strong Hold erected as a boundary by his Father, should be left in the Enemies hands: Incited therefore by all these Reasons, they were necessitated to hope well of that, which they could no way avoid; *Barla* drew the Besieged from their outer Works, from thence they began Mines, Batteries, breaches, and other both Clandestine and open Stratagems were used, but the great and notable strength of the *French*, ready to receive their Assault, yet terrified them; for *Ginzaga*, the Count of *Nevers* his Son, had by the Command of his Father, brought thither a hundred, and soon after, other five hundred conducted by the Horse, through unguarded places, in the dawning of the morning, came in to their assistance; Then also was it shown by a noble example, how dangerous it is to be feared of many, and that there is no Guard strong enough to uphold Dominion, which is contrary to the peoples liking, when the greater danger arising from fear, quickly moves to anger. For *Balagny*, that he might strengthen by force, his unjust power, imposed Tributes, and grievous Guards, and all other things usual in a Tyranny, which drew upon him the hatred of the multitude; and at last, turned him out of all; Nor was *Fontayne* wanting privily to inflame their minds already disturbed, sometimes by Religion, otherwhile by fear, and anon by money: by which means, before the Enemy got to the Trench, all the common people being gathered together from all parts, with whom joyned the *Swiss* Souldiers, by reason of divers private injuries, and also because *Balagny* commanded Brails money to be given them in pay, instead of Gold and Silver, but as if he would have redeemed the same; which kind of fact, hath in some places been allowed for liberty sake, but never was admitted to be given to the Souldiers for pay; all which things were now urged to *Fontayne*, treating with them

Neither

Neither did the *Articles of Surrender* contain many Heads; for the *Spaniards* were easily admitted, for fear of the *French*; although they now must suffer more from them, than from the *French* whom they turn'd out: And they that retired into the Castle, staid not to expect a *Battery*, or any other *Assault*.

And now appeared many Examples of the *Spaniard's* cruelty, though the Surrender of the Town was concluded, unless the King of *France*, within six days, sent them new Relief; whereof he failing, the Town was accordingly delivered, and the Souldiers sent safe away, *Balagny* himself departing from his usurped Command, but as a private man, even prosecuted by the *French*, he very ill deserved that Fortune, which had been to him favourable enough; because a long time, deceiving both parties, and being faithful to neither, he had sometimes received Money and Provisions from the *French*, sometimes from the *Spaniard*, yea and from the *United States* themselves; and a little before the Siege, he sold all the Victuals necessary for the City, giving out, that the Souldiers necessity required it, although the Customs he received must needs be great; for that he kept in his own hands all Offices both Civil and Sacred: His Wife was a Woman of a Masculine Spirit; for while any hope remained, she herself would look to the Watches and Guards, help to carry Turf, to Traverse the Cannon, to oversee the Corporals, and, in short, to perform all the Duty both of a good Captain, and a good Souldier: Nay, she attempted the common people with a Largess; which Things proving all in vain, she acknowledged, that it was her unlucky Fate; yet would she not indure to leave her Dominion to the Enemy, or own her Life as received from their Mercy; for the same day wherein the Covenants for Surrender of the Castle, were concluded, she dyed of Grief, or rather took something to hasten the same: Now were the Images of *Alencon* and *Balagny* thrown down, and forthwith an Oath exacted from the

Townsmen (*Richardet*, being skilful in the Form thereof, contrived it,) as if the City had been to have continued for ever under the *Spanish* Obedience. For, at that time, the Prince of *Burgundy* and *Austria*, had, under pretence of Guardianship, usurped the ancient Right of the Counts of *Alost*; and by that Title, the Emperor *Charles* Erected a Castle in the City, that it might not again Revolt to the *French*. But *Fontenay*, with his Armed Power, soon decided the Controversy of Right, and commanded to swear Obedience to *Philip* their Prince; saying before the Siege, That it was common, when Treating with *Erwin Barlaymont* Bishop of that City, he urged him, to rest contented with the Sacred Function, and to resign to the Spaniard his Right of Dominion; which had ever belonged to the Bishop, under a Tye of Reverence to the Imperial Majesty of Germany. Nor did *Barlaymont*, notwithstanding the said Oath, cease to demand his due and ancient Rights, the Townsmen all endeavouring the same, though to no purpose, reaping no other Fruit of their vain Labour, but Harred; for the *Spanish* keeping the Castle, forbore no sort of Licentiousness, whereby it came to pass, that the Trade of Linnen Cloth, the greatest gain and advantage the City enjoy'd, was carryed thence into the Neighbouring Town. And the *Italians* being intreated by *Fontenay* to assist the Siege, when the City being taken, as they did return to possess *Tillemont*, they valiantly set upon some Troops of *Hollanders* which they met, and then first of all gave a proof both of their Fidelity and Courage in War. But the Honour of the *Austrian* Horse was quickly repair'd, by an *Irruption* at *Wiert*, a Town in the County of *Horn*, where they took *Hans*, one of the Counts of *Hernberg*, prisoner, and afterward discomfited the Convey, that was guarding thither Provision. But *Wiert*, lying at too great a distance from their Confines, was again presently deserted: But *Heraugier*, grown experienced by practice, that in making many Attempts, Fortune will sometimes favour one or other of them, studied to repair

the loss of *Hoy*, with the taking of *Lierre*. It is a Town which the *Spaniards* formerly got by *Treachery*, and a Victory not enough at the little River of *Nacht*, situate in the middle between *Antwerp* and *Mechlin*, and serves them both of-
 fences to great advantage: Hither were men invited on all hands by *Herangier*, with the hope of prey; the Ensigns in the Twilight climbing up with Ladders over the Walls, fall upon the ignorant and unprovided Watch, killing them: Then the Gates are opened, the Foot enter, and a few of the Horse, in all about a Thousand, culled men out of *Breda*, and other *Garrisons* thereabouts, and, without all peradventure, might have kept the place, if there had been as much *Valour* and *Obedience* there in defending it, as there was *Industry* & *Industry* in getting it. *Alphonse Luna* was the Governor, who not being abashed, or faltering in Courage, at the first Shock in the Town, placeth his *Souldiers*, and as many of the *People*, as on a sudden could be got together, in the Market place, and before the Court: Upon mistaking those strengths, he went to the Gate that was behind the Enemy in the way to *Loos*: But the *Companions*, who were altogether secure, dispersed themselves, some into the Churches, others into the Houses, but all to Rapine, Plunder, and Licentiousness: Thus they spent the greatest part of the day within the Walls; but could *Herangier*, either by *Reverence* to his Commands, or by *Imagines* or *Threatnings* prevail, that so many of the *Souldiers* would come to their *Colours*, as might drive away that trait party from the Gate: In the interim, *Sadours* and *Regiments* were sent to *Luna* out of the next *Garrisons*, among whom a great Company of Citizens of *Antwerp*, and some few *Spaniards* out of the Castle. *Herangier* seeing this, caused the Gate, whereto he and his men entered, to be shut up, whereby he might necessitate them to fight: But for all this, these *Stragglers* would neither mind their own, nor their Enemies Forces; only so much was their fear now, because they were in no fear before: And for that there was no other

way to go out, and they that were first kill'd, stopp'd up the
against those that follow'd; Some of them leaped headlong
from the Rampire into the Trench; others were slain among
the people, and a great number both of Men and Horse taken.
The Captain, and such as were skilful in swimming, got far
away. And herein the *Deliverers* of the Town shew a great
Example of singular *Continence*; for that whatever was found
among the prey, that belonged to the Townsmen, was care-
fully restored to the Owners.

During all these Vicissitudes of Affairs, both the *Spanish*
and *French* Armies follow'd the War in *Flanders*, with great
preparation than event. Of old, the *Belgians* famous in
their Alliance with the *Romans*, and the *Brigantes*, both Na-
tions of *Gaul*, possessed that *Territory* into whose possession
shortly after, when the *Romane Empire* was torn in pieces,
Barbarians succeeded a people coming out of the *North*,
but settled some time before in the nearer parts of *Germany*.
These extended their Dominion a large compass both on the
side, and beyond the *River Rhine*, even to the Name of
Greatness of a Kingdom, but was first diminished by a
French *Grandeur*, and afterwards, in a manner quite con-
quered: From thence those parts were sometimes given to
Friends, but more often appointed to the *French* King's
Sons, while that Empire could be divided, the Kingly Honour
reserved: After this, all that Region almost which the *Belgians*
possessed, was Erected into a Dukedom, and that of the
Belgians into an County or Earldom. After the death of *Charles*
the Bold, *Louis of Valois*, the 11th of that Name King of
France, took the Dukedom from *Mary*, the Daughter of *Duke*
Charles, pretending the Succession of that *Goverment* could
not devolve to the Female Line: But the County or Earldom,
which began to be subject to *Germany*, as soon as it was an
Empire, after the Marriage of *Maximilian* with *Mary*, was
claimed and held by the House of *Austria*. At this time, cer-
tain *French* Commanders, advised King *Henry*, That he should

the Spaniard on that part, where he lay most open to be
 and manifest; and that by this means, the Spaniard's pas-
 sage of Italy into France, or the Low-Countries, would be
 up, and the right due to his Ancestors be regained. The
 war was at first begun by inferior Captains, and little Par-
 ties. But when King Philip, fearing the danger, had sent
 as we before mention'd, from Millain, which he
 govern'd, to Burgundy, with Ten Thousand Foot, and
 five hundred Horse, that strength of the Enemy first
 in the Battle of Burgh, and after that the King himself. In
 the first and accidental skirmishes of Horse, the French
 were victor; And Velasco avoided a Pitch'd-Battel, desir-
 ing to preserve the Towns. In the Duchy of Burgundy, King
 Philip subjected to his Power the City of Dijon, which in the
 Civil War of France follow'd the Guisan Faction, then
 led by the Duke de Mayn, to whom there was nothing
 so fortified in that Dukedom, but Chalons sur la Saone. But
 when he began to prosecute his Victory, into the Bounds of
 the County, or Earldom, the Spaniards intreated him to re-
 sist his Fury; because being bound at that time by Leagues
 with the House of Austria, they were obliged to resist all Force
 that should be offer'd, either to the Government of Millain,
 or the County of Burgundy. Whereupon King Henry took
 occasion, by means of a Truce, to withdraw his Army with-
 out any dishonour, he himself being even tyred out with the
 Controvercie, and the thing it self contended for, not being
 worth many lives. And also, being sollicitous by Cambray,
 march'd that way, when a Terrible Messenger met him
 with the News of the loss of the City: Therefore he accu-
 sed his Allies; That he himself being employ'd in Wars at so
 great a distance, they had betray'd to the Enemy, the Confiners both
 of France and the Netherlands; That they gave him other
 hopes, that his Borders should not be left destitute of Aid, else why
 should he so often have refused Conditions of Peace, when offer'd to
 him; And if they repented them of their Leagues, that he was yet

ready to agree with the Spaniard. The *Hollanders* excus'd themselves to these Taunts, with the necessities of that year, and furnished the King with Corn and Money, and two Regiments of men, the one of *Scots*, the other of *Zelanders*, under the Leading of *Justine of Nassau*; wherewith being recruited, he fell into *Vermandois*; and careful, that what he had now begun, the Enemy might not break further in the Bowels of the Country, the people of *Soissons* being included, he shut up *Fayer* with a difficult and Winter-Siege: by how much the *States* more earnestly endeavour'd to please the King, by so much more grievously they offended *Queen Elizabeth*; for King *Henry's* prosperity, in stead of renewing in the *English* Nation their old Envy, and the Queen was incens'd with the difference of his Religion, especiall for that she knew, what Laws, and how dangerous to the *Protestants*, the *Pope* had prescribed to King *Henry*, for the obtaining his Peace.

And this was the Reason, that lately before upon his ordering of her four Regiments of men, for whole Pay the City of *Paris* should ingage their Credit.

The Queen answer'd, That it was an inconsiderate Design proceeding from her Mouth, to request her to denude her Kingdom, which was desired at by so many Reasons; yet if he would deliver to her, *Dieppe*, *Bullain*, and *Calais*, she would furnish him with some Souldiers.

This gave suspicion to the *French*; and besides, there was added, that lately in *Bretaign*, a Province of *France*, the *English* were unworthily Treated, nor could be admitted to such places as they desired, the Actions of their *Princes* were being objected against them. But *Queen Elizabeth* sent Letters to the *Hollanders*, and one *Thomas Budleigh*, objecting to them, with much Regret, the Aid they sent to *France*, saying, They could not want her help, who could so freely gratifie others. Whereto the *States* made this Answer, That they did it not out of any ambitious counsel, but meer necessity; that the King

drawn into many places at once, they might weary him out of
 strength, and themselves get a breathing space, for they were as it
 were forced, in regard the Queen sent Pay onely for six hundred
 and two hundred Horse which were in the Camp, whereas six
 thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse of the League required the

She, on the other side, replied, That although this was con-
 sidered within the League, that at the end of the War, whatever
 was disbursed, should be repaid; yet she desired very earnestly,
 payment of what she had laid out, at leastwise that they would pay
 in some part thereof at the present, and she would take the rest by
 Annual Portions. Adding withall Threats, That if she were
 delayed herein, that she should take such course as her Lenny
 did not use to be acquainted with.

To these, the States, after the return of many Thanks, De-
 sired the Queen to cast an Eye upon the present times; to ob-
 serve, that the War was very burthensome to them, and not wholly
 successful as was hoped: And that of late the enlargement of
 their Bounds, had little increased their Tributes, but much aug-
 mented their trouble and charge in the defence; That their Mer-
 chandizing and Fishing Trade, upon which two onely they lived,
 was spoiled by the detention of their Ships in Spain; and this
 diminutes the Luxuries of the English, and the Dunkirkers Pyra-
 cies much impaired, and the Sea also had done them very great da-
 mages by Inundations: Over all which, if they should now be for-
 ced to repay to England the Money due, and also the Queen
 should openly fly from the Covenants of the League, the French al-
 ready beginning to stagger. It was with great reason to be feared,
 that the insinuating Designs of the Enemy, and the Allurements of
 a dangerous Peace, would prevail with the people: But it was not
 to be avoided however, but that the States must pay with their own
 Money the English Souldiers, that lay not in the Towns put to
 Siege to the Queen.

While these things were arguing between them, some new
 Endeavours of the Enemy brought the Queen to be more
 mild

mild towards these her Allies: For the *Spaniards*, out of *French Brains*, had fallen into *Cornwal*, waſting the Country, and carrying away great Booty, together with ſome honourable perſons; and alſo they began in the open Face of the World to aſſiſt the Rebellion in *Ireland*; which Country, was, from all Antiquity, poſſeſſed by many Petty Prince Natives thereof: Of whom, *Dermack*, the Son of *Maſhel*, the moſt Potent, was deſpoiled of his Dominion, for many Acts of Tyranny by him committed: Whereupon he got to him, for his Son-in-law and Aſſiſtant, *Richard* Earl of *Penbrook*, who making War there in *Ireland* very ſucceſſfully, was recalled by an Ediſt of *Henry* the Second King of *England*, and compell'd to transfer all his Right and hope of Principality to the King; who himſelf, in defence of his new Acquiſition, went into *Ireland* with a great Army, and made ſome of the Lords by Force; others, by Treaty and Promiſes, to acknowledge his Authority as Supream. But ſuch was the blindneſs and ſimplicity of that Age, that it was believ'd a great ſupport of future Right and Jurisdiction, if the Pope's Authority and Conſent were obtain'd; and he never beſtow'd gratis upon any man ſo much as words, gave to the Kings of *England* the Dominion of *Ireland*; but ſo, he ſhould be a Feodary of the Church, and pay to the ſame certain Tribute: But the following Kings reſuſed to make any ſuch Payment; pretending, That the Peers of the Kingdom of *England* had never conſented to it.

At laſt, King *Henry* the Eighth, deſpiſing the Name of Lord, (for till then the Kings of *England* were onely call'd Lords of *Ireland*) firſt took to himſelf the moſt Noble Title of King, by his own power aſſuming that Honour, which his Daughter Queen *Mary* afterwards choſe rather to receive from the Pope.

But although *Ireland*, where it is moſt civiliz'd, hath by little and little learn'd to receive and indure both the *Engliſh Laws* and *Governours*; yet it remain'd in other parts, which

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which are fuller of Woods and Bogs, a Lover of its pristine
and Natural Liberty : For, by that Name, the Licentious-
ness of all, which in other places is forbidden, was cal-
led. Among the rest, the Family of *Oneal* is very eminent; of
which one first challeng'd the Principality of *Ulster*, and soon
after of all *Ireland*.

These *Irish*, under such a Head, gather'd Courage, especi-
ally because *England* was at that time miserably torn, by the
bloody Dissentions of the two Royal Families of *Tork* and
Lincaster. But *Henry* the Eighth ruling peaceably, yet with
a severe Hand, compelled the Heir of that Stock, intituled *Con-
neal*, to abjure the Name and Title of *Oneal*, which was
quietly swallow'd up in the Honour and Dignity of the
Earl of *Tyrone*. Some believed, that *Matthew* was Son to
this Man; but others suppose the same *Matthew* to be the
Son of a *Black-Smith*: But his Grand-Father *Con* exceed-
ingly loved his Wife, and therefore suffer'd to be obtruded
upon him, either a strange, or an uncertain Issue. This Man
was slain by *John*, who affirm'd himself the lawful Sonne of
Con; yet, before his Murder, had a Son, call'd *Hugh*, who
was partly bred at Home, partly in *England*, and, by the Fa-
vor of Queen *Elizabeth*, had both the Earldom of *Tyrone*,
and whatever belonged to *Con*, (the afore-named *John* be-
ing kill'd in his Rebellion, and all his Goods and Estate con-
fiscated) but under such Conditions, as for the future, took
from him all possibility of doing a prejudice. He was a Man
very knowing in matters of War; and, being intrusted in
many Affairs, faithfully performed his Duty to the Queen;
until in the year, 1588, when that most notable *Spanish Fleet*
being beaten and scatter'd, some of the Commanders therein,
with some Vessels, were cast away upon the Coast of *Ire-
land*; at which time, holding private Conferences with him,
they stirred him up to recover the Right and Title of *Oneal*:
Yet however he might then fix his Resolution, he discover'd

no sign thereof at the present : But others being risen to Arms, mov'd thereto, either out of Zeal to the *Roman Religion*, or by the Injuries received from the *English*, he a long time covering his Hostile Mind with the Veil of Obedience, denied the guilt of any Crimes, with no less Confidence, than they were objected against him : However, without doubt, it was a great failing in the *English*, who would not when they might, put into safe custody, a man of so firm a Nature, whom they supposed guilty : But he, first casting into Prison the Children of *John*, that he might not be imposed by any Domestic Quarrel ; and this year having heard, that General *John Norris*, a man famous in the *Belgick War*, and then employ'd in *French Brigaids*, was called thence with the old Souldiers, to appease the *Irish* Commotions, put himself in the Head of the Rebels ; but yet not omitting, with most humble words, to desire peace and pardon, throwing the cause of the Quarrel upon the cruelty of the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* : By this kind of Policy, and by Truces, he endeavour'd to protract the War, until the Assistance promised from *Spain* might arrive : And there his Devices and Intentions were much forwarded, by the Discords between *Russel* Deputy of *Ireland*, and *Norris*, who was appointed General of the War ; Their Enmity growing to that height, that whatever seem'd fit to the one, the other would not consent to ; because the first liked, and for no other Reason. At the Queen, after the breaking forth of this Rebellion, began a more fierce War ; Not for her Allies, as before was pretended, but for her own sake : And therefore she sent out *Drake*, a person well known in the *Western World*, with a great Fleet prepared, partly at her own Charges, and partly at the cost of private Men, with hope to seize and take the Wealth gather'd together and laid up in *Porto Rico*. But the News of their coming being gotten thither before them, the Wealth being carry'd thence more into the Land, the *Port* itself was intlosed and stopp'd up by the *Spaniards* :
Wares

wherefore *Drake* wasting all the other places of the *Cannibals* going from thence to the *American Straights*, he spoiled the Town of *Nombre de Dios*, that lyes between two Seas; where himself, together with many of his men, either by the unwholesomeness of the Air, or with grief of mind, that the Success of his Voyage answer'd not his Desires, dyed. About which time also another *English-man*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Captain of the Queen's Guard, entering the River *Orenoco*, came to *Guanima*, a place never conquer'd by the *Spaniards*, of which he made a discovery, from his own sight and knowledge. But as to the *Amazons*, and those whose Faces are in their Breast, having onely been heard of, but never seen, he left the finding of them out to others.

I should deprive *Posterity*, both *Foreign* and *Domestick*, of the profitable, and no less delightful part of the *History*, if I should not set forth at large the Voyages at Sea; whereby it is brought to pass, That the *Hollander's* Felicity, even in the midst of their Troubles, hath not onely exceeded the happiness of others in peace, but also of themselves: For these being as it were born Sea-men, have from thence raised the ship, if not the sole support of their War; not studying to divide the World, or caring to be subject to the Bishop of *Rome's* Rules, who hath ascribed to the *Spaniard* the greatest part of his Nature; whereby, under the Cloak of Religion, he might oppress the Liberty of the whole World.

The ancient Bounds of Merchandize and Trade, for which these Nations, through many Ages, were famous, besides a few Islands, were two *Narrow Straights*, and the Seas within them; This Way towards the *Sound*; That Way towards *Hortales Pillars*, and the Islands of *Gades*. There is between these a middle Coast of the Ocean, where all the Profit arising to the *Traders* upon one side, grows by their Selling or Bartering the same on the other side; for they (the *Dutch*) have a want of Corn, nor indeed have plenty of any other
con-

considerable Commodity. Their Gain arises, by carrying from place to place; and by such Things as are wrought in the Hands of *Artificers*, commonly call'd, *Manufactures*. But after, by the good *Providence of God*, the Efficacy of *Load-Stone* was found out, whereby men were guided to understand the Course of the Sea; and also, the Records of *Books* taught us, to make search after the knowledge of the *Antients*, and not to despair the value of new Inventions, nothing now remained too hard for the Scrutiny of *Human Experience*.

The *Portugueses* found the utmost *Borders* of *Africa* and *Asia*, and the *Castilian* new Coasts beyond the Ocean, indeed, more truly another World: The Endeavours of the *French* quickly grew fairer, after an unhappy Attempt upon *Brasile*, they came to *Terra-Nova*, and found a Coast abounding with Fish, but barren enough of all things else: Nor was that Sea, and those Lands, that lying furthest off to the *South* *Mallagen* first of all found, now left unsearched: But the *English*, in a short space following, in part discover'd the *North Sea*. After all the *Hollanders*, that had without doubt been hitherto oppress'd by the Cruelty of their Princes, men that would not tremblingly send to Sea their People, whom they knew valiant and mindful of their Liberty, nor out of Envy to their Enemies, and Emulation to their Allies, took the Courage and Boldness, that making use of what was already known, they would now, in their Turn, contribute their Labours for the benefit of Mankind, in the natural lying open of things, which, to that Age, had remained so secret in the Breast of Nature. Neither in this further Quest of newer Things, were the old omitted or forgotten. And indeed, what Shore is able to satisfy them, who have always seen Sea above Seventy Thousand men? This little Country, in multitude of Shipping, not giving place to any the greatest Kingdom, and though inclos'd in such narrow Limits, hath yet in great

near a strength abroad. The Cities every year, build two thousand new Ships: therefore besides *England*, *France*, the *Port of Germany*, and the *Baltick Sea*, mutual poverty hath admitted and carryed them to *Spain*, importing thither Merchandise, and bringing thence Coyn, and the dissimulation and fear of King *Philip*, was least, if he should debar them of Trade with their Neighbours, they should seek for it further off, and it may be, to his disadvantage; nevertheless, sometimes they received injuries, when onely for their Religions sake, they should be taken notice of; (for they generally used the names of other Nations) and at last, as if the King needed their help, both the Ships and Marriners should be stayed; by which means, not onely themselves were endangered, but all they had was a prey to those that overpowred them.

In this very year, no less than fifty Ships were thus raised; And the *Portugueses* said, that the King would take care to moderate these injuries, if the *Hollanders* would forbear to send Navall Assistance, as well to *Brytain* as *France*. But the *Spanish* losses were repaired out of *Italy*, for their so many barren Summers last past, for *France* was not able, by reason the Country had been so harassed with War. Thus by the *Swedish Voyage*, the *Dutch* had gotten into their hands all Grain, which by a short recourse hither and thither, they had made hast to get to their no small advantage; Nor as it happened, did that Commodity wait upon the Rich onely for vent, being dispersed far and wide among the common People, with a small charge, and a quick return.

They went also to *Barbary*, where it is opposite to the Ocean, and where it coasts upon any more inward Sea; with the *Muscovites* alio the *Hollanders* Traded, before they were at War, and through the *Baltick Sea*, and *Norva* in *Livonia*, as far as *Novograde*: which Trade afterwards, was transferred by the *English*, through the *Rushian Gulph* to *St. Ni-*

cholas Port, and by the *Hollanders* to *Podefemfer*, and the Monastery of *St. Michael* the *Archangel*, all situate upon the River *Daina*, and the *English* have earnestly laboured for that, to get it all to themselves. the Prayers and liberty of the *Hollanders* scarcely prevailing: Shortly after, they fetched longer course to the Kingdom of *Guiny*, abounding in Gold, Ivory, and Ebony, and the rest of *Ethiopia*; and at last, in two years Voyage, they arrived to the Isles in the *Indian Sea*. That was begun to be attempted with four Ships, set out at the costs of private men. At first it was doubtful, and seemed to be full of danger, while every where, as they came in those unknown places, they met with none but barbarous Nations, and such as were at enmity with all the World; Here they were mightily afflicted with Diseases, and the injurious heat of the parching Ayr; Beside, the *Portugueses* hindered them all they could by punishments, if they were either by force of Weather, or want of any thing driven to their Vessels Colonies, nor ceased they so, but pursued them with false accusations unto those Kings and People, that were not subjected to them: which a long time was very bitter, while all things were incumbered by the infrequent use of a strange Tongue, and suspicions of treachery on every hand: But after it appeared by publick Letters and Testimonials of Truth, that they came not to rob and do violence, or to seek dominion, but that they were a People careful of the liberty, even of strangers, and that they had for that end passed so many Seas, that they might with equal fidelity, uphold the Law of Nations, on a sudden, the same and admiration of the *Hollanders* was greatly augmented: Thus the *Spaniards* main opened a way for such far distant Alliances by the common gain of Renowned Merchandise, and the name of *Prince Maurice*, the famous *Warrior*, was honoured even in those remote places.

The Religion of those that first went to the *Indies*, was wonderful, so was the care of their Reputation; for because they

they received no Commission, other then to defend themselves, when they met the *Spanish* Navy, a rich Prey, and as it were prepared for them, they let it passe untouched; scarcely could the *Portugueses* cruelty, which would admit none into that World, besides themselves, be drawn to consent otherwise, but that these private Ships would strengthen their Trade by War; however, *Embassies* of the *Indians* followed, and Gifts and Sea-fights against the Enemy, and which helped most of all, it appeared, that the *Spaniards* could be overcome: for to the taken of Towns, there was no great space of ground belonging, so that the *Conquerors* gained but little, and yet the Conquered lost not much.

The parts of that Kingdom are far divided, their Wealth, which is the support both of their bounty and War, lies at a great distance; which being taken away, or exhausted by troubles, how can it happen otherwise to that vast scattered, and separated *Empire*, which is no where so near to it self, as to its Enemies: but that it should become a prey to all Nations? The Coast also of *America*, where yet it is publicly free, and where it is privately subject, hath become known by the fear of the King of *Spain*. From thence is brought Salt, Pearl, and Skins of Buff. I passe by other Lands and people, discovered and honoured with the care of the finders. That Voyage seems to me the most memorable, wherein the *Hollanders* went so far to the Northward, that it might be known whereof the whole World before was ignorant, what Ocean did joyn *Europe* and *Asia*: for both the Nobles and Merchants had conceived a hope, that the most opulent Kingdom of *Cathay* and *China*, and farther off, the *Moluccas* and *India*, might be gone to a far nearer way. than that used by the *Spaniards*. Three Ships, one of *Holland*, one of *Zeland*, and one of *Westfrizeland*, went out to this intent, which having passed by *Norway* and *Finland*, at *Amsterdam*, an Isle of *Lapland*, they separated, and every one took a several course; The *Hollanders* coming first through the fur-

thermost Sea, to the side of *Neua Zembla* over against that where the Stream runs a great way to the North-west, passing two Islands, which as a token or limit of their Voyage, they named, *Orange Islands*, being about the degree seventy. The rest passing the Sea which leads to *Russia*, and choosing the Coast of *Condore* and *Pitzore*, came to the Straights, where they saw Land, fronting, or lying opposite to the Continent, which narrowing the Sea, giveth it the name of *Waygats*. They doubted, whether it were a narrow Sea, or only a Bay or Creek.

Here the day was darkned with Clouds, and the Ice continued for a long space, which the cold North wind, with equall danger, both tumbles together, and casteth asunder. A long time they were in suspence, whether they should make any further search towards the end of the World; At last with much struggling, breaking forth those unknown, and uncouth bounds, where they begun to withdraw themselves from the Land, with a direct course to the South-East; from thence they sailed towards *Scythia*, by the outmost part of *Zembla*, in the one hundred and tenth degree of the Equator, untill they conjectured, they were past that Sea, wherein the River *Obis*, coming out of the *Sarmatian* Marishes, is swallowed up in the Sea.

This is the ancient River *Carambuci*, as the Learned believe, than which there needeth no better a boundary between *Europe* and *Asia*. Which tryalls performed, and meeting the other Ship, which the exceeding great Ice had driven back from *Zembla*, the third Month after they went out, they returned home again.

This was done the Summer before this year: And so much satisfaction was received from this first Assay, that it was concluded, more Ships should be sent to make further experiment not towards *Zembla*, but by the *Nassavian* Sea, which way carryed with it more of hope: So had they said at first, of that which runs between *Waygats* and the *Sarmatians*. here

but delay, a frequent impediment to the greatest Affairs, being in, so that the Ships going out later in the year, than they ought to have done, found the Sea impassable: so cruel and vehement a cold, and, which in that Clymate was rare, had turned all into Ice.

They who came back from both the Voyages, declared the nature both of the Sea and Soyl, the unheard of forms of Birds and Beasts, as they found and saw the same. They observed also the prominent Capes, Bayes, Culphs, and Rivers, with the Scituation of the places, together with the names of the Country, Prince, yea and of the very people: they told also of many little Islands, and what was spoken of by the Ancients, that they were so variable, by the ebbing and flowing of the Sea, that now they would appear to be really Islands, and anon, they would seem parts of the Continent.

The bigger of these beyond the Strait, worthy to be remembered for its safe Harbour in time of danger, they called by the name of the *States*, and because it produceth upon the tops of the Frozen Mountains *Cryfall*, not much unlike to *Diamonds*. It seems to me very congruous, to describe the Scituation of this Country, and what Men or Beast are to be found there, it being then first thoroughly known, and whether *Authors* of greatest Antiquity, have related concerning this matter, the same things, or other more vain and frivolous. Also we rashly believe, that by *Magick Art* there are caused at the North Pole, four *Euripi*, or Arms of the Sea; and how to go to the *Caspian* Gulf to the North, of old was questioned by wise men; while others affirm from the Verses of the *Poets*, That the whole World was shut up in the Sea: Another says in that part, define an unbounded Land, extended into the utmost extremity of cold, under the *Frozen Zone*. And they who have assumed to themselves the License of fabulous Inventions, upon unknown places, stick not to say, That the very Sea is self stands still, and is without any motion, and is as

it were a vast Body, and naturall Mass, deficient in it self, for the intent for which it was made, or else forsooth, that it is a great proper only to the Gods, or more sacred Theory: Some to the contrary, affirm it inaccessible, through the violence of Whirl-winds and Monsters: But if any could passe to the end of that Sea, they should either meet again with fertile Countries, or nothing but Air and Fire.

They have given great hope of sailing through it, in which Books it is signified, that the *Indians* have often by the force of tempest, been taken from thence, and driven forth upon the Coast of *Germany*: Neither needed it to speak more of the temperature of the Ayr, and the nature of the place, since some have placed these *Northern* People in continual day-light, and report them most exemplary for Fidelity and Justice: Others that the whole Region is covered with thick darkness, and utterly alienated from the lively Aspect of our benevolent Star; being altogether desert, by reason of wild Beasts, and the barbarity of the *Inhabitants*, (if any) and covered over with Snow, and some first say, it may be seen presently, that it is without the World. All which for great repugnances, seem for the most part, to have drawn their Originall from truth, as far as the same may be proved, by the experiments of *Navigators*, and the Speeches of the *Inhabitants*; for about that Sea, which extends it self all along upon the Coast of *Lapland*, *Russia*, and that Country which we call *Samogitia*, the Summer day-light by two Months longer, doth promise the like darkness in Winter; But that very time of the Suns appearance, is so obscured with Clouds, little light some than night it self, and the benefit of heat so far remote, that the Sun can indeed by exhalation, procure or cause a Cloud, but not dissipate or dissolve it. And then again, the whole place is for the most part so covered with Snow, that one cannot readily distinguish between the Sea and Land. The Sea indeed is not very dangerous by Storms, because on both sides, it grows larger from the *Strait*, as it were

restrained by its own coldness: So that the *Antients* did not without Reasons call it sometimes the Dead, and other whiles the Frozen Sea. For wheresoever it approacheth the Land, its condensed Waves congealed into Ice, continue a long time, and at a great distance to be seen upon the shore, nay sometimes the continued congelations of many years, may be seen together in one great heap; but when the Wind breaks, or a remission of cold loosens these conjoynd condensations, the several fragments, like little Mountains or Islands, are violently carried into the Sea, and sometimes meet and dash one against another, like two Rocks.

And this terrour hath beyond measure afflicted *Navigators*, because when they make off from Land in search, the narrow Sea, whose breath is but two hours Sail, but the length contains five dayes passages, of a sudden, becomes all in concrete, that it may be walked upon: and when it is thawed, the Ice goes not away by degrees, but is forced as it were, to fall into two Seas.

These are scarce fifty dayes of ours, at the greatest time of year, before the latter Equinoctial; and that very time cannot with them be accounted Summer, but rather an interval, or small relaxation of Winter: then indeed, you may positively discern the decay of the Ice, but longer than that, the Frost again approaching, will not suffer any Sailings; with-in that time, the People did go to *Russia*, where was seen the remains of some unfortunate Voyage, as floating Planks, and the like, whether the returning cold, or any other Reason, made them appear, is uncertain. These People also trade beyond the River *Obis*; and there their home-dangers have taught them to Winter, and at the accustomed time to go back, when the Waters are open, and passable for them: By the same means that the *Hollanders* had confidence to passe the Straights of *Magellan*, they took Courage through these Straights also to get into the Ocean: sometimes by the violent streams of Rivers running into the Sea, being carried

out, and then as if they doubted what course to hold, or if the Wind did but abate, by the force of the same River, to be carried back again; thus as it were, being divided between the Surges of the salt Sea, and the pleasures of the fresh Water; and anon, in their passage from side to side, leaving the shore, they might see the rolling Waves, foaming and dashing in the profundity of the main Ocean; together, with several sorts of Monsters; for it is wonderful to be told, how full that Sea is bestial Animals.

There are both *Sea-Calves*, and *Sea-Dogs*, and the best of all wild Creatures, which is called a *Morse*, of a wonderful and active sagacity to defend it self, yet scarcely penetrable by any blowes. It hath feet almost like a *Beaver*, hath a large Body, and use h equally, both the Sea and Land, for sometimes it is seen to lie upon the Ice, and other times to lie sunning upon the tops of the Banks, and Cliffs near the Sea. It climbs up but slowly, and with great pains, but descends with an incredible swiftness; The People of those parts, set as great a value upon their Teeth, as we do upon Ivory.

The *Russians* do say, that the divided Sea once past *Way-gats* meets together again, and again breaks out, from which Speech I cannot affirm, whether they intend *Tabis*, or the *Seythian* Mountain, so well known of old, and *Zambis* stretching into the *East*, though a little short, do meet, or the narrow Sea, by which *America* divided from *Tartary*, doth make out by countenance manners and Customs, that those Nations have the same Original; From *Pitkane*, a Province of *Muscovy*, as far as the River *Obis*, whatever borders upon the Sea, is, I cannot say, inhabited, but perambulated by the *Samogitians*, a kind of *Sarmatian* People, Courageous and Fortunate, contrary to the barbarousness of their nature, and the inclination of the Clymate: 'tis true, their Countenances are ill favoured, and black with smoak, with little Eyes, and wide Nostrils. Their Bodies, though but of an ordinary size, yet are very strong, so that they equal in swiftness the

most

Creatures: They content themselves with little, and are always in action, neither weakened with pleasures and joys, nor worn out with cares: Whereever they go, all that they lay their hands on, is properly their own; nor have they any other kind of Possession, then a mind resolved to, and content with all hazards and adventures; Thus they enjoy all things, because they cover nothing; Their Arms are according to the *Scythian* and *Parthian* manner, a Bow and Arrow, which they chiefly use against wild Beasts: from these they have their Garments made of their Skins, wherewith they cover themselves all over, both Head and Hands; and their Food is the raw flesh of the same Beasts, as if they satisfied themselves with the gifts of nature, without any addition. They are so far from having any delicacies, that both the use and name of Bread, is unknown among them. This kind of life they think better, than to plow up the Ocean, and weary out the over-toyled Earth, and still to promise themselves a further accomplishment of their desires, being hateful both to our selves and others.

They know there are Ships, but never troubled themselves with the study of making the like, but keeping themselves within their own Territories, unless as it were by Divine Assistance, when the several Elements are consolidated into one Body of Ice.

Thus they go forth and return, when in a long Hunting, they trace their prey, as far as *Waygats*, and *Zembla*; They affirmed those places to be two Islands, and that they were torn off from the Continent, but by a small Arm of the Sea: There they have born sway, longer than they know themselves, because beyond them, there is nothing but vast Wildernesses, and wild Beasts: The Marriners in their second Voyage, saw him, that boasted himself to be the *Prince* of all those People, a Man who was remarkable, neither in Habit, nor Majesty, his Age being the onely thing in him, that deserved respect.

From

From *Muscovy*, whose Dominion hath been much increased within few Ages, the *Rhiphean* Mountains encompass them on the back and sides, as is believed, which being unscalable, by reason of the Snow, they call the Girdle of this Land, and their poverty is their defence: notwithstanding which, their Neighbours pay them Tribute, the Skins of wild Beasts; for indeed they have nothing else, and this they do rather out of hatred to, than fear of War: The appearance of the Coasts of *Samogitia*, *Smobla* and *Wagats*, are almost the same, in some places dangerous, because of Rocks, and in other places so even, that it is fordable.

The Ground there is mossy, and full of Marshes, but no where Woody: no Herbs or Grasse fit for any good use grow there, whereof in most places, nature is prodigall, only here no such thing is ever seen. And this makes it the greater wonder, to see the boughs and Bodies of Trees, springing here and there in this place, unless it be, that the vast Ocean stirred with the very turnings of the shores, breaks into those remoter Lands towards the *North*, and so overturns all before it. 'Tis probable, that by such like force, the Islands which we now see, have been broken off from the Continents of *Sarmatian*, perchance of old, jetting out so hither and thither, as their sight makes appear. What part soever of the Coast, our Ships touched upon, they perceived sometimes smoke, and the foot-steps of men, but no Cities, nor so good as a Village; The inner part of the Country, is believed to have Woods and Lakes, which are filled and nourished by the perpetual dissolutions of Snow: All hereabouts, according as the Soyl and water pleased, diverse thatched huts scatteringly here and there in poor Havels, or in Caves appeared, which places, served them only for fire to refresh their Bodies, against the bitterness of the Weather: wherein though they could hardly stir, yet would they not be idle: The chief, nay & only Householdstuff they have, is a kind of Sledge, which is drawn with incredible celerity, by four

forced

small Creatures, not much unlike a *Hare*, sliding as it were under they race their prey through the deepest Snows, yea, and change their Seats. All this Region is divided, though somewhat unequally between wild Beasts, and these Savage

There is abundance of *Hares* and *Wolves*, both with white skin; *Martins* also, *Sables*, and many other Beasts, whose skin are of great value: Here are *Bears* of a more than ordinary bigness (which are made white too, by the sharpness of the cold) and are beyond expression, fierce and ravenous, because they want Pasture, inasmuch, as if they but once get scent of prey, neither the fear of Weapons, nor the Sea it self, can put a stop to their eagerness, or lessen their pursuit. This mischief, miserably lost some of the unwary Seamen, the West-Indies, nor were their Companions able to help them otherwise, than by seeing them eaten, and afterwards to seek a too late Revenge. Upon the rising part of this Coast was observed a sad division between Religion and reason; when upon the tops of the Hills on one side, innumerable Effigies of the Gods, testified both an ignorance of Art and dulness of understanding; and on the other *British Crosses*, shewed marks of *Christianity*: For the *Russians*, whom either Tempest, or the desire of Trading for Furs, had brought into that part of the Continent, and among these Islands, had been taught *Christianity* by the *Greek Church*, six Ages before; The *Samogitians* worship the Heavens and the Stars, (Deities not worse than others,) according to their old Custom, nor do they believe it lawful, to hate those that dissent from them.

There are some, that in those Woods, stick not to worship by an unknown kind of Superstition, things horrible, both to sight, and hideous for their dreadful noyse; nay, and call *Snakes* and *Serpents* sacred. But the *Samogitian* Customs are not so barbarous, nor much differing from those used in *Lapland*, and *Finland*; although some, from their name, would argue,

argue, that in former Ages they did eat mans flesh; which if we allow, there are these to be numbred among those people, whose lives were so mollified by age and extemples, shewed an apt inclination of mankind, to leave off their old and customary barbarity: At the first coming thither of the *Hollanders*, they were fearful mee ly out of ignorance, they provided for their security, either by Arms or flight: But after they had tryed our innocence, and received some triviall Presents; (two sacred ties) they called to witnesse the Sun, and their own poverty, that they were even against their wills, overcome by good turns; And if at any time afterwards, Fortune smiled upon us, we were altogether beholding to the affections of those People which border upon the Sea; though it were very necessary, that Castles should be built in those passages, to preserve the use of that new found Sea, and where Ships may have shelter and Harbour, if any sudden accident should happen. Then if industrious care, together with men meet there, the Island of *Wagats* is no less fit for Tillage, than those places which are inhabited in the utmost skirts of the *Danish* Kingdom; for as under the very line, where the Country is beyond measure hot, so those places which being far off at both the Poles, or frozen up, will both admit humane Inhabitants, which by Custom, or being born there, after the first Plantation, will be naturalized to the Clymate; contrary to the Opinion of the Antients, as experience convinceth us; for certainly, Nature condemned no part of herself to Solitude, so that *Greenland* being more to the *Northward*, yet may and without question would, produce and bear Fruit and Corn, according to our manner in *Europe*. 'Tis true, and equally probable to be believed, that at first many places lay desert and unmanured, while yet the choycer parts of the Earth would suffice for all; But when by little and little, either multirude or discord, forced men to seek further Habitations, the Land demonstrated the Sea, and that again discovered more Land.

Older is the next Region to *Obis*, famous for the Effigies and Oracle of a Noble old Woman: Beyond the little River *Malgunzay*, there is another greater, and a Bank of the same Name, whereof the *Russians* used by Authority not for Trade: But all the rest surely is fabulous; as, That the people of *Lensomoria*, die in the *Winters*, and revive again in the *Spring*, while, in the interim, the onely Religion of the *Inhabitants*, is performed in the exchanging Commodities exposed to Barter: That the mens Bodies are all rough and hairy, and their Heads and Faces resembling a Dogs, is no less vain surely, than those forged Inventions of the *Ancients*, who have bestow'd upon some people Horses Feet; upon others, Ears of such bigness, that they cover their whole body; so that every where almost, the Report of these Things is made more wonderful, by additional hear-say: yet that some of these, and which is confirm'd with more certain Testimony of Truth, as Men without Heads, who have their Faces in their Breasts, either really be such, or seem so to be, by the shorness of their Necks and their Shoulders sticking up. I will not obstinately deny, well knowing, as in some places, the violence of Heat; so in other, the extremity of Cold, hath often warped Nature, and made it become deformed: From hence it is agreed, That the next are the *Loppians*, and the *Mountain Imassu*, and the *Tartarian Hordes*, removed to and fro among the *Deserts*, by a part of whom is *Cathay* possessed: Thence is the way to *China*, and other places in the *Eastern* part of the World.

This same Year was made unlucky by *Pirates* of *Dunkirk*, who took five and Thirty Ships of *Holland* sent to *Norway* for Timber, among all which, was but one Ship of War; but in regard they could not carry them off, they took the Masters of them as Pledges, till the Money promised for their Redemption was paid.

And

And shortly after, they took no less a prey from others going to *France*; But one of the *Pyrat* Vessels being circumvented by the *Hollanders*, the greatest part of them were being killed in fight, with the execution of forty three that survived, they a little repressed that villanous, and growing presumption: and besides, above twenty Ships more were freed, which were taken and detained by that Ship, every one of which had promised, for the preservation of their lives, ten thousand *Florins* and more.

The Fifth Book of the History of the Dutch AFFAIRES.

1596. **T**HE *Netherlanders*, under the *Spanish Obedience*, began the year merrily, from the unaccustom'd Joy of them, which were come from the *French Borders*, as well as from the new hope conceiv'd from *Albertus*, Arch-Duke of *Austria*, who was sent with great honour to be Successor to *Ernestus*: He was the youngest of all his Brothers; But, which is a great advantage to Nobility, and an implicate Agreement between the Pope and Kings, he was graced with a Cardinals Hat. Afterwards, being approved by *Philip*, for his Government of *Portugal*, where he had gotten Repute by his careful Obedience and Affability towards the Subjects; and therefore now was not thought unworthy to be bound to the King in a nearer Tie, according to the Custom of People agreeing in Affection. To this purpose, that he might with the greater Honour undertake and enter upon this Government, belonging to the House of *Austria*, great store of Provisions

measures were made, both for *Peace* and *War*: He had a safe Journey from *Spain* into *Italy*, and thence, through *Savoy* and *Germany* as far as *Luxemburg*, and the *Borders* of the *Netherlands*: Souldiers both of Horse and Foot were on all hands drawn together; not onely as a Defence for the whole, but as a Supplement to the old exhausted *Militia*; which he, as soon as he came to the Army, he reduced into a few Regiments or Brigades, & partly filld them with old Souldiers, wisely desiring to find true Valour among them, rather than great Name and an outward shew, lest he should by an unnecessary multitude of Officers, both trouble the Souldiers, and burden the Treasury: And therefore he removed from being *Governours* and *Colonels*, all those *Netherlandish Noblemen*, who seldom coming at their charges, scarcely made use of any thing, besides the name and profit arising therefrom, putting others in their places, who by long obedience, had deserved to command; He appointed also, other things worthy of imitation, as, That none should carry an *Ensign*, unless he had thrice received pay; Moneys also were looked after, because a new Sedition was feared, and the old Sores began again to rankle; for prevention whereof, for the future, the *Spaniard* promised every Moneth, eleven hundred thousand *Florins*, but the same should not proceed beyond the first *Autumn*.

The Archduke *Albert*, brought along with him a great Mass of uncoyned Silver, by which means, the damage of money to be returned by Writings, or Bill of Exchange, would be much advanced, and because being coyned in the *Netherlands*, it would bear the greater price; Besides, otherwise, the many hazards of long Journeys were now prevented the same at present being defended with a strong *Guard*, he brought with him also, and boasted it as a great Pledge of his clemency, the Prince of *Aurange*, whose name was *Philip William*, who at the first beginning of the troubles in the *Netherlands*, had been carryed thence, where being honourably kept.

kept in the *Spanish Court*, had now first received his Liberty for being firmly grounded in the *Catholike Religion*, and oblig'd by that benefit, if he should go to his younger Brothers and the Provinces where his Fathers Memory was yet fresh, it was hoped he would either become a Moderator for Peace, or be the cause of Discord among the Enemies: Nor was *Albertus* himself look'd upon by the *Hollanders* with an Evil Eye, being known to most of the Sea-men for his liberal Clemency, when being all seized in *Portugal*, he dismiss'd them, to this very end, as was believed, in hope that they would spread abroad his Fame. But above all, he was much beloved before all others; because, by his coming, *Jheronimus Fonteyne*, were removed from their maligned Greatness, and sent into *Spain*. But the absence of those was supplied with many more; as, *Francisco Mendona*, Admiral of the *Armenian Sea*, a chief man both in Counsel and Actions of War; *Gonsalvo Carilia*, *Girolamo Zapata*, and *Baptista Taxin*, persons with other Names, but of the same Nature and Disposition with the former, whereby dissembled Goodness was more feared, than the remaining Evils.

The *States of the United Provinces*, fearing lest the Value should be chang'd by the speech and presence of the Prince of *Aurange* writ to him, congratulating his Freedom from Captivity of Twenty Eight years continuance: But that it was not safe for him to come within their Jurisdiction being all in Arms, unless he were publickly invited, nor could they, as present Affairs then stood, come to him: However, they hoped, that he, who had so thoroughly tryed the *Spanish Cruelty*, would not seek to subvert their Liberty, founded by his Fathers Counsels, and cemented with his Blood. Whereon he answer'd, as concerning his Father dissemblingly, but to the rest friendly; to wit, That he was come thither, to be an Author of nothing, but what might conduce to the benefit of both Parties, whereupon he hoped he should meritedly expect their best Wishes.

Being

being then debarred thereof, for the time to come, he affected nothing, complaining, *That the Hollanders suspected him, and the Spaniards hated him for his Alliance; wherefore he took up Arms, chiefly as being desirous of a private life, partly also out of respect to his Brother's Honour.* But Prince Maurice, and his Sister, who was married to Count *Habsburg*, when he came into the Dutchy of *Cleves*, sent to him by several *Messengers*, both Gifts and Money, each offering them themselves, concerning the Domestick Administration of those great Possessions in their Power. But the *States*, strictly desiring to avoid all imminent Snares laid to catch him, gave Order for strict Watches upon the Ways; their Care was against the *Jesuits*, lest any Seditious Doctrine should be blown among the people. But *Albertus*, notwithstanding upon these Inventions, although desirous of peace, yet he might be ready for War; to which purpose, he made ready an Army of 25 Thousand, besides his Garri-

Calais, a Town in *Flemmandois*, surrounded both with War and Wear, there was no reason or possibility to maintain, unless by continual Additions of little Forces, which must be done by stealth, because all about it lay the Enemies Towns, and a great Body of Horse, beside the dampness of the fields: by which much the *Besiegers* Fortifications were greater, by so much more they terrified all that endeavour'd to approach it with the greater danger: Wherefore, to withdraw the *Besiegers*, if they should stay, it was nearer to attack *Calais*, a Town of greater value, and the ill repaired Fortifications of that City, perswaded the Avarice of the *Princes* hereto.

The Duke of *Parma* formerly destin'd the same thing; so did *Ferdinand* afterwards, by the advice and perswasions of *Lamoyne*. But the honour of beginning thereof was reserved for a new Governour. This most eminent Reward and remain of their *Transmarine Expeditions*, the *English* kept for two hundred years, as the main Port of their Sea; which being

regained by the Valour of *Francis Duke of Guise*, one *Cardinal* had the Government thereof, which he soon after committed to a near Kinſman of his own: But neither of them had ſo much care, as to amend what was decay'd and become ruinous, either by Age or War. And the Works were ſhort of an Age in ſtanding, a Stone Wall encompassing the City: It hath a little Caſtle, ſlightly running out with ſome Platforms; there was not a Souldier in it that thought of an Enemy, but made it their buſineſs to ſtrengthen their Authority, while they onely ſtudy to enrich themſelves by Sea and Land, and (which is frequent, where there is a diſtraction in Affairs) out of a Captainſhip erect a Kingdom. Wherefore, neither the King of *France*, though he was fore-warned of the danger by ſome intercepted Letters, could help it, he ruling yet as it were but at pleaſure, and by his Subjects good-will. Moreover, the *Governour*, hearing it ſtrongly reported, that *Calais* was aim'd at, conſcious to himſelf of the defects of the Town, admitted two Companies of *Holland* Souldiers into the Town, but no more, he himſelf having ſix more; whereof when *Albericus* was told, the more to ſpread abroad the Terror of his Deſign, he commanded ſeveral Bands to go out of the Town of *Valenciennes* under their Captains, and in the neareſt parts of *France* to make a great Uprore.

The Camp-Maſter-General *Chriſtian Rons*, the famousſt Man among all the *French* Exiles, ſent with part of the Army to beſiege the Town, cut off all the Paſſages, by which onely Relief might come: For taking the Bridge, whereby the Land-Entrance is ſtraited, he raiſed againſt the Wall a Tower, which is called a Rice-Bank, juſt at the ſides of the Port (this ſame way the Duke of *Guise* before found into the Town) where the Fortifications were long ſince broken down; which, the danger being not yet fully known, every one helped to ſaſten again, being ſhaken with Cannon play upon the Shore, and not defended ſo long as it ought to have been, the Conquerour aſcended and won.

After

After this the *Hollanders* Ships; which lay upon the Coast of *Flanders*, were driven off, that they might not so commodiously assist the Besieged: Notwithstanding which, among all the Shot, the Haven being very large, a Ship was convey'd into the Town, which deliver'd to the *Gouverneur* such Workmen as he requested, for the mending his Works, together with a quantity of Gun-powder, and then returned. Shortly after the Count *St. Paul*, who had brought 1500 *French* men to the Sea-Shore, for Relief of the Town, was promised by a *Spaniard* to be put into it, but he durst not undergo the danger.

At last all the Arch-Duke's Forces being met together, and fought with upon the Sand-Hills; from whence the *Besieged* being forced, forthwith the Suburbs were gain'd. Within a while after, the Town it self, after a three days Siege, when the *Oze* began to be batter'd, between the People's Fear, and the Harred of their old Lord (because the *Gouverneur* himself was wanting both in Authority and Counsel) was surrendered to the *Spaniards*. The Souldiery retired into the *Castle*, which was held six days, during a *Truce*, in hope of Relief. And now Prince *Maurice*, with 500 Sail of Ships, and a great number of Souldiers, was come thither, to see what was the Resolution, as well of the *English*, as the *French*: But the Count *St. Paul* march'd away, and the Earl of *Essex* was ready with a *Fleet* to fight the *Spaniards*, if, by chance, they should offer an Invasion: But the Emulation of the People were well agreeing, hindred it. For the Earl of *Essex* tryed *Monsieur de Viquez*, the *Gouverneur* of the next *French* Garrison, if he would suffer the *English* to have the Custody of *Calais*, if it were recover'd: But the *French* believed, that the *English*, now under a shew of Friendship, did clandestinely seek to regain, what they had long since gain'd by War. However, King *Henry* not minding to leave his Siege, but leaving his Army at *Bayen*, and doing so, either because he despair'd of passage to *Calais*, the Way being cut off by *Duclers* that

let in the Sea, he came with 4000 men by the River *Somme* to *Baloyn* the next Harbour. And there he advised, but in late, about relieving the Castle of *Calais*. Prince *Charles* being desired by the King to come on Land, he excused himself, affirming, *He was to advise concerning their own Borders at Home, which were left unprovided.* But while they were talking, almost 300 Souldiers, under the Conduct of *Guillaume*, making use of the Night, and the Ebbe of the Sea, with silence marching by Land, broke through the *Trenches* of the Castle, giving rather an Example of Courage, than any other help to the Besieged; for many of them, the Fighting open to the Assailants, were killed, together with *Dutch* Souldiers, at their very entrance, while the rest of the *French*, being altogether unaccustom'd and unfit for War, by an inconsiderate Sally, caused the Ruine both of themselves and others; at which time the Governour himself was slain. About 60 *Hollanders* valiantly defending themselves from the tops of Houses, obtained a Grant to be sent away safe. The presence of the Arch-Duke caused the Victory to be moderately joyful, who having gained *Calais*, without the loss of many of his men and being a Town in the uttermost Borders of *France*, augmenting and strengthening with good Works, he submitted it to the Government of *Flanders*, the Speech of which Province was agreeable to the same. By the Fame of this Victory *Arde*, a Town lying not far off within the Land, (and formerly a stop to the *English* invading that Country) soon yielded itself to the power of *Albertus*; by which means there was a passage this way open'd into *France*, with the same Felicity to him, as it was much to the blame of the Enemies; that they had oppress'd them ere they were aware. Two Thousand Souldiers marched out of this Town, which was indifferently well Fortified, having honourable Terms though dishonourably obtained; for they did not hold out long, as to endure one Assault, being frighted with the demonstration of Death, if they forthwith did not surrender.

While

While these Things were doing, at last *Feyer*, being sub-
 ject by Famine, King *Henry* distributed his Army into all
 places about, and near to, *Calais*, lest any of the weaker Cities
 were surprized with great fear, should make a deserti-
 on to the Conquerour: whom the *Flandrians* incited, (be-
 ing now compelled to depart out of *France*, by want of all ne-
 cessaries) promising to assist him with great Sums of Mo-
 ney, if he would besiege *Ostend*, and restore it to them, that
 Town only being wanting upon all that Coast: And Prince
Maurice fearing the same, went himself to view it, and took
 care at his departure, that they at present be supplied with
 Soldiers enow, and afterwards should be stored with Victu-
 als, and all other Things, both for maintaining their Works,
 and for War; which the Scouts and Spyes relating; as also,
 as the Sea came up to the very Town, with a commodious
 Harb, and that all backward was very dangerous, being full
 of Mines: So that Siege was put off, lest being rashly be-
 sieged, it should wound and lacerate the Fame of his first Suc-
 cess. Yet because, besides the Auxiliaries sent to *France*,
 a great part of the *Holland* Souldiers was swallow'd in the
Dutch Fleet, Peace was by them condemned, though it
 easily was contested by the Requests of the Cities, and the
 Councils of the Captains, whether they should carry the War.
 While the Dukes Force: were employ'd in *France*, Prince
Maurice his Horse wasted all the utmost Skirts of *Brabant*,
 and the *Netherlanders* with Fire and Sword, and took *Ech-
 terich*, a Town in *Lutzeburg*; and as soon as those Retreat-
 ed into *Flanders*, the *French* likewise fell in there. Thus had
 each of them continually a troublesome Enemy at his Back or
 Side; *Fusa's* and *Albertus* Troops attending each others mo-
 vements as Fortune or Opportunity presented occasions. And
 certainly, this time, by much Exercise, and the Care of the
 Commanders, gave to the *Hollander's* establish'd Horse, not
 only an Example of being more active and vigilant to the
 greatest Attempts, but also instructed them better, and reduced

them to a more settled Discipline. For the *Spanish* Brigades were even inclosed and unfit for Service; when, on the other side, all the *Enemies* Country lay open to the *Wallas* Horse, as a fit Object for their Spoil. The *Arch-Duke*, who he thought fit to march out, that he might not leave any thing dangerous, or suspectfull to him behind, removed from *Val* most all the *Italians*, first giving them their Pay; then losing all his Hopes and Counsels against *Hullst*, because it seemed the reducing thereof would quiet *Flanders*, and he was of small advantage also to *Brabant*. It is a Town of no strength, by reason of the Antiquity of its Building, whereof *Philip II.* being Conquerour, and having a long time desired to change and alter the round fashion of the Walls, he had added, in the interim, some Fortifications to the new made Trench. Soon after the *Zelanders*, undertaking the defence, and keeping thereof, erecting some Forts about the adjacent Fields, did seem rather to have taken Counsel for preserving the Country, than the Town: The chief strength of the place is a River arising not far off, which being brought forward by Art, that it might, so passing further, fall into the *Hem*, was also brought back into the *Schelde*; for the same River, by both Names, being full of *Meanders*, washed all the back-part of the Territory of *Hullst*: By which means it is on every side inaccessible, as is an Island; and being dependent on both Banks, daily sent forth Souldiers to plow and waite the Land of *Wass*, and the Province of *Brabant*: Besides, they could cut their Sea-Banks, to let in the Waters on their Enemies; and then they that were within the River were lyable to Slaughter by the Darts and Shot of the Town. During the several Governments of *Erasmus* and *Frederick*, the *Flandrians* had erected two Castles, to stop their Passions: The *United States* had raised more for the Defence of the Bank. Two of these were annexed to the Town, by an excurrent Rampire or Breast-Work; which Passage, as we have seen, as the mutual assistance of each to the other, was hidden

by the Ground which lay open between them. These were not both of an equal strength, for that which was call'd *Wassenaar Fort*, was the stronger, being opposite to the *Horn*, because it serv'd as a safeguard for the bringing Recruits, either from *Axels*, or the *Isles of Zeland*.

They that were sent by *Albanius* to view the place, being inform'd with these Difficulties, advis'd quite contrary to what was before resolv'd on: For how was it possible (say they) to carry over naked Souldiers, a great quantity of Provisions, and a Train of Artillery, which can but move slowly, while those Threating Forts stand there to resist, and especially a great Fleet of the Enemies lying in the *Scheld*, into the very middle whereof, their lesser Vessels will penetrate. Certainly, it was both a difficult and doubtful Attempt, nor did the rest seem to have any thing more of Expedition, for the Soil was full of Marshes, the Enemy active and vigilant, and the Siege would be to little purpose, in regard of their free passage with shipping: Nor had they any better hopes to gain the same by Assault, for that the Town would be continually supply'd with sound and fresh men: Besides all this, the King of *France*, having taken many of his Rebels into Mercy, it was to be fear'd, he would venture into all vacant places with greater Force: Nor indeed could it be accounted a Honourable Action, to attack *Half* through so many Ha-

But *Claudianus Barlot*, a *Netherlander*, and the most earnest of all the Colonels, rising up, desired he might have the command over those Regiments, against which the *Spanish* Officers had spoken: That the rest of their Arguments were fill'd with nothing but vain fear, whereas they ought, to expect some good success, to wait upon their courage, and hope for an opportunity, either from the error or fear of the Enemy; That the vicissitudes of War should be brought to a stay, if equal Counsels should be found on both sides, and a like valour in every one: At present, the matter being dissembled

to most, but some few, that they might the better draw the Enemy into a Condition of Security, whom to remove from the suspected places, was the chief work: the design was not its effect: For *Rome*, by making a Bridge over the *Scheldt*, was commanded to march with some English into *Brabant*, merely to affright them of *Berghes* or *Brabant*, by he compelled *Prince Maurice*, leaving a *Garrison* at *Huist*, whereof *Court Salvo* was *Governor*, to follow diligently with the rest of his Bands.

Then certainly, if ever at any time, were the Forces of the *United Provinces* small, because for the avoiding of charges, they were contented only to maintain their Borders; but this year made them sensible of the folly of such kind of Resolves, they having therein suffered some loss, and undergone so vast expence: Part of their soldiers were by agreement aboard the *English Fleet*, and the part was gone into *France*, to relieve *Cambray*, and what remained, was almost taken up by their *Garrisons*; the *German* Soldiers of late being dismissed, and no new Regiment raised in their stead: *Prince Maurice* had scarce a thousand wherewith to follow and observe the uncertain motions of the Enemy; But for supply thereof, the Soldiers out of *France* being eighteen Companies, were recalled, and sent home; In the interim, *Barlot* (with whom was present in hope of the future Government of the Town) commanded some little Boats, which he caused to be brought from the next Castle in *Flanders*, through the ditches, in the night to be put into the Channel of the River; *Barlot's* *Walloon* and *Tessins* *German* Regiments, being about fifteen hundred or rather more, laden with their Arms, and some few Days Provisions, followed them with slippery steps, the place consisting of a soft Clay, mingled with water. At last, being gotten aboard (for there were no Fords) they had a safe passage, wrought by their own silence, and the carelessness of the *Holland* Seamen, who as they dreaded no danger, so the negligent

Fear and faithful Watch; never offered to hinder, or stop
 with their Ship-Boats, which was easie to be done, the Ene-
 my while he was upon the Water: It was in vain to shoot
 at these Darts in this darkness of the night, nor did the
 Land get into the Town in time, for there being a little
 confusion at the Bank, which many Souldiers were com-
 manded to keep, as there was Reason, they, out of a rash bra-
 wery, going out thence, and being killed, furnished the E-
 nemy with wanting Engines, and a place of safety and re-
 treat, which he suddenly after followed a Fight, but it hap-
 pening in the night, proved more confused, neither party be-
 ing able to know which were Friends or Enemies, yet the
 Souldiers, at the very first bank, their Colonel *Tafeline* being
 killed, who came along with *Barlotta*, turned their backs, and
 in vain withheld, ran into the encreasing Waters (for it
 flowed) and there met a cowardly and obscure death.
 But *Barlotta* with his men, by much labour and valour, resto-
 red their Fortune, encouraging them to Honour with his
 words, and the Assailants being compelled to return into the
 Town, both parts reported the number of the slain, to be
 greater than it was, each affirming themselves *Conquerours*;
Count Solmes, because he had taken some Colours, and they,
 because they had some Prisoners: Some Souldiers, which
Solmes had left beyond the River, to assist and be as a supply
 to the *Germans*, being hired to swim over, were rewarded
 with the spoils of such as were slain; Then was it, if any
 singular night was, in that sudden and nocturnal attempt,
 assisted by the Enemy, that it happened (for within, there
 were sent from cross Banks, to prevent the over-flowings of
 the Rivers, in the same manner, as *Prince Maurice* had com-
 manded them to be kept.)

These things, as soon as they were noysed through *Bra-*
bar, both the *Commanders* by divers marches, tend to one
 and the same place!

The

In the mean time, the *Spanish* brought in by one side, and the *Hollanders* Horse by the other, filled the whole Country *over Hills*, with sudden fear and slaughter: The *Hollanders* had the greater strength, and as oft as the water overflowed the Fields, they passed backward and forward with their small Vessels unmolested. Then between the Town and the Castle adjoining to the Town, which looketh toward the *Scheldt*, and so to the Enemy, sighting their Fortifications, they laid themselves open, by which mock or scorn, the Enemy being provoked, as they pursued them seeming to fly, were cruelly shattered, and beaten by the Townsmens shot, and also a more compact and well ordered Sally: It was manifest, that these things happened for want of Cannon; without which no good could be done; and there was no small difficulty in the waiting them over the River: the more handy places were by little and little, made firm with Faggots and other brushwood.

In the *Esquary*, several Ships were bound, and tyed one to another so strongly, that they were as good as a Bridge, and at the furthest part of the Bank, served the Kings Forces like a lance, framed into the shape of a half Moon; from hence the great *Artillery* battered both the Town and Castle. But at that time there were two, which had been brought at the first coming, into the very Island, and as any of the rest were brought over, they were planted immediately against the Enemy. Afterwards, many others were brought thither, for security of the former, and *Rox* attempted to take from the *Militians* a Fort, which was (as we said) to secure their Provisions; and to cut off the use of the River from the Town, yet make it advantageous to themselves, which after it had not succeeded by several mean assaults, at length, with the Thunder of Cannons, and the noise of Trumpets and Drums, whereby (as he openly confessed) he intended to strike at the same time, terror into the Enemies, and infuse Courage into his own men; at midnight, he commanded the *Italians* to

go and break through the middle bank, possessed by the Enemy, which led from the Castle to the City. The business of the night was spent in wounds and slaughters, with confused noyse, while the doubtful strokes fall among the Crowd, and there is no possibility to foresee or avoid them.

In the morning, the Garrison was driven out: And in the interim, the *Germans* of the same side, that they might by policy assist them in the assault, with great labour passing through the marshy and unguarded places, had won the outer Trench of the Castle, and cutting down the Palizadoes, fell upon the Watch, and killed them, not thinking of any danger from abroad: Thus keeping one part from the relief of the other, he became Conquerour of both, and all that day battered the Castle with his Cannon, which as it was principally strengthened with a Bank of moist plashy Earth, so was easily beaten down: the Besieged therein, were no less than eight hundred, yet although the breach was not made wide enough, and they were sensible of no force near so great as they feared nevertheless, the Bridge taken by the Enemy, and many other doubtful and unreasonable events of chance, but chiefly, by the commixture of those, who flying from the Battle in the night, and mingled themselves among them, and would not suffer one among them to remain honest and just: And throwing down their Arms, with horrible clamours and threats, and force against their Commanders, if they could not consent forthwith to surrender. And just as the Count *Solms* was bringing to them Relief, they marched out late in the Evening, being derided by their Enemies, and according to the merits of their cowardise, punished by their Commanders in chief: so highly oftentimes are the manners and Customs of an Age corrupted, that the remedies of evils are found to be feared, than the evils themselves.

The *Spaniard* having thus sooner, nay beyond his hopes, obtained so easie an entrance against all stops, drained all the ground near the Trench, and from thence, what with Stratagem,

gent, and what with force, he sorely battered all the Fortifications encompassed with the Trench: and also by the help of the Horse, could now secure the River, draw his Forces round the Town, and take order for encamping them: and which was as much as all this, by reason hereof, the prices of all things were abated, which the difficulty of transporting before, had made so scarce, that the Souldiers were much pinched with hunger.

The Besieged laboured, and earnestly strove, by breaking down some water, to have let in an inundation upon their Enemies, but they found means to prevent the same, and turned all those Banks which they had gotten from the Townsmen, to serve against them for present use: But they bending their whole study to procure eruption of the Water, made a Cave under their Walls, whereby they might drown them selves; and after much slaughter, some Ensigns and Prisoners were taken, without harm to the Assailants, while they took the Souldiers, either idle in their Quarters, or sometimes at play at Dice, which of late is become the pastime of Military retirements and leysure; or, if they were forewarned by the Salliers out-cries, that a greater number came out, they would shun the danger; either by fighting at distance, and waveringly, or else by a lingering and slow retreat. The Cannon did the greatest damage; together with Granaadoes; for against all persons that came towards the City, there were empty Baskets set out for blindes; as well to hinder their sight, as to keep off their Darts; notwithstanding all which, not onely they that were faine to expose themselves to danger in their continual attendance upon the batteries, were slain, but also not a few of the Commanders were in like manner killed; and among these, *Ronsseu*, by whose advice all the noble actions of the *Spaniards*, achieved in *Flanders*, were managed, but that both the Archduke *Albertus*, *Furstenberg*, and the Duke of *Parma*, took the glory thereof to themselves, by commanding the same things,

He

He was by Nation a *Lorrainer*, and of a Noble Family, who, from the beginning of the *French Commotions*, follow'd the Party and Fortune of *Francis de Valois*. Afterwards, the Duke of *Guise*, observing him to be a man no less libellously polite, than truly valiant, and one that would not think any thing dishonest that was profitable, by great Gifts and Honors made him his own. In these last years, he had under-hand discover'd many of the *Spanish* Counsels to King *Henry*, and his Affection bent towards him but, in truth, that he might hide his greater Aims: The Office of Camp-Master-General, being void by his Death, was bestow'd upon *Hernus Count Herenberg*. But to proceed, The Townsmen were by their own streights compelled to fight, the Banks and Hills round about beholding them with a threatening Aspect; for *Waras* being General of the Ordnance under the Duke, had armed all those places with Cannon.

That there was nothing cover'd, but their filthy hiding places under Ground, or which lay under the Cover of the lofty Rampire: Count *Salmer* being wounded with a Shot in the Thigh, perform'd the Duties of his Command by *Messengers*, and *Conferents* with the *Colours*: And Prince *Maurice* himself, from the Neighbouring Shore, had an Eye towards all Things; so as whoever were wounded, or unable to bear Arms, being near fifty every day, were taken out of the Town, and plac'd in Hospitals, in the several adjacent Cities and Islands: *Piris*, also a Colonel of *Zealand*, by continual labour, and studious vigilancy, weakened and fallen sick, was licensed to depart. Supplies, and all other Things necessary for War or Provisions, were brought thither also from the same place, first by the Care of *Ernestus* of *Nassau*, and afterwards by Captain *Dorpius*: And the Garrison, by little and little, increased; till there were in the Town 36 Companies, and in *Nassau's* Fort 6 Companies: Besides, such plenty of Corn, that when they could not conveniently keep it within the Town, part of it was laid up in the Ships: But this was hardly

hardly to be hindred by the Enemy, that Ships should so frequently pass to and fro, as in Trade, while he lay there in Siege: And therefore against the Port, they raised severall long Works, sometimes extending one way, anon turning another way, that so they might from thence infest the Haven with their Artillery; but for the most part in vain: For by the interposition of the Marshes, and long distance of place, the shot was spent, before it came to the place, which it was intended to batter: And besides, the Enemy lay within reach of the Shot from *Nassau Fort*. And the flowing of the Sea, proving more violent, prov'd to them both an hindrance and damage. From thence, the *Italians*, under the Leading of the Marquis of *Trevigiana*, attack'd the Fortification, which Count *Solms* had lately made before the Gate of the Town, looking towards the Camp: First, they begun with plain and open force of *Pioneers*; but as soon as appearing out of the Trench, they found themselves gall'd with Shot, presently rising two Breast Works, they inclosed their Flanks, and then began to shoot furiously, and the *Italians* soon after, climbing up to the very bottom of the Fortification, were thrown down in Fight; from whence again rising, by the Valour of the *Zelanders*, thick showers of Bullets, and casting of Wild-fire, they were totally put to flight. They had joyn'd to them some other Aids of other Nations, which stood every one separated by themselves, that so their Valour might be the better discerned. Nay, and a proper Band of Volunteers was commanded to go forward, with not onely Military Ensigns display'd before them; but such as were wont to be used at Processions, and Solemn Times of Prayer, appointed by the Church.

This was an ordinary thing with the *Spaniards* of old, as often as they had War against any Profane or Barbarous Enemy; and because it is a Nation much addicted to the Ceremonies of Religion, there is no surer way can be devised to encourage them. On the other side, the several Regiments
by

by turns; took care of the Guards, and the whole multitude of Towns-people became subservient to the War, bringing Darts to the Souldiers, and Faggots, Fire-Brands, and other Materials, both for Offence and Defence. Thus for three days, one after another, continued a sharp Fight, but with the greatest slaughter of the Assailants: for as the Souldiers of the first Rank, by reason of their heavy Armour, were like a Wall to the rest, their Arms not being penetrable by Shot, so they were kept nigh at hand, for the avoiding of stroke, by their standing still, they hindred both themselves and others. At last, they fell from Force to Stratagems; the one, beginning to undermine; the other, to countermine; so as the Damage yet fell equally: There were some for the *Assailants* who, partly by the plainness of the overturned Ground on one part, and partly by the rising thereof in another, were helped by the Slaughters both of their Friends and Enemies. But then did Death appear most terrible, when the Ground made uneven by daily Graves, and slippery with Blood, caused such as stagger'd thereon, that they could neither avoid to tread upon the sprawling Limbs of their Fellow-Souldiers, nor keep themselves from being annoy'd, though in the heat of Fury, by their dying spurns. Nowwithstanding all which, the increasing Enemy drove the Defendants to Extremity and left, being the less follow'd, they might at once break through the Bulwark, which already began to lye open by Breaches, made with continuall Battery, there was raised more inwardly, by the Providential Care of Count Solms, a new Work in form of a Half-Moon, and with a deep Trench, whither was drawn together, a great strength of Souldiers to make resistance: Neither did the *Spaniards* keep long the use of that Fortification, which they had obtain'd with so much Labour and Blood. For whatever remain'd thereof, the *Besieged* threw down by the force of Gun-powder from a Mine; and besides, in the void place, which lay between that and the Rampire, they had made a little lurking Hole; from

from whose obscure mouth they shot against the Enemy, who justly detesting the fraud, yet at last when discovered, they stopped it up, from doing further mischief; but when the Besiegers had stopped it up behind also, first throwing fire therein, the repressed force thereof, at length burst out with great violence, that it overwhelmed with Earth divers of the Enemies: In the interim, they ceased not to drain all the rest of the Water out of the Trench, and to batter the Ramparts, with so much the more violence, because the breaches of the Walls were sustained by Palizadoes, decaying towards the bottom, and whereever at any time the Works grew defective, the Townsmen brought thither Faggots, Wood and other heaps of things to amend or stop up the same: Neither was the Assailants labour small against the mayn Bulwark, that reached to the ravelin at the Haven, which they began to batter without success; for the Gunpowder destined to that Work, being by chance fired, destroyed many of the by-standers, with so much Thunder and terrour, that it was heard beyond the Sea of *Middelburg*: At which time, either by reason of this chance, or else being otherwise wearied, the Besiegers fury beginning somewhat to abate, a select party out of several Companies of *Hollanders*, to the number of six hundred, at open noon-day, that being the time of the Waters great ebb, passed over the *River*, partly with Boats, and partly by the Fords, and attained the parts beyond the *River*, and then so suddenly flying into divers places, that they slew the *Spaniards* even within the Trenches, wherein they lay fortified.

The great Guns that were planted against them, as they tilted over the *River*, they clogged, because they could not bring them away, and presently after so beat down, and worsted several Troops of Horse, and eight hundred Foot, that came to relieve their Fellows, or revenge their deaths, that they returned with very great Honour, and little or no damage.

And after this, they made from other parts of the Town many successful Sallies: yet for all these things, the Spanish continued to batter the Walls, and in one place had made a breach in the Bulwark, where there was not a more inward Work, though *Prince Maurice* had commanded one to be made there, the neglect whereof was excused by them that were guilty of it, by the Townsmens poverty, and Souldiers inability to undergo so many and great labours at once.

Albertus, according to the Custom of War, sent another Summons to the Town, being in this Condition, denouncing against them great threats, unless they would surrender. Whereto receiving a courageous Answer, he yet durst not begin a new Assault, because in the former Skirmishes he had lost above two thousand men; among whom, fell many *Captains*, and other *Commanders*, with the most valiant men, while they drew the Souldiers to prolong the Fight by that Example, striving to win to themselves, favour and Reputation with the new *Governour*; and also an incredible number of sick and wounded men, were scattered in the Fields, for the Neighbouring Cities would not entertain them, the horribleness of which Spectacle, made a mixture together of fear and pity. Therefore he endeavours to undermine the *Rampire* and *Bulwark*, but without any certain hope, so long as they daily saw fresh men brought into the Town; but Fortune soon after ridded them of this trouble; for some did advise, suspecting the lying still of so furious and active an Enemy, that they should endeavour to get from the Besieged, some Islands and Fords, whereby they might command the *River* and *Ships*; Others, that Ambushes should be laid to break into the City from the Trenches, whereby not only the Front as heretofore, but the backside also should be rendered unsafe; or else to give sudden Assaults upon the breaches: Thus fear inventing many things, first conceived in the brest of one, is afterwards made publick by voyce and

content of others: whereupon, some who were eloquent
 precisely said, that to begin to extoll the Enemies Forces
 and to undervalue their own, which had before in those days
 lighted their greatest Valour, was one of the greatest evils
 that could be: He upon, they go to Count Salvoes, where
 a frequent Consultation (and there were some who blamed
 every thing, that he had not advised with them, or some
 choyse men) a Captain perswading a Surrender used these,
 or the like words.

If the greatest documents of Vertue, had not been published
 in this place, I my self should yet doubt, whether we could walk
 in any ready way to Honour: That same is unjust, which will
 not be satisfied; How often have we sustained the shock of the E-
 nemyes fury, poured out upon us? how oft have we voluntarily
 fallen upon them? But alas, instead of being diminished, he ra-
 ther increaseth by the slaughters we make of him. We cannot
 receive so great Supplies as will answer the losses we suffer in being
 victorious; What have we gotten by this whole Months fighting,
 but the beating down of our Fortifications about the Town, and to
 drive our voyd works with the Enemy, and all our wast ground
 taken up by making new defences within the former: What do
 we say for therefore? Do you look for an Army to come, to
 drive the Enemy out of their Trenches and Leaguer, whom they
 will not keep off? Far be from you such a vain expectation;
 for France, and the farthest parts of the World, withhold our
 help; We are here fifteen hundred, who are daily called out to
 fight, the rest being either dead or wounded: We are besieged with
 many thousand, with whose very Arms we may be over-whelmed:
 What should I mention, the Ambushes and Snares hidden under
 ground, from which, no Vertue nor Valour can be safe; but we
 must perish without either defence or revenge; Truly we have
 been instructed by our Ancestors, that a valiant man will never
 fight apparent and visible dangers; nor do rash persons merit to
 be praised as wise, while they seek a certain, but not an honourable
 gain; But now there is a far greater difference between us and

our Enemies: We, furnished onely with a few Companies, thinke by the chearfulness of our Obedience, to supply the defects of our number. They Powerful, exceeding Wealthy, prodigall of their Souldiers lives, esteeming it costs but little, that is bought only with blood. And who would desire to have him become an Example, who so lavishly wasts his Friends? But miserable is the poor Souldier, who having so oft with contempt, even looked death in the face, yet at last he should not deserve to live; Rather let us take heed for the benefit of our Country, least while we defend a small party, the rest be left open to the same fury. Let him then be superior, whom we cannot but acknowledge more potent. Let him have the ground so sated with the blood of his followers: They will have no great cause to boast of this Victory, which hath robbed us of so many famous Leaders, and such a multitude of common Souldiers.

This accurate defence of fear, did not work upon all; one Matthias Helly, being the chief of the resisters, cryed out [This is altogether a new mischief of War, to desert the Works before they are assaulted, and to intreat a safe passage from the Enemy, out of that place, from whence yet they were able to make good their defence; rather let some time be taken for deliberation, which interim, they might keep out the Enemy, by repairing their Works, or else by force and Sallies beat him off valiantly, and they could receive further advice and directions from Prince Maurice and the States, the Prince lying but in the next place full of care for the Town, not expecting from thence any such news.]

For all this, safety was preferred by all the valiant men, and Count Solmes, who a little before had promised the Prince, to hold the Town to the utmost extremity, and was encouraged by Letters, and Promises from the States to the same purpose, now fearing the Souldiers rashness, or else as it is experimentally observed, that generous Valour, which in Field-Fights is undaunted, and not Conquerable, is unable in a Siege to endure the toyls and miseries of War,

thought

thought it fit to hasten the Surrender, lest the Condition and State of Affairs within the Town, should be discovered by the Treachery of any Renegadoes. They themselves in a manner, prescribed their own terms of delivery; which *Albericus* consented to with the greater joy, by how much it came so unexpectedly, and beyond his hope.

About the end of *August*, when the Siege had devoured more than threescore Officers, and near five thousand Soldiers, *Hulst* was delivered to *Albericus*, together with *Nassau* Fort, not so much as defaced in the least manner during the whole Siege; the rest of the Fortifications upon that Coast, the Garrison Soldiers that were therein, when they fled, did overthrow and destroy. The *Hollanders* took very heinously the loss of this Town, by which they had compelled the Province of *Flanders*, to bear a part of their burdens, in paying them Tribute. Besides, they were possessed with great fear of the victorious Army, for that the greatest part of the year remained fit for Service; and what City would stand out against them, if the touching of their Works by the Enemy, was enough to fright them into a Surrender, and if three thousand men durst not put off, and delay the Enemy by skirmishing and fighting? The multitude hereupon, murmured loudly against Count *Solmes*, as become effeminate with the caresses and amours of his Lady, and as if they would be pleased, to have one guilty person sacrificed to the publick Calamities. Nor did the *Zelanders* defer to remove him from the Command of their Regiments, being now displeased with him, because he had of late behaved himself impudently among them: professing they wanted his help to further, and dissembling the rest of their anger. But he being conscious to himself, answered the same both by word and writing, as he heard thereof, excusing his actions by necessity: so that he obtained from the confederate States, a new Regiment, they of *Zeland* not opposing the same.

At which time he protested, that having been in the War for the *Hollanders*, during the space of thirteen years, he had always resolved, for the publick good, to pardon all the injuries he could receive from any particular persons.

The Cardinall *Albert* was received with extraordinary applause of all his followers, because the *Austrian Family* was not barren of Valour and Verrue, and that he being the restorer of *Flanders* and the *French* limits, after seven years had then perfected their returned felicity with a treble Victory, and once more made their good Fortune permanent in them. Thus at present, they shewed nothing but content and joy, but the future did not continue to them the like hopes.

The War thus speedily ended, when the consumed Soldiery on both sides and the exhausted *Treasury* should have given rest to the remainder of the year: he cast both his mind and eyes to the enlarging his bounds otherwise: sending *Francisco Mendoza* to the *Emperor* his Brother, to deliver him many things in the Kings Name: As, [That *Belgium* claiming liberty to itself, under the Reverence due to the *German Empire*, might be restored to that *Burgundy* which is subject to the *Spaniards*. That the *Citizens* of *Aquisgrave*, might be compelled to submit to the *Decrees*, which commanded the *Magistrates* to renounce the *Catholick Religion*, and from thenceforth to follow all *New* Rites of Religion. That as to the *Anstirike Countess* would not suffer the *English* unpunished, to infect the *Scotch* by racy. And that the *Spaniard*, for the lifting and raising of Soldiery to *Germany*, might be assisted by publick Authority, which hitherto had been allowed but by permission.]

But the chief hopes of the *Spaniard* were removed a great distance into the *Dutchy* of *Cleves* and *Jaliers*, where the Wife of the mad Duke, being struck suddenly dead, had with new jealousies and suspicions, inflamed the old discords.

The *Counsellors* retained the *Government*, against the wills of most of the *Native Noblemen*, enjoying the benefit of this false report, that the Duke was recovered: These, because they ordained for the Duke, another Wife of the Family of *Borrain*, were believed to have wished and plotted the death of the former, and now while the *Spanish Affairs* prospered, arrived to that pitch of pride, that they commanded the *Procurators* of the *Marquiss* of *Brandenburg*, and the *Palatine* of *Newburg*, to depart out of their *Territories*; and besides, they sent to the *United States*, with great demanding, if they expected ought from them.

The *States* knowing their own imbecility, and their *Friend* strength, modestly answered, that they were *Friends*, both to the *Marquiss* of *Brandenburg*, and the *Palatine* of *Newburg*; yet nevertheless, they would observe peace with them, so long as they remained within the rights of Peace; yet wished them to be advised, lest they fetched foreign succour out of *Germany*, to their great damage: Soon after, they accused and prepared to degrade from his Honour *Count Brigny*, and several others of the *Protestants*, as guilty of a Plot against them: And at the same time, sent to excuse themselves to *Albertus*, that they were compelled to dissemble many things, and to defer them until more seasonable and happy opportunities: And *Mendoza* had brought into passe, that these mens Authority was confirmed by the *Emperors Decree*; And when they requested more, in answer whereunto the *Emperour* declared, that He himself feared to give offence to the *Protestants*, whose Ayd and Assistance would be very necessary for him in his War against the *Turks*; *Mendoza* replied, that remote Wars ought so to be minded, that in the mean while, neerer injuries should not be tolerated. And now the *Spaniard* admits a discourse of Peace, being very acceptable to *Germany*, though without any Reason, or hope from himself; And *Albertus* wrote to King *Philip* to that purpose.

Whereupon the *Emperor* sent to the *States* a Nobleman, to require safe Conduct for some *Embassadors*; that were to come thither; which when they excused, the *Spaniards* from their own Words, charged with the Envy of the *French* Peace; yet did *Alberus* keep the people obedient to him, while the *Jeis*, by the hope of *Settlement*.

While all these Accidents happen in and about the *Netherlands*, in the interim, a *Fleet* of *English* and *Holland* (which I spoke of before) passed up and down the *Spanish Seas* victorious: The cause of sending it was, because it appear'd to the *Queen*, that the *Spaniards* had gather'd together a great Navy, wherewith he intended to take some Part in *France*, near thereabout. Nor were the Threats which years before were forgot; and that the *Earl of Tyrone* Rebelling in *Ireland* was greatly assisted and encouraged by the hope of *Spanish Supplies*: And thereupon it was thought very necessary, because both the charge and occasion of it self, to divert those Forces raised and prepared for *Defence* for *England* against the procuring Enemy. In this *Fleet* there were drawn together 16 of the *Queens* great Ships, and 40 lesser Ships, all fit for War; whereto were added 50 more for carrying Souldiers, and transporting Provisions: *John Earl of Essex* was made General of all the *Land Forces*; a person in great favour with the *Queen*; for the Honour of his *Age* and *Birth*.

The Charge of the *Fleet* was committed to the Lord *Charles Howard* the Admirall thereof; both of them had equal power and authority; which Thing hath ever been observed prejudicial to Enterprises of that Nature, and to have diminished them, and hindered their Success. They were both of very unsuitable Dispositions; *Essex*, in a Youthful Heat of Blood, seeking to get to himself both the Honour and Name of Chief Captain, was wont to force the *Queen* into Arms, under the Notion of Danger; though she herself, as a Woman, endeavour'd to avoid Expences: And, that the *Fleet* might

he more honourably proceed, he expended therein no small part of his own Estate; himself shewing the way to his Relations and Familiars, that they might follow his Example. Being a person more wary of managing Affairs, by reason of his Age, tended to the contrary, and endeavour'd by all means he could, to delay the going out of the Fleet: And when it was ready, he had perswaded the Queen, that she would suspend Effect by her Letters, that he would desist from that dangerous Undertaking, and that she would reimburse him what he had laid out. But he, because he was not plainly forbidden, proceeded, That he would proceed in his Voyage, and doubted not to find Fortune. Nor did he refuse his Emulator to be equal with him in Command, knowing, that his own Authority was greater with the Sea-men; and that he, upon any Misfortune, should be less blamed, where all Things were done with a Companion. And besides, under pretence of Honour, he had won as many Noble-men as he could to go with him, who he knew, had no kindness for him; lest, in his absence, they should do him greater damage at home. There were added to both of them, Counsellors, several great Souldiers, and no Order should be effectual, but what was approved by the consent of the greater part of them. The Queen's principal Care was, That they should fall upon the Spanish Fleet, that was sent out against England or Ireland, and destroy whatever they met to that intent. Moreover, And if they could intercept the Ships coming from the Indies, or elsewhere, the Prey therein taken should be the Reward of their well-deservings.

The Ships set out by the *Hollanders*, and the rest of the League were in number 24. the greatest part of which were well fitted and prepar'd for War; the Admiral whereof was John Dronckout Warmond, to whom, next to the Prince, the chief Command, in Sea-Affairs, through *Holland* was committed. Also, there were some Selected men out of the English Regiments, then in Pay in the Low-Countries, sent aboard, which indeed were the strength of the Fleet, and a

Pattern

Patrons to the Fresh-water Souldiers. And the *State* willingly consented to it, that they might by such a Friendly Office, please the incensed Queen, although they feared the Evils, which afterwards hapned, upon their want of Money. *Lewis of Nassau*, the Son of *Jake* and *Conrad Gurnea*, *Philip* and *Ernestus*, going with those Souldiers, laid before them famous Rudiments of Vertue and Valour.

The 23 day of June, the great Commanders determin'd early to depart from *Plymouth*, with Order, *To murther fight with none but Spaniards, or People subject to the Spaniards, or such as furnished them with Ships, Guns, Souldiers, or Provisions; And that all other People might safely go about their Affairs, whithersoever they would follow the Fleet or depart to Sea, on promise of Impunity, to all that would forsake them, and come over to the English.*

All the hope and preparation of this Fleet, was without look after Prey, than to fight; because being far from Home, far from any Assistance, among their Enemies Councils, in danger of the Sea, and their Passage subject to Storms and Tempests, no delay could be safe enough. Nor do old *Chronicles* alone teach this, and the *Portugall Voyage* not long since undertaken, but the success of the very former year in *America*, which fell so far short of expectation: And therefore, those Things seem'd rather to be put in Execution, which would, by their suddain violence, in no small manner, terrifie and break the Enemies strength; and they were not resolved in what part to set upon them, a little before they came to *Cadiz*. At length, by private Letters, all the Navy was commanded to meet there: These Letters, close sealed and signed, the Captains received, with this Order, *That they should not open them, unless they were by foul Weather separated from the Fleet.*

This most noble City of *Cadiz*, from its very first Original (when many say it was call'd *Tarshosus*) and afterwards Colony of the *Tyrians*, was said to be the furthest part of the World:

World: Neither will it suffice to shew, that it was now far decay'd from its ancient Opulency. The Situation thereof, with other Things belonging to the same, hath been described by many. At this day, it is beholding to a Bridge, which they call *Sueta*, for making it no Island; for that joyneth it to the Coast of *Spain*, separated therefrom only by a small Inlet of the Sea: On which side, the Name of the Region testifies, that formerly the *Vandals* inhabited there: Beyond is the Streight, where first the Ocean broke in upon, and divided the Land: On this side is a convenient Bay, for the Reception and Safety of Ships: And then, by chance, a great Fleet lay under the Defences of the Island, which was partly prepar'd for the *American* Voyage, and partly furnish'd for War, which had not so much increased the difficulty for the *English* to land, as it had their Expectations, to the hope of a most plentiful and rich Booty. There were four Galeons, two of *Epidaurus*, every one of them carrying fifty Guns, or more, and near 700 men: Of the Kings own Ships of War, there were 21. and as many Merchants Ships, which carry'd 30 Guns a piece: Three Frigats, each of them bearing 18 Guns, and laden with more for use of the Fleet, that was at *Lisbon*, and other Ports of *Spain*; for this Fleet here was only the Third Part of the *Spanish* Naval Force. There were then also 50 Sail of other Ships belonging to private persons, come both from *Spain*, *Italy*, and other parts, which were either unarm'd, or but weakly furnish'd: And not far off from the City, lay 21 long Ships more. The Earl of *Essex* earnestly desir'd to fall upon them, while they knew not what to do, and before their fear should decay or grow less, lest he might give them time, either to take counsel, or gather strength; which if he could have perswaded others to effect, (and indeed the *Hollanders* were willing to have assisted him) they had then gotten infinite Honour, together with an inestimable Booty.

But

But the Lord Admiral *Hemard* was afraid to trust his Ships committed to his Charge, especially those of the *Queens*, which he had forbidden to be rashly brought into danger, to come into that narrow Sreight of Sea, which was full of dangerous Shelves and Quick Sands, because the Wind blew a little high. Thus, by delaying the time, they lost the Opportunity. The next day, being the first of July, the Tide of the Sea hindered them, that they could not come to the Point upon the left hand, as you enter into that Sreight, and the *Port*, so called; where the *Spanish* Ships had withdrawn themselves, excepting only the Galecons, and Long Ships, which remained nearer to the City, where the Shore runs out into *Linga*, which the Inhabitants call *Panab*. But Sir *Philip Fox* setting upon these with some lighter Vessels, and soon after the Earl of *Essex* pressed forward, that they forced them to the Bridge *Saca*, and there an Engine being placed, they were lifted on, that so they might get into the *Strait*, or escape into the Sea, that lay more inward from thence. *Essex* and *Hemard* for a hour together batter'd the Galecons, and that the more violently, for that the Flood of the Sea beating had brought them nearer; and it hapned at this time, that a *Holland* Ship, by the negligence of Captain *Van Hout*, perishing in her own fire, and the Gun-powder being carryed, yielded to the Enemy a short cause of rejoicing, for presently the Galecons not daring to stand out the fight, cutting their Cables, fell upon the Sands, all the Sea-men sleeping. Part were carryed away, and part burn'd, either by themselves, or their Enemies; at which time also one of the *English* ships was burn'd. And this strook no small Terror into the *Spaniards*, that were wont to confide in the great Bulk of their Ships; so as King *Philip* receiving News hereof by a peculiar Messenger, presently sent to *Naples*, *Genoa*, and *Sicily*, That they should immediately send what great Ships they had to the Relief of *Cadiz*; And the Assistance also of the Knights of *Malta* was demanded: But the *French* that were there

there in service, urged and insisted on the contrary. After the Sea-fight, the Earl of *Essex*, the day now declining, landed his Souldiers at *Pantal* without resistance; and the *Holland Mariners* having taken a Castle that lay upon the Sea, set up their Ensign thereon. Others also were sent, to break the *Bridge Spanes*. Just any Relief should come that way, which accordingly they performed: All the *Spanish Noble-men*, that lived thereabouts, came to the Defence of the City with 600 Foot, and as many Horse: Against whom was sent *Lewis* of *Nassau*, with 400 Spear-men, and a Band of *English Volunteers*; nor was the Fight long against them, being unaccustomed to Matters of War: At the first Onset being routed, and flying to the City in no order: They were follow'd by the Conquerors, who, while the Terror remain'd fresh, entered the City, part over the Walls, and other part by the Gates, which they had now forced open.

The People of *Cádiz*, at the beginning trusted to the Tops of their Houses, which were flat, from thence casting stones down upon the Enemy, as they were scatter'd in the Streets, but a few at a time, but as it were by whole Loads. Anon, when the Court and the Market-place were possessed, here the Towns-men all ran together into the Castle; there two Companies of Souldiers follow'd, but staid not long in it, because they understood the Passage to them was shutting up by the Bridge, which we before mention'd: Whereupon the chief persons of the City being given for Pledges, they redeem'd their Lives onely for One Hundred and Twenty Thousand Ducats: And these Pledges being soon after carryed into *England*, in regard the Queen would not suffer them to be Ransom'd, being provoked with new Injuries, dyed in Prison.

There was also a Treaty between the Earl of *Essex*, and one *Petr. Herrera*, a *Spanish Merchant*, for redeeming the Town and Ships from spoil, for the Sum of Twenty Hundred Thousand Florens, whereto *Essex* was consenting, as discerning

ning the Prey would be imbezill'd and wasted by the
 diers, and serve for the future to no purpose; but the Duke of
Medina Sidonia would not allow of that. *Agrogon* being
 the Supervisor of all the adjacent Coast, chusing rather, that
 the King should be despoiled of his *Flot*, and Ten Thousand
 Citizens outed of their Estates and Fortunes, supposing
 then to be Gain in the midst of Damage, if nothing else
 ward accrewed to the Enemy: and therefore the Town was
 spoiled, no small Damage alighting upon the Merchants of
Holland thereby; many of whom were by long Voyages
 permingled with the Enemy, who esteemed this Loss at Ten
 Hundred Thousand pounds. And moreover, a *Holland Ship*
 which came over to the *English*, upon the Credit of *Provi-*
mation, had Fifty Thousand *Florins* taken from her, upon pen-
 tence, that it was the Enemies Money. And the *Amstel*
Fleet, well laded with Merchandize, and consisting of Ten
 and Thirty Sail, was burned by the *Spaniards*, together with
 some Ships of War that were for their Convoy. The Com-
 modities there burned, amounted to no less value than One
 Hundred Thousand *Florins*. Here the Commanders differed
 in Judgment, *Essex* advising, to retain their Victory, while
 the greatness of the Report upon a sudden, should strike such
 a Terror into all the Neighbouring Parts, and even in *Spain*
 it self, that they might dig through the *Streights*; which be-
 ing taken away, the City it self, would be made an Island;
 proposing, That he himself would be ready, if the rest would
 away, with four hundred Souldiers, either to perform for his
 Country an eminent and noble piece of Service, or else, that he
 would valiantly dye in the Enemies Country; and if they had
 other Reward for their Stay, than the Preys of Ships, passing
 through those *Streights*, that they may go the next way into *Africa*
 and *Europe*, it would certainly amount to an immense Revenue.
 But the Lord Admiral *Howard*, pretending to fear scarcity of
 Provisions, hindered *Essex* his Glory, whose Honour and
 Wealth

which gotten at the taking of *Cadix*, was never any where match'd with the like Naval Success.

And it was true, that the *English* going from Home with a great store of Provisions, had yet profusely, and unadvisedly wasted, even in the City, what would have sufficed them for many days. Neither would the *Dutch* Admiral *Warwick* be hearkned to, offering to the *Fleet* a Month's Provision out of his own Ships; and that, in the mean time, as the Wind favour'd, Provisions might be fetch'd, either out of *Italy* or *England*; and he believed (as he said) That the *People* of *Carthage*, who maintain War constantly against the *Spaniards*, would not refuse to furnish them. Notwithstanding all such Advice, first setting the Town on fire, they hoisted Sail. And although *Essex* did again demonstrate, That the *Spanish* Fleet coming from *America*, was not far off, bringing no less than three score and ten hundred thousand *Florins*; and that there was another going to the *Indies*, being as it were a Booty proposed for them, if, next after *Cadiz*, they would, which he conceiv'd to go to the *Islands* of *Azores*, not far from the *Line*, (which the *Netherlanders* call the *Isles* of *Flanders*, because they say they were of old inhabited by the *People* of their Country.) all Succour being intercepted, by the speedy Expedition and Report of the *Matter*. But other Advices were prefer'd, which oftentimes under the Vizard of an over-careful Providence and Fore-sight, do many times vitiate, if not ruine, the most noble and valiant Undertakings. And the same Envy, as before, pretending danger of the Ships, and want of Victuals, would not suffer him with the *Fleet*, to touch upon any of the obvious parts of *Spain*: So that they pass'd by so great an open Shore, and almost void of Towns, doing nothing but dishonourable Pyracies.

Thus it came to pass, that the spoil and burning of the City of *Cadiz*, could not have been the least of his Actions, when the whole Land and Continent of *Spain*, offer'd it self to be spoil'd,

spoiled, if it had not been defend'd, by the never failing Minds of men equal in Authority; so that Fortune did vain thus far flatter'd the Earl of Essex. They praised the Industry of the *Dutch-men*, whom they were not willing to make use of; yet the Queen sent *Letters* to Admiral *Spencer*, wherein she gave him Thanks for his faithful and good Service: Nor did it a little augment the Trouble of the *Spaniards*, for their decaying Wealth, that their *Fleet* was burnt at *Cadix*; all the Tribute and Customs of the following year were lost, his strength at Sea much diminish'd, about Twelve Hundred great Guns lost and consumed; and, which was worst of all, it was made known to the World, how weak they were at Home, that were so much fear'd abroad. As an Addition to all which Losses, that old Evil of Usury, eat up all the publick Revenues: For *Philip*, Twenty years before, having much impair'd his Credit, while he was yet intangled in the *Dutch War*, not depressing his ambitious Things, after the Kingdoms belonging to others, nor comparing his infinite Disbursements, with his ordinary Income, by diminishing covetous Endeavours, wherein *Fortune* proved various, he brought upon himself Poverty. For the greatest part of the King's Creditors suspecting his potency, onely some *Merchants* of *Genoa* and *Germany*, much improved their Money, by the hazard of Commerce, and dealing with him. To these were given in *Pledges* Security, almost all the Customs, who reckoning all the Hazards, both of War and the Sea, the incommodioust Is of Transportation, and also infinite Use and Extortion for their Money, did, for a long time, prevent the coming in of the *Revenues* to the King's use.

Thus, his *Treasury* being besieged, as it were by his Creditors, from whence he should place and displace Officers, or at leastwise bear the Charge of his Wars, nothing came to the King, until some *Palatins* of his Court, rather careful for the present, than provident for the future, invented a way, though

as very honourable; which Advice, the King laying hold of, in the Moneth of *November*, he set forth an Edict, wherein declaring, with many Circumlocutions, the grievousness of the Usury he suffer'd; insomuch that Husbandry ceased, and Merchandizing was left off: That the Customs of the Kingdom, the Tenths of Priests, granted to him by the Pope, and the Tributes of several Nations, were all detained by most unjust Covenants, which the fear of worse Evils had extorted: And in regard that all his many Labours, in behalf of Christianity, would be perverted, unless some speedy course were taken, to supply or prevent those Necessities. Whereupon, without any other pretence of words, he declared, That whatsoever had been by him pawned, or laid to pledge, was absolutely free from every such Obligation: So that he presently laid hold of all his Possessions, leaving to the *Usurers*, at the present, nothing but hopes: Adding withall this Proviso, That whatsoever had been paid above lawful Interest, should be deducted from the Principal. In the mean while, a great many were stripped of their Wealth, though some, under a false pretence of Poverty, abused it to great advantage: And this same Clemency, for the like Reasons, fell also upon some in the *Netherlands*.

The Arch-Duke hereby was surprized with such a want of Money, that the next year he suffer'd by it most inexplicable Damage: So that at last all came to his wonted course; not so much for shame of the *Creditors*, who cryed out, *There was no Faith left*, if the Royal Power would take upon it self the infringement of Covenants; as because the Names of the Revenues coming in were various, and where hence Money should be brought, the Ways were infested with *Thieves*, and the Charges of the War required a present Remedy. But this could not be obtained, before the Promises and Engagements were renewed by the Restoration of the Pawns, and promise to pay every Moneth Eighteen Thousand Duckets, and add to the old Bank Four Hundred more; the Third Part

of which to be paid in *Spain*, and the Residue in the *Netherlands*, by Bill of Exchange. But, among the *Hollanders*, at the Dearth and scarcity of Provision in *Italy* decreased, so did their Revenues, both publick and private: For supply whereof, the *Hollanders*, besides their old Taxes, lately increased in Eighth Part, imposed a new one, whereby they might restrain Riot and Excess daily increasing, or else bring the Gain thereof to the publick Advantage. There was a Rate set upon all those that sold Silk, and other such like precious Commodities for Garments. But when as the *Collector* began to put in Execution the said Tax, at first the People began to rail with scurrilous Language; but afterward they fell to open force and blows. They, who without grudging, underwent the burden of daily Provision for Extraordinaries, yet strove against this, as if it had bin for their Liberty. But this seem'd a Reproach, not a Tribute; for the Continuity of some so withstood the publick Authority, that it appear'd unsafe, to incline to the contrary: But, in *Friesland*, they who had the charge both of the Cities and the Country, not yet agreeing, while every one defends his Possessions against the payment of Tributes, they made it evident, with what Diseases chiefly the Common-wealth may be afflicted, where there is not likewise a common profit. But the chief care of the Nobles, was bent to settle and confirm a League between themselves and the *French* and *English*; for hitherto they had given Assistance one to the other at request, and their own pleasure; which had sometimes been the cause of Complaints among them; and on all sides produced Threats, tending to the breach of Peace. But the *Hollanders*, who had perpetual cause of War, and, as for the most part, such Alliances overstrain the Inferiours, while their Forces were at War in *France*, or at Sea with the *English*, lost *Hulst*, and all the Tributes growing out of *Flanders*, no man caring for their Grievs or Losses.

In the mean while, the *French* not dissembling concerning
Calais

Calais, and the Succours sent too late, complained, That the King's Confidence was deluded, who, lying at the Siege of *Feyer* with his own Forces, fear'd the danger of no part less than of the Sea-Coast. And their Courage was heightened from *de Main*, and others of that Faction, who had preferred the King's Pardon, before the Commerce of Foreign Pride: And now the great Council of the whole Kingdom of *France* being summon'd at *Rouen*, there appear'd the lawful Face of a Kingdom: Nor was there any great aversion in King *Philip*, from hearkning to Pacification; which as it was true, so that he should marry the King of *France* his Daughter, was first only a *Spanish Device*; a little after strengthened with a false Rumour.

But Queen *Elizabeth*, the Counts of *Bullain* and *Sancy*, being sent Embassadors to her from *France*, at such time as *Albertus* had taken *Calais*, at first shew'd her self very strange towards them, as if she could very ill spare to lend them five and twenty thousand Scutes: But shortly after, taking a nearer view of the danger, of her own accord, she not onely kept the Embassadors with her, but treated with them of a more settled League, the Conditions and Articles whereof were then begun to be discoursed of. In the interim, the talk of Peace more and more increasing, the King signified to the *United States*, (and by that Name, they being much troubled, that the King had changed his Religion) that he was so high in the Pope's Favour, that he accepted of him to be a Moderator and Reconciler of Differences in Religion; nor was it a wonder, if he endeavour'd to win the Minds of the Vulgar, by the pretence of Peace: But if the League was confirm'd, he would be ready to invade the Borders of *Artois* with 8000 men, which was beyond the strength of his Nobility. But for all this great ostentation: when, at the Siege of *Huiss*, a little after, such an Action would have been most acceptable, the *French* never so much as made an offer to stir. And besides, Count *Bullain* being return'd home, and again to be sent into

England, for conclusion of the League, was detained Three Moneths: And there was at this time a Truce agreed between the Garrisons of *Calais* and *Bulloin*; all which Things the *French* excused thus: That they were not able to bring forth their Army, because the *French Nobility* are always wont to rest themselves from all Actions Military in time of Harvest; and not onely so, but the *Netherlandish Borders* were visited with the Plague; That the League was delay'd onely, while it might be fully deliberated in all the *French Parliaments*, and that the Truce was quickly broken off. But the *Hollanders* had more to do with *Queen Elizabeth*, who now, for two years together, had required them to come to an Account, and re-imburse her Money; enumerating, the Successes of the War, not without a shew of Emulation, and the stately structures of their Cities: And, on the other side, declaring her own Necessities, which she could not supply with continual Veins of Merral, as the *Spaniards* did, but only from the Love and Benignity of her Subjects: And the *Irish Rebellion*, as it inforced the new raising of Money at Home; so likewise it necessitated her to call in what she had abroad: On the other side, the *Dutch* Embassadors, first rendring many Thanks, beseeched her to stand to the League; complaining, That they had had but a short Benefit of those Things, which had bin agreed 12 Years before: And that the *Covenant* did not set down any set number of Souldiers; whereupon they, who as they never had stagger'd in their Fidelity, nor had inclined to the War with wavering Counsels, yet had bin, by the uncertainty of Forces, oftentimes revolved upon vain Attempts; and that this was very unreasonable in the heat of War, to expect that, which did not begin to be a debt, until there were a Peace settled, as by the Agreement will appear: That their Condition was not so much alter'd, but that they still deserv'd rather Pity, than Envy: For besides the rich Cities of *Brabant*, they had lost certain Towns at the *Malt*, and particularly, those which were most convenient both by

Sea and Land, for raising and collecting the *Flandrian Tributes*. Nor had they bin at a small charge, after the driving away the *Spanish Fleet* from *England*, in so many Naval Expeditions of the *English*; and to what end had they assisted *France*, but that the War might be repelled, and the Seas be kept open, while the Enemy was imploy'd at Land. Hereto was added the Shipwracks they had suffer'd, the restriction or taking of their Ships, the breaches of their Banks by the Sea, and other daily Evils they had undergone, by Misfortunes and Casualties. Concerning these Things, there was a long Argument with *Bodley*, who was *Leiger* for the Queen among the *Hollanders*, concerning the *Dutch Affairs*: Notwithstanding all which, Queen *Elizabeth* grew every day more obdurate, till at length she was mollified by procrastination, but chiefly by the Supplies they sent to her for the *Cadiz Voyage*.

But no sooner was the benefit of that Kindness consum'd, but presently the same Contest was again renew'd, and *Sebastian Lose*, *James Valquy*, and *Abel Franken*, being sent Embassadors into *England*, the Queen gave them this short Answer; That, that was not the intent of the League, that the *Hollanders* should prolong a War against themselves, on purpose to delay, without measure or end, the payment of those Charges, by others disbursed for them. And as to the Peace they hoped, if it proved disadvantageous to them, neither had it been profitable to her those 12 years, having both for that time, and hithertoe banished both her self and her people, in sending them perpetual Aids, and keeping the Towns deliver'd to her for a Pledge. And what kind of Alliance must that be, whose very Branch must depend upon the pleasure of another? But if they would look upon the Laws as the Queen was pleas'd to do, she would urge nothing further than was in them: That it was truly so conceived, Words of Promise, upon Honour, were plighted.

The Lord *Burghly* added also, the *Irish* Rebellion, and the proper fears of *England*, were Causes just enough, why the Queen might fall off from those Agreements, when even private Promises are wont to be absolved, upon unexpected Events. Therefore, this Debate of Right being in vain, and but for a shew made use of, the *Hollanders* ran back to their old Guard, shewing the danger they should incur from all their Neighbouring Dominions, if the strength of their Cities already weakened, should be utterly dejected by such Demands, and so much both of Wealth and Power by Sea added to the *Spaniards*: But above all, when the dubious state of the matter, and so discordant in the settling the Account of Receipts and Disbursements, had almost brought them to a Non-plus: The *English* urged the payment at least of some part of the Debt; and, for the future, not to seek a Remedy against growing Danger, from old Covenants, as by Compulsion; but rather to merit new Favours, by their Gratitude and Thanks for the former. The Embassadors, with many humble Intreaties, offer'd, That there should be an Annual Portion paid, notwithstanding all their present streights, and the residue, at the end of the War; which the Queen slighted as inconsiderable, while in the interim, a great fear spread itself, arising from a Rumor, that there was Hostility intended against her in *Spain* and that the preparations there made for that purpose, were greater than ever before. Hereupon the Wife of those times, began seriously to consider of both Affairs, and judged, that the *Hollanders* were not so much oppressed with Poverty, but that it would oblige them to the Queen in a strict Alliance, especially considering the danger of so great a Loss, and that the Queen might at some time want Money, they might well bear, unless their Council could put the *Hollanders*, now tyred with importunate Demands, in mind of her Power, it being not to be suffer'd, that her Debtors should raise themselves to a more prosperous Fortune by Foreign Amities.

Now the Count of *Bulloigne* was sent into *England*, to conclude the long Treaty of a League between the two Kingdoms; which was at last agreed upon, in manner following: *The League and Alliance, concerning insurring or resisting Wars, between, or upon the King of France, and the People of England, is concluded under these Articles and Conditions.*

That all former Leagues and Covenants be confirmed; That both shall endeavour to bring other Princes and Nations into the said League: And when either shall be offended, or invaded at Home, that one common Army of the Allies, shall transference the War into the Enemies Country; That it shall not be lawfull for either Kingdom without the other, to make either Peace, or a General Truce: That either shall assist the other with Arms, and other things necessary for War among themselves, at a reasonable price, and without fraud, and aid the Souldiers with all Provvisions without Treachery; That all things relating to Religion and Travellers of either Country, be used no otherwise, than as naturall Subjects; That the King of France use no violence to any English for difference in Religion; and in regard he was at the present most subject to the Injuries of his Enemies, the Queen promised four thousand English Souldiers, for the Defence of Normandy and Picardy, which are the nearest parts of France to her Kingdom, giving them half a years Pay, and taking Pledges: But if they were kept any longer there, it should be at the King's Charge; Who, on the other side, promised the like Aid to the Queen, so as they should remain near the Shore, or within fifty Leagues; That it may be lawfull to raise and take into Pay four thousand men, and the Command of the Souldiers to be in that Prince, within whose Borders the War is.

These were the Heads that were publickly known; for by some private Agreements, the number of Souldiers the Queen was to send this year was lessened. To the performance of this League the Queen was sworn. And the Earl of *Salisbury* went to see the King take the like Oath on his part. From hence the Count of *Bulloyn* went into *Holland*, to receive their consent

and submission. At the confirmation of this League were present there, *Paul Busanul*, who was the King's continual *Legat* with the States, and *George Gilpin* an *English-man*, and an *Assistance* in the *Senate* by the old *League*. After *Prince Maurice* and the *Senate's* Advice had, the *United States* were also included within the same words, onely there were added these peculiar Things; [*That the King of France, at the beginning of the Spring, shall have Soldiers ready upon the Borders of Artois and Henalt; and on the other side, the States shall have ready 8000 Foot, and 1500 Horse, that the lying, as it were in the middle may be divided in his purposes, what to do in so doubtful a case. Therefore the States will add to the two Auxiliary Regiments, which they sent at their own charge to aid the King, two Regiments more; but, if for all that, the Enemy should turn his whole strength upon them, that it shall be lawful for them to recall those Forces. And the French King, for his part, shall at his highest contingency, send as many Regiments to the Hollanders, as also 1000 Horse; That each shall have the chief Command in his own Country. What hath formerly been agreed, and is not by this present League renewed or altered, to be, and remain as they were. That the King have great Care and Honour to the Confederat Cities, and the Subjects within this League, and above all others, to the House of Nassau, for their everlastingly famous Merits towards the Commonwealth; That all Journeys, backward and forward, and all Trade, be free on both sides; That neither of them impose heavier Tributes upon the Subjects, of the other, than upon their own Citizens; That all the Laws which confiscate the Estates of Strangers, be cut off, and invalidate between them, and that the Right of Succession, and making Wills and Testaments be restored: That all Booty taken at Sea shall belong to them who first invaded or set the Enemy; That the Hollanders may sell whither they will even into the Western Kingdoms: That there be no demands nor distresses made for a publick debt upon private persons. That it shall not be lawful for any to retain any ships, either in their passage by, or coming to the Shore, to unlade, or to expose them to sale.*

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The publick Instruments of this League, were signed the last day of *October*, which were solemnly attested with publick Joy, wherein there was nothing omitted to make it compleat. For besides that, it was for the settlement of peace. It also conduced much to the Honour and Majesty of the Commonwealth, much envied for its new rising, that it was looked upon by Kings in Honourable Leagues; which that it might be brought to passe, the *French King* had exceeded, while he esteems it convenient and agreeable to his own Affairs, and the benefit of the *Hollanders*, even against themselves, although *Queen Elizabeth* had laboured, that these her old Allyes, should be comprehended under her Patronage: affirming, that it was enough, there being no cause, why Cities falling from a strange Government, should be inserted among Names of Princes of the highest Rank.

There were some who would have repeated former scuds, how the *Franks* of old passed the River *Waal*, and seated themselves in that part of the Country, which is called *Gelderland*, that they possessed the Isle of *Holland*, from whence their Kings took the name of *Merones*. That Governours were sent out of *France* into *Holland*; Then also that the *English* confests them of *Frizon* original by the idiom of their Tongue. Shortly after, their Princes were obliged to both the Kingdoms by Marriage; and that a great while before, when the *Roman* Power carryed all before it, the *Hollanders* were famous for Arms, fidelity and honest liberty, so that they were called the *Emperours* People, Brothers and Friends. When the *Romans* renounced all right and fair dealing, these choosing themselves a civil Leader, opposed them, making a confederacy both with *Germany* and *France*; Others took notice of the vicissitude of their Affairs neerer hand, as particularly that, now the King of *France* had made a publick League against the *Spaniards*, with them, whose Deputies but a few years before for fear of the *Spaniards*, they durst hardly hearken to.

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But the Regiments, which the *Hollanders* by the League, were bound to send, were not sent, but according to the King's desire, money instead thereof, which he rather wanted than men; But this the *English* took amiss, nor did the Queen vouchsafe to send any person to go to the *German* Princes, together with the *Holland* and *French* Embassadors, and certainly there was nothing proved a greater hindrance of others to joyn in that Alliance, then that Emulation; from hence the *French* conceived a deadly suspicion, that the *English* desired to have a perpetual War with them: Nor was any other mind, was the Queen desired to forward the making a Peace between the *Turk* and the House of *Austria*. And not long after, there being a Conference appointed at *Diepe*, to consider what course should be taken for carrying on the War the next year. There again the *French* were offended at a Request made by the *English*, to wit, that if they could recover *Calais*, a Garrison might be put into it for the Queen. But they had rather the *Spaniards* should keep it, hoping that they might in the future, extort it from them, either by force, or by Article, which they much doubted, if once the *English* should get it.

About the same time, it was desired of King *Henry*, That the Professors of several Arts which had been taught at *Leiden*, by ingenious persons bred there, might be allowed in *France*. The Prince of *Aurange* had formerly chosen this place for a Seat for the liberal Sciences, least for fear of charge, the People at a great distance, and being bred and born among Arms, should grow rude and barbarous; And by this means also, the City was repaired, and the ruines which it had suffered by a Siege amended: for being famous for fidelity and constancy, it rather chose this Reward of Learning, than to be free from Taxes, which was offered to it. The main motive hereto was Religion, the prop of their party, the gift of expounding whereof, had hitherto been assumed by *Artificers*, or of the unlearned and illiterate

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common people; while the labour it self being without hope of preferment, and certainly attended by poverty, was the cause of penury, both in the teachers and learners. In a short time, although the *Frisians* also had to the like purpose obtained *Francro*, this School of *Holland*, by the fame of the Instructors, and the flocking thither of much youth, both of their own and foreign Countries, got the preheminance: The Teacher of the study of the Civil Law, was *Hugo Donnell*, who following the steps of *Cornarius* and *Duarenus*, composed the Discipline of the Laws, into an order and method of Art, taking away those things which the too secure ignorance of the former age had disordered, yet not so, as that it should give place to modern want of knowledge, which in empty drest of words, hath infringed the very sinues of that kind of Learning. But this man, by the infection of the Earl of *Lowislers* party, was carryed so far, that he forgot not onely his Studies, but even the duties of a private person, and a stranger; and from thence went away to *Altorf*: For interpreting the Manners and Customs of the *Romans*, and discoveries and dilucidations of Antiquity, was *Justus Lipsius*, who added both to his own fame, and the Honour of the place by his Learning, a person, who by the pleasing gravity of his behaviour, was honoured beyond his Profession, alluring most men to delight in him, by the sweetness of his Discourse; for since Nature had denyed him neither *Rhetorick* nor *Oratory*, he rather chose that concise manner of speaking, which is intermingled with mirth, which was in truth, a new mode of Speech, but yet in some sort resembling Antiquity; which when such did strive to imitate, as were not equall to him in wit and Judgement, they deviated into the most corrupt conceptions: But when publick fear, and private injury had forced *Lipsius* to change his party, there was sent for out of *France*, *Joseph* the Son of *Julius*, who had conferred to the Family of *Scaliger*, from which he was descended, not onely Nobility, but the vertue of paternal Wisdom,
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by the laying open all things that were to be known, either concerning Nations or Ages; he was not wearied with continual study, even to his old Age; and might solace himself with this, that from his very Childhood, his Fame and Reputation continually encreased.

The Oriental Tongues were taught by *Francis Raphelengius*, and the Greek by *Vulcanius*, with no little Reputation; For disputation in Divinity, there was *Franciscus Junius*, a Man of a very sharp Wit, and one that would with great ingenuity, use the subtilty of the Adversaries Arguments against themselves.

Here also was famous *Hadrianus Julius*, a *Hollander*, for his Learning in natural *Philosophy* and *Medicine*: nor was he contemptible for other parts of Wisdom. Hither also came that great light *Aldegonde*, there seeking leisure to translate the divine Law, into the Language of his Country. And that most famous Herbalist, *Charles Clusius* of *Arriu*. Among the rest, we may reckon *Janus Donsa*, who was appointed by the *States*, to oversee and govern the Students. (We may call him Chancellour of the University,) to whom Posterity will attribute great Honour, for his description of quality, the Honours born and enduring of the Siege of *Leyden*, in ever lasting Poetry, yet in that kind, his Son, which bore the same name, excelled him; the same also being joyned with his Father, for composing the *Annals* of *Holland*, and 'tis probable, he would have been fit for greater Employments, if immature death had not taken him away, being a young man of highest expectation for Learning. With such Masters, and such examples as these, were Youth trained up, whose number in a short time so encreased, that Arts necessary both for publick and private Commodity, which before, by the unfrequentedness of the place were neglected, now were not sufficient for instructing Ingenuity. And although others of their own accord, do earnestly labour by literature and Poetry, to advance their name above the vulgar, *Holland* having

having never been barren in that kind of Eloquence, wherein formerly excelled *Peter Plannius*, and *Janus Secundus*, and his Brothers; so now also, the like is found in the Writings of many young men. But yet the raw Studies of this Nation, which rather minds the getting of Wealth, were not come to their height, for yet had it not been the Country, either of *Erasmus* or *Longinus*. But the Reverence I bear to the Names of these great Men, and the Reputation of that more peaceable sort of Wisdom, hath made run far astray, both from the *Common-wealth* and the *War*. But now I return.

There were Embassadors sent to *Christian* the Fourth, who now being come to his full and lawful Age, was of himself, without a Governour, King of *Denmark*, and had taken into his own hands, the full power of Government; and these were to congratulate him in the name of the *States*, with their Joy and well-wishes; but they were not to present themselves, before the greatest of the Solemnities were past, lest among so great an Assembly of Embassadors, there should arise any Contest for preheminance out of envy, or least they should voluntarily give place to all, to the diminution of their dignity. There wanted nothing, but that they for the common fear of the *Spanish* domineering, should have requested ayd.

The Priviledges of *Amsterdam* onely, were confirmed; Those old ones claimed by the Cities of *Schidam*, and *Enschuyssen*, from former Kings, were disannulled, yet the Embassadors were dismissed with Honour and Gifts, and so not long after, *John Baptista Taxie*, coming to him from the *Spaniard*, although he brought far richer Gifts, yet was not received with the like kindness. The Reason hereof, was believed to be this, because the *Spaniard*, who not long before had promised three hundred thousand Duckets yearly to the *Dan*, instead of a Tribute, that he would not suffer the *Hollanders* to come into these Streights, having not performed this,

this, was afterwards convicted, that he would by treachery have invaded his Castles upon the *Somme*, whereof notice had been sent him by the *United States*.

After the taking of *Hull*, all things about the *Hollanders* were quiet, excepting onely some light and memorable skirmishes between the Horse. For as well theirs, as the *Enemies* Militia, was so exhausted, that they could hardly defend the Borders of the *Netherlands* against the *French*, but at the beginning of *Autumn*, fulfilling his promises with easie hope, and the great favour of his Allyes, sent against the *Artyffians*, the Marshall, *Biron*, Commander of a considerable Body of Horse, seeming as if he went to defend *Picardy*.

Vercinonius, earnestly desiring to free the Government, committed to him from rapine, marched with twelve Troops of Horse against the *French*, being then not so many in number, yet nevertheless, he was overcome and taken Prisoner, together with Count *Montecuculi*, an *Italian*, and several others, upon whom was imposed a great Sum of money for their Ransom: And presently, the *Conquerours* falling not onely into *Artois*, but *Flanders*, so pillaged the whole Country, that they made a greater wast and havock there, than had ever been remembred to be made in *France* in the Wars, either of *Charles* formerly, or *Philip* lately. The Country people and Boors, flying into the Cities, carryed thither not onely Poverty, but Infectious Diseases, Whereupon the Lord of *Cimac* was presently sent with a new strength to defend the Borders: but he also was put to flight, *Ambrosio Landriano*, the General of the Horse, undervaluing his Command, who being afterwards taken by that Name, besides the ignominy, was glad to redeem himself with a great Sum of Money.

Thus were the *French* wholly become Masters of the Field and being *Conquerours* in all the Fights of Horse, with long Marches tired out the Foot.

The Winter now approaching, the King of *France*, as if he intended somewhat against *Holland*, requir'd the *States*, That they would disturb the *Enemies* quiet in another part. They fulfilling the Request, without any other Reason, though to their great disadvantage, put some Souldiers aboard Ships at *Amsterdam*, until they were informed, that the King's Endeavors were hindered, by the increase and overflowings of the River, and that all the *French* Forces, for fear of the Cold, were marched quite out of the *Netherlands*.

Another great and insolent Mischief attended the Arch-Duke's Poverty; for the *Germans*, though they were sworn to him, because they were not paid their Wages, seized *Holland*, against whom some *Spaniards* being sent, to revenge the imitation of their own Customs, and strongly repulsed, infinitely increased the Sedition. And, in *Walcheren*, one *John Phoyers* a *Scot*, was put to Death, for that he solicited others, to deliver up to the *Spaniard*, *Vere*, a Town in that Island; yet affirming, he was mov'd thereto by the *Jesuits*.

About this time, *Messengers* were sent to the King of *Spain*, day after day, That he labour, by all means, to raise what Money he could, that the Fleet might be expedited; and, to the same purpose, that he would lay a Restriction upon all Foreign Ships whatsoever; and besides, that they make diligent search for all *Hollanders*, and bring them to punishment.

This being heard, it pleas'd the *States* to make a Decree, for that there was not caution enough used against danger, that no one should dare to carry Corn into *Spain*, and there was the greater Reason, for this being a dangerous year, both *Poland* and *Prussia* retaining their Harvests, by the like means, by starving Famine at home, they sent it to their Enemy; and notwithstanding, *Amsterdam* resisted this Decree, whose principal gain consisted in that Transportation, yet by the consent of the rest of the Cities it was confirmed. And lest domestick offences should make any of them become a prey to the *French* or *English*, they set some Ships of War upon the

the Sea running by their Coasts, which when to search at Ships when they went out.

In the Month of *November*, the *Spanish Fleet*, as if impatient through fury, to defer the revenge of the injury done them at *Cádiz*, until the Summer, set out, consisting of one hundred Sails of Ships, wherein were fourteen thousand Soldiers, under the Command of *Martin Padilla*, reporting out, that they intended for *Cornwall*, where *Britain* stretched out her Land to the Southward, between *France* and *Ireland*. And it was added further, that the King of *Spain* would give *England* as a Dowry to his Daughter, having first purged it from Heresie in Religion, and this was given out, least the fear of Foreign Empire should avert their affections. But the same God who had often before prevented them in like endeavours, now again shewed his power: for in one night, forty of their Ships were cast away upon the Sands and Shallowes, with the loss of five thousand men, and a great Sum of Money.

The greatest harm to the *Spaniards*, was his own diffidence; for the *German* and *Netherlandish* Officers, which they had taken into the Fleet, admonishing them to go another way, they compelled with drawn Swords, to follow the ill presaging Signs of them going before: At length among the hindermost of the Ships, a certain Seaman of *Holland*, was believed, who eight years before, having great Rewards for preserving many of the *Spaniards*, by so much the more faithfully he now again performed the like Office. They that survived this mischief (which hapned about the *Prinsepri* called *Arcturum*) returned home. But the *Dunkerkers* in the *Netherlands*, being commanded to expect this Fleet in the mean while rested quiet.

This without damage done to any of the Sea-Coasts, this year was ended with the *Hollanders*, but on the contrary, they burned two Ships which were built at *Newport*,

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Moreover, this restless People sailed to the places of the Spanish Negotiation, being Islands beyond the Equinoctial Circle, being most fruitful of Salt, without any labour of man: They went also to *Guiny* for Gold, Ivory, Pepper, and *Brasile-Wood*, and *St. Thomas Island* for Sugar, and all this for gain sake, contrary to the Kings Edict, feigning themselves to be *Portugueses*; But most wonderful, and where to the Antients have not delivered any like matter, nor are there any Testimonies of this more experienced Age like to that; which the *Hollanders* undertook, and performed the latter end of this year, and the beginning of the next, when now the third time they went into the *North*, all whose Secrets they thoroughly searched. They remembered, that the search after great things is long and difficult; that all the corners of the new World were not found out at once, that the *Portugueses* had made long stayes upon the edges and skirts of *America*. And they who were skilful in Nature, pointed out a safer way through the open Ocean, whose reciprocal ebbing and flowing, keeping by motion, the Waves thereof free, defends them also against the violence of the cold.

Two Ships leaving the Islands of *Orckney* and *Norway*, putting out far to Sea, from thence steered divers courses, both towards the *North*, but the one inclining more to the East, the other to the West. There lies in that Sea, a Land full of grass, which is wonderful in that Scituation, and most pleasantly green, where the Pole is elevated eighty degrees (though the Antients counted it distant from the Equator, above ninety.) But whether it was encompassed by the Sea, or hath further behind it a larger Continent, was not then tried. Some of the Seamen thought it to be the Isle of *Greenland*, famous of old for the Commerce from *Venice*, *Norway*, and the *Low-Countries*: now the name thereof is only mentioned, the *Dane* claiming it as a part of his Dominions, but to little purpose, since he cannot find it.

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This proceeded from the sloath of such, as denyed things formerly known, both in Writings of Antiquity, and even in the memories of some alive. Whereas we follow Nature to the most remote distances, as knowing what God had discovered to us by nearer Journies. But afterwards, a more diligent search being made by *Island*, we found that *Greenland* was something more distant from the *North*: In that Land, which we found, having no *Inhabitants*, the first discoverer thereof, had placed Monuments made of thick square Timber and Stones, whereon was written the name of *Spytberg*, from the sharp pointed Mountain tops, so called as was believed; in which very place, as appears both by Fame and Records, that in after-times, the fruitfulness of its many bayes, for the catching of Whales, hath been no small occasion of discord between the *English* and the *Hollanders*.

There also are found Birds, not unknown in our Climates, (it is a kind of Goose) which the ignorance of former times believed, to be bred in *Seeland* upon Trees, whence falling into the Water, they took life: Then bending their course a little towards the *South*, their Ship endeavouring to steer to the *Westward*, was by Tempests driven back to the Coast of *Russia*.

A little lower is another Island, besides those found by them passing, which as also that which bears the Discoverers name, to wit. *Willeughby*, they came to *Zimbila*, where the Pole is elevated seventy and six degrees; where while the Seamen reviewed the known place of the Coast, and the appearances of their former Voyage, hindered first by Winds, then by Ice, so that they could not passe that Sea. At length, among many delays, and great dangers, both of the Men and Ships, they scarce reached the *Anrange* Islands; for now they were set fast, as in a consolidated Body of continuall Ice, and anon, the same breaking, and returning upon them, made all things full of danger: which were really true, yet

yet no less wondrous, than the Fables of the ancient *Greeks*, proceeding a little forward to another side of *Zembla*, their passage was quite stopped by a more terrible Frost, as well into the *Scythian Sea*, as into the *Strait of Nassau*; at last, being reduced to the ultimate hope, and resolving to return, by the same way they came, the Ship was quite frozen up, so far from the Shore; whereby it came to passe, that afterwards, when the rest of the Sea was thawed, yet the Ice still kept the Ship fast. Nor did there any thing remain, but that wintering in *Zembla*, they should wait for a better season: Wherefore taking out of their Ship, Boards and Planks, they built for themselves and their Huffs a poor shelter: And by chance, the Tyde had thrown upon the same Coast, a great quantity of Timber, but uncertain from whence it should come, which in this their desolate Condition, was a great help for perfecting their House, and yielded withall, good Provisions for Fuel: during their abode here, they had continual and daily fights with Bears, which sometimes were driven away by making great out-cries; but otherwhiles, being more hungry, and so more furious, they were fain to make use of shot, as well to affright them, as defend themselves: Their flesh they found to be unwholesome for food, nor without some harm (for in this place, the *Maritime* wild Beasts are the only Food to the wild Beasts of the Land) the far they made use of to make them lights to burn in the night.

These miserable poor Creatures, were at last after all other humane benefits, left by the Sun in this barren Country, and among none but wild Beasts: And here it is to be remembered, that a certain time of the year the Sun sets, and doth not arise again of a long time, as we have elsewhere remembered; And now their fear and horror increased with darkness, and the cruel untemperateness of the Ayre.

The vast accumulated Mountains of Snow, with much pain and difficulty, they very hardly removed, for fear lest it should overwhelm their Habitation, and were fain to make the same into steps, and such was the bitter sharpness of the Ayr, all about, that if at any time they went forth, they were so benumbed in their joynts, that they could scarcely bring them to be again warm, until they scorched them into blisters: nay, even within doors, such so penetrating, and fierce was the cold, that both the mens Apparel, the Walls, yet, and the very fire it self was so deaded, that they might in soon be burned as warmed. And now while they endeavored to keep out the cold, by shutting their doors; the vapor of the Coals had like to have suffocated them all. They found it the greatest help to them, to imitate their own Country Stoves, or else to warm their beds with exceeding hot Iron or Stones.

Now did Foxes occupy the empty places left by the Bears (for the Bear is a Creature, whose sight being more dull, and therefore afraid of the darkness, had hidden themselves in Caves.

These Foxes being taken by Traps, served them both for Victuals and Rayment. Long had their better hope to see once again, the light spun out of their over-worn patients, when as it were by divine mercy and providence, the Sun began to spread his splendiferous rayes, sooner than the ordinary course of the Heavens directed; For the night was three months shorter, then that part of the World, being under seventy degrees usually is acquainted with, unless it may be, they erred either in the Scituation of the place, or in the reckoning and measure of that disconsolate darkness, which their Diary or Journal will scarce allow to be believed; or else, while the Sun was passing not far off under the Earth, some thick Clouds received its opposite light, and there dispersed the same by repercussion, or some yet undi-

covered parts of the Earth might cause the wonder : how-
ever it was, 'tis sure, they begun then first to creep abroad,
and habituate their weakened Bodies to labour, which they
were very earnest at, though to them at that time, both grie-
vous and painful ; For the Sea now growing open towards
the very North it self, not towards *Scythia*, called them
away.

By which Argument, many have been induced to believe,
that the Ice was brought down out of the River of *Scythia*,
and that the violence of the cold is encreased, by the vicinity
of the shores, rather than of the Pole ; for the heat doth
not presently abate as much as you back from the Equi-
noctial : wherefore they were forced to take their Journey
in this open Sea, under the very North Star, if any for the
future durst make an attempt there after them. Another con-
firmation of this Opinion was, that the Island which we men-
tioned formerly to be green, lay below *Zembla* in regard *Zem-
bla* it self, nourisheth nothing green, and therefore in all that
Land, there is no Creature bred, which useth such Pasture.
But now the Marriners in vain, delayed the egress of their
Ship, yet detained by the Ice, and by this procrastination, the
Viſuals which hitherto they had moderately distributed
every day man by man, began to fail, and their drink being
corrupted, and spoyled by the Frost, compelled them to melt
Snow to assuage their thirst, and if they should stay any lon-
ger, Winter would again return, and together with it, cer-
tain ruine : hereupon, they speeded forwards, their Ship-
boats, and although most of them were sick, (for poverty, and
the many great miseries they had undergone, had even worn
out all their strength) yet necessity, which is stronger then
any Disease, so did encourage them, that they hewed the
Ice rising into great Hills, untill they had made it level, and
then drawing their little Vessels that way, at length they got
aſtoat, yet had they not then an end of their Labours ; for

being often stopped with Ice, and scarcely escaping away by the help both of their Oars, Sails and hands, they were compelled to go thence to the next Coast, for meer hunger; and there they found Eggs and Birds, easie to be taken, so that they knew not the guile of humane Rapine, and covetousness; and also it was found, all along the subsequent places, that we are shunned by other Animals, not that they want gentleness, but onely we. In the interim, they among them that were sick, being exposed to the Rain, and the injuries of the piercing Ayr, dying, were a great cause of grief to their Companions, if not of envy, when they looked but upon their own condition, trembling to think what end Fortune, or rather Providence would allot them.

Among those that dyed, was *William Barent*, the Master of the unfortunate Ship, who was no less worthy to be remembered in the Catalogue of famous men, then was *Vesputius* and *Columbus*, though in despite of Fortune. Those few that survived, sometimes drew the Boats over the Ice, other whiles repaired their decayes.

Thus while their Labour increased, and their strength decay'd, an auspicious Wind brought them, even now fainting, and able to work no more, to the utmost Skirts of *Zembla*, opposite to our Ocean. Here, after a whole year, they first saw some *Russian* Sea-men, and, by hap they were the same, which they found nigh the *Strait* in their second Navigation. They therefore, as indeed the whole Nation is very Religious, comforted and pried them both by Countenance and Speech, as much as could be understood thereby, beholding them to be the Reliques of a *Elite*, so late before terrible; and besides, they voluntarily supplied them with Provisions. Here they found a very wholesom Herb, for weakened and strained Members; which very Disease, had and did vehemently afflict the Sea-men at that present, caused by

the violence of the former and present Colds. Thus equal and tender is Nature, that provides fit Remedies for all Disorders and Climates. This Herb was supposed to be the *Heliantha*, or *Spoonwort* of *Pliny*, which a most diligent Writer commemorates, that the *Romans* used against the same Disease, by the teaching of the *Frisons*. After this, being long detained by a cross Wind, in the Entrance of the *Russian* Sea, and as oft as they were pinched with any Extremity of Hunger, by chance, by the last meeting of some Ships belonging to the *Laplanders*, living on that Coast, whose Hospitality refreshing them, when the Darkness had separated their Boats, they arrived at the Isle of *Quiladun*. There they understood (so doth Chance sometimes restore the most desperate Affairs) that there was in the Neighbouring Port a Ship, which had come with them out of *Holland*, and was thrown by Tempest upon that Shore, to furnish and promote their Return into their own Country. They were Twelve, the chief of them being *Jacob Hamkerk*, who, after so many perils, and so much labour, returned even miraculously to *Amsterdam*, from the furthest and most desolate part of the World.

The Sixth Book of the History of the Dutch AFFAIRES.

1597. THE Winter was not above half past, when a fortunate Chance gave the *Hollanders* a notable good Omen of Success in the beginning Year, and shewed a

Return of that good Fortune, which had, since the Honour achieved at *Greening*, been at a stay. For the Arch-Duke *Albertus*, having freed the *Borders of Artois* from fear of the *French*, had put his Souldiers into *Garrisons*; yet leaving the greatest part thereof in *Brabant*, wherein there were five Regiments of old Souldiers, and some fresh men, for Supplies: so as they were above four Thousand Foot, and five Troops, containing five hundred Horse, which all quartered in and about *Turnhout*. This is a considerable Village of *Brabant*, having round about it open Fields, formerly much delighted in by the Princes, when Hopring, and innocent Recreations, diverted their more serious Thoughts: Then it was chosen for concealing of Counsels, because the place being of equal distance to many places, yields no shew of a Journey.

This, in regard of its incertainty, made the *Hollanders* more fearful, while he was suspected in the next Towns of *Brabant*, and the Isles of *Zeland*, especially by reason of the Ice, whereby the Rivers, which are the strongest Defence of those parts, being Frozen, shewed them an easie Passage to go whither they list'd. And the Conjecture was not much dissonant from their Actions, which supposed them to be there quarter'd, that they might, in stead of Pay, waste and plunder the Fertile Country adjoining. The *Governors* of the *Neighbouring Garrisons* advised the Prince, upon occasion of the Enemies Foraging; that, before their Forces were too much multiplyed there, cutting off that Body, which was the chief strength of the Enemy, all fear for the future would be utterly taken away: And that which gave the greatest Encouragement to their Hopes of Success, was the Commander of the Forces there, which was Count *de Harnas*, *Varenbouin* his Brother, a man altogether ignotant in *Martial Affairs*, neither did he command with any certain Foresight, nor was much beloved of his men. But, on the contrary,

they were afraid, that to gather the Souldiers and Guns into a Body, lying disperſedly ſcatter'd in Towns at a great diſtance, the troubleſomneſs of the Journey in the depth of Winter, when though it did freez, yet the Ground was not thereby hardned, perhaps the Enemy might hear thereof, and then all their Conſultations had been to no purpoſe: However, Hope baniſh'd Fear; and removing Difficulties as much as was poſſible, by ſecret Commands to the Captains, and preparation of all other Things neceſſary, the Enterprize was ſpeeded as much as might be: Fortune alſo favour'd the Deſign by a moderate Thaw and fair Weather.

The place, where all the *States* Forces were to meet, was *Gertraydenberg*, diſtant thence not above ſix hours Journey; and becauſe the greateſt part of the Horſe lying all about, it was convenient for their Conveyance and Transportation over the *Maas*. The appointed day of Meeting was diſappointed; yet the Prince, the next day, leads out five Thouſand Foot, and eight hundred Horſe; with which, at the beginning of the Night he came to *Ravil*, with two Pieces of Cannon for Battery, and as many Field-pieces, ready in the darkneſs of the Light, as Opportunity had or ſhould preſent it ſelf; either to aſſault the ſlight Works of the Enemy, or to dare him to fight in the open Field; for, from hence, they were within an hours march of the Enemy, who being ſtartled by ſome *Scouts* that went before, or elſe, it may be, ſeeing the Fires, wherewith the *Hollanders* reſreſhed their Bodies, were of divers Opinions, not well knowing what to think: part of them adviſed to ſtay for the Enemy within their Fortifications: Others counſelled, with more Reaſon, forthwith to fall upon them, being weary with their March, and wet with Dirt; and that ſo great Honour ſhould not be given to Prince *Maurice*, whereby it ſhould be ſaid, that an Army of old Souldiers, which had undergone the Brunt and Heat of the War, had declined to give *Battel*, to much more greater Forces than he had: But the greater Number pretended

tended very lawfully to conceal their Fear, that it was better to march off with their Forces intire, to *Herental*, which was not far off and would be a place of safety for them; for no man ought to be prodigal, either of his Valour, or Fortunes: Wherewith, and with Fear, Count *Warras* being amazed, agreeing, That same last Counsel, though both more dishonourable and dangerous, prevail'd: But it was too late, since the Enemy was so near; and although all things that might be Impediments to them, were sent away before, at the latter end of the Night; and as soon as it was day, they had what a selected party made shew rather of a March, than a Flight; yet they could not avoid; but they would appear most valiant who follow'd. Now was Silence commanded, and no Noise heard either of Drum or Trumpet, things probably in themselves vain, but in Military Minds they prevailed much, either to incourage or dishearten. Of which, the Prince having Intelligence, he then no longer consulted of the Event of the Battel, but all his care was, that the Enemy might not escape him; and this the rather, because he fore-saw, that the Moorishness of the Fields, and the Interposition of the River, would delay him in his March, he hastied early in the Morning with some Troops, and the most Nimble Men picked out of the Regiments, to the Number of Two Hundred, into the Field, commanding the Foot to follow a far off at a distance with the Cannon. There was present the Count *Herental*, then prepared for a Journey into *Germany*; and although the Prince had omitted to call him, yet he conjecturing the Reasons of this Preparation, prefer'd the occasion of the good Management of that Affair, before his own private Business: And *Eberhard Count Solms*, minding to wipe away the stain of his last years Dispute by new Merit. There were also of *English* Sir *Francis Vere*, and Sir *Robert Sydney*, Governour of *Flushing*: And, of *Netherlanders*, *Marcus Baxius*, a Captain of a most valiant Troop of Horse, and one of the chief Counsellors of this Expedition, besides many others.

others. Sir Francis Vere was sent with some light Foot to scour the Woods and Hedges, that no Ambushes might surprize them, and coming to the River running by the Fields, whose long and narrow *Straights & Fords* were very troublesome to passe, and there was but one Wooden little Bridge, which was onely broad enough for one at once to go over a brest, he drove away the Enemy by the force of his Shot, which had been left at that place, on purpose to hinder the pursuit.

Thence having overtaken a good Body of the Enemies, he fell upon their Rear: they being not far from a narrow Lane, which being woody on both sides, led to *Herentals*: which if the Enemy had reached (and the Carriages were already entered) there could have been no place to fight. In the interim, Count *Hohenlo*, to whom the Prince had given four hundred Horse to assist the Foot, fell in upon the Enemies Flank: But they could not yet come to close fight, by reason of a Moorish Valley, that lay between, which yet was not so plain or large, that a moderate Army could be drawn up therein. The Regiments under the Command of the Count *de Warren*, marched at a just distance in their nine and eleven Foot order. The first was a Regiment of *Germanes*, Commanded by Count *Sully*. The second of *Wallons*, being old Souldiers formerly of *Lamoy* and *Coquelle*, but now led by *Aschicurtis*. *Barlot* had the charge of another Regiment of the same Nation, and the *Neapolitans* brought up the Rear; which belonged to the Marquess of *Trevigiana*, then absent in *Italy*. On the left hand, they were secured by continual Woods and a River that runs down to *Turnhout*. The Horse in three Bodies, sometimes defended the Front, other times the Right Flank, Commanded by *Bastu*, and under him *Drake*, *Grobendon*, *Gusman* and others. The place and Word being given for the Onset, *Hohenlo* charging through the rest of the Enemies Forces, first fell on upon them: At which time, the Horse appointed to defend the Flank, returning

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disorderly, put their Foot into confusion. Thus the *German* were easily routed: Nor were the *Italians* able to abide the shake of Sir *Francis Vere*, who was sent to fall on their Rear, with part of the Horse, which till then, had remained with the *Prince*.

These being thus put to flight, the middle Regiments with rare celerity, were foiled: in so much, that the *Commanders* marvelled to see the old Souldiers so easily quit the place. But besides this, the flying Horse had caused a general terror, and the Regiments themselves were not advantageously ordered: for the great Bodies of Pikes, made up out of all the Bands, did not defend the rest, but stood here and there, thin and dispersedly, so that the *Nassavians* might with ease break in among them, and that the more safely, because the Muskietiers had discharged their shot, not by turns, and one after another, but in a manner, all at once.

And *Bassa* afterwards accused, that he had not rather maintained the Rear of the Foot, shewed Count *Werra* his Orders to him. Of the *Nassavian* Assailants, four only were killed, and six hurt, this day yielding a Noble document of new fighting. For Prince *Maurice* had not armed his Horsemen with Lance, according to general Custom, but with *Carabines* (for so is that sort of Gun called.) Therefore the Darts which were first thrown, being avoided, before the Spearmen could get time and place, for use of their Spears, they were so suddainly and furiously wounded, that they were neither able to wield their Arms, or keep themselves in any order. And when they were thus routed, and brought into confusion, they had no room to fly away, because the Woods and Waters which were a defence to them fighting, were turned to their great hindrance and prejudice, as they fled: so that the *Killars* by their too much confidence, were like to have fallen into danger; for while some of them continued the slaughter, and others were fallen upon their Prey; *Bassa* accompanied with a few of his men, under-

standing

standing that all the narrow Screights and Passages of the wayes, were stopped, he feigned boldness out of necessity, he turns his Bridle, and runs back upon the Enemy.

This unexpected and sudden chance, made many of the *Nassavians*, who were wholly minding the spoyle, and searching the Waggon, to turn their backs and fly (for that kind of People are for the most part full of fear.) But the chief *Commanders* of the Horse, part of which had followed behind in a great and slow moving Body, by Fortune, then came in to stop those that fled; and encourage those that were afraid, threatening withall, that unless they turned head upon their Enemies, themselves would become their Executioners: And with this fear, some Prisoners, who stood about the *Prince* begging for their lives, doubting a change of Fortune, were run through with Swords, and killed; But the *Prince*, careful to prevent the like for the future, had newly appointed as a safeguard to themselves and the Victory, four Troops then before exempted from danger: yet the Captain of one Troop being commanded to lead up his, taking the Command in evill part, had intermingled them all in the Fight, being indeed of themselves, more ready for pillage than obedience; yet flocking at last to their Commander in Chief, they especially, who were moved either with the sense, or reverence of Duty or Reputation, they escaped the danger; and the Enemies once more put to flight, were equally afflicted with their own slaughters, and the narrowness of the wayes: having all this while, scarce sullied the Victory with the loss of ten of the *Conquerors*: The Foot came in onely to part of the Spoyle.

After this Fight, here were buried above two thousand of the Enemies; there were five hundred taken Prisoners, and a great number of Ensigns: some dyed of their wounds. Next day the Castle of *Turboult* well encompassed with *Trenches* was surrendered. The Foot being returned into *Garrisons*, and the Horse Commanded forthwith to depart, lest the Enemy should

should rally any of his Forces, and in the night set upon them weanied with the pursuit. Thence the Prince *Maurice* triumphing among the joyful gratulations of the People, he hanged up in the Council-House at the *Hague*, eight and thirty Foot-Colours taken from the Enemy, and one Car of Horse, which had been *Drakes*. Nor was the Reputation of the Victory any thing lessened by this, that Count *Warrin* himself, being at the very first, struck down to the ground, his breathless Corps was sent together with Letters to *Albirtus*, who returned great thanks for the same, and when it late, a Horseman or Trooper belonging to the Prince, being hanged by the Enemy, had been vindicated by the like punishment of a *Spaniard*, the *Arch-Duke* for the future, promised faithfully, to observe the Laws of Arms, himself being naturally a great stranger to all cruelty.

This was the first Experiment Prince *Maurice*, who had now for ten years been General; received of him by Letter. Nor did there grow a Confidence in the Souldier only, against the Enemy, from the Event; but likewise it made him more cautious of what might happen, in regard he had seen that the Discipline of the Army, was not sufficiently supported against sudden accidents, and the War proved dubious, upon any slight turning of mens minds, and that there was so much danger, even in the obtaining of Victory.

But *Albirtus*, being at once oppressed with the want of Money, and so great a slaughter of his men, fell to Consultation night and day, but yet was hardly able to procure a remedy to either of these mischiefs.

He was exhausted also before, not by payment of debt, but giving of Gratitudes, so that at the one Siege of *Hulst*, he gave away more in Rewards, then the Duke of *Parma* spent in three years, by which means, from that time, there had been a failure of payment of the Souldiers Wages: Thus he who before by extraordinary Gifts, had allured many to come over from their own party to him, was now very much

weakened by the desertions of his own men. The *GERMANS* being a People very greedy for money, of whom he had Commanded to be levyed both Horse and Foot, either denied him their help, or else as soon as they came, stole away again; Divers Cities, and first of all *Ipre* for fear of Sedition, refused Garrisons; And he as much as he could, endeavouring to meet and stop our wars, had put to pledge, and pawned most of his own Household-stuff, and desired the Cities, that they would lend him some Monies, which they of *Bruxells* took the boldness to deny. And he would also have Covenanted with them of *Puckere*, but the uncertainty of their credit, and the example of the late *Spanish* Edict terrified them: the remaining part of Winter, and the beginning of the Spring, were passed over between Stratagems, and sudden actions, while there was no Army abroad, while small parties undertake great attempts.

Ferdinando Tellins Portocarrera, Governed *Dorlens* for the *Spaniard*, from which Town, *Amiens* was not far distant, the Metropolis of *Picardy*, and reckoned among the greatest Cities of *France*, very rich, and well Situate, as well for War, as Provisions and Trade, and watered by the old River *Saane*.

This City was subject to *Henry*, King of *France*, but turning out their Garrison, and committing the Custody of the City to the Magistrates, under the pretence of Priviledges, they usurped more carelessly, the right of liberty, hated by their Princes, and dangerous as to the Enemy. Whereof, *Ferdinando* receiving Intelligence, by the Advice of some *Exiles*, but especially of a certain *Monk*, after he had by Spies and Scouts, learned the Situation of places, received Soldiers from *Albany*, for perfecting the Design. First of all, eighteen nimble and ingenious men, as soon as ever the entrance into the City was open, were in the twilight sent in, and after them others, in the habits of *Boors*, carrying Apples; and part of them drove a Cart loaden with Hay, by

by which the Perculliser, the Stayes that held them up, being cut, as is usual in time of danger, might be supported against a fall. The Keepers of the Passage were easily killed, either with the Weapons that were hid before, or those that were gotten by the first slaughter; and by the speedy running in of those, who lay hid in certain places near the City, a way was made for the following Companies; By chance in that very Punetillio of time, (for it was *Lent*) a certain man in a Sermon to the People, laying before them their sins, and altogether ignorant of the design, said, they were worthy to fall into the power of the *Spaniards*, and so they did. For although the City was both strong and populous, inhabited by no less then fourteen thousand men, yet did it not long resist, whether from the ambiguity of their Allegiance to the King, or being grown voyd of Valour, from their former security, or wanting of Government, is uncertain; but this is sure, that the Count *St. Paul*, the Governour of the Place, hearing the Tumult, fled out of the Town another way: Things thus secured, the Garrison was augmented, all things that adjoynd to the City burned, the Citizens disarmed and spoiled, yielded a great booty, as well to the Souldiery as the Commanders, especially the Arch-Duke, because the King a little before had sent in thither a great number of Artillery, and all other Furniture for War.

Albertus sent a Messenger to King *Philip*, with the news of this good success, affirming, that it was one, and that the chiefest of the Cities Situate on the River *Samar*, and formerly possessed by the Dukes of *Burgundy*, untill the *French* extorted them from their Heyr, a fatherless Virgin; and therefore now, what was gotten by War, he should endeavour still to retain, if at any time thereafter, a Peace should happen to be concluded.

This produced a great damage to the *French*, but not without some benefit: For the Citizens of *Amiens*, being used hardly by the *Spaniards*, made even those in *France* that were

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of the Catholick Religion, more obedient to the King, and not to refuse Garisons as before they did. The King himself, the thoughts of Peace being shaken off, spent all his time with his Allyes, so that now he seemed ready to accept the same Conditions, which the *English* had offered before concerning *Calais*. In the mean time, the Fortune of one day, made the *French* a long work to recover what was lost; whereupon, the Horse being Quartered all about the Country, from thence *Biron* increased his Forces by all means to besiege *Amiens*, untill the King himself came before it, and being allured to try his turn, he unfortunately attempted *Amiens*, by blowing up the Walls with Gun-powder, and Scaling-Ladders: Nor had the *French* any better success, either at *Cambray* or *Dortm*: And the *Spaniards* likewise lost their design upon *Gravenat*, an Island within the division of the *Rhine*, and also upon *Steenvis*, against which there were a thousand Foot out of the Garrisons, & twenty and four hundred Horse gathered together by several marches. These in the dead of the night, having cut down the Palisadoes that stood in the way, endeavoured to come up to the Rampire. And as they had much forwarded their first attempts by silence, so that the terrour might by reason of the darkness, be greater, they assaulted divers parts of the Walls, with a hideous Outcry and Singing; but the Sentinels not troubled with bare noyses, exposed themselves to the danger, and that advertised others that stood not far off; (for most of them were in small covered Huts near the Rampire;) part of whom without their Cloaths, as they leaped out of their Beds, threw down Stones upon the Assaylants heads, as they climbed up the Walls; Others half Armed, killed the Enemies retiring from the Rampire, or else by their shot, driving away such as came on afresh, and pursuing them when they fled.

Thus the Assaylants, though divers times gathering fresh Courage, yet at length were bearen off, striving to hide the
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greatness of their slaughter, by carrying away the dead Bodies privately: About the same time, as if Fortune intended to bear her self equally towards all, Prince *Maurice* conducting some Foot, and a few Troops of Horse to *Nimwegen*, without any halt upon their march, with a well-laid design upon solid Counsel to take *Venloo*, was met by ill success, though he had before sent some Souldiers up the River, aboard two Ships: one of the first, the Souldiers coming to shore, had now taken the Gate, and killed such as guarded the same, helped also by the foreknowledge of some in the City. But the other Ship, laden with an hundred Souldiers, was hindered by the slackning of the wind, and a Ford or Shallow in the River, in which time, the day-light fully appearing, the Townsmen assembled, and with great labour stopped at first the inner Gate; then their number coming, they drove away those that kept the Skirts of the Town, being not above fifty men. And as they fled, they were wounded by the Seamen from *Leige*.

In this third Experiment of his Valour, was slain *Matthias Helly*, yet no less worthy of Honour there then at *Breda* and *Nordam*. With him also fell *Schalque* the Captain of the Ship. Others were taken and punished, that the right of War might as it were by consent, prevail in averting such kinds of dangers. One who had delivered, or rather betrayed the Gate by a Politick confidence running about the City, affrighted as it were with the common terror, and not being known, escaped away on the contrary side of the Town. Moreover, some Souldiers being sent with a Fleet to the Coast of *Flanders*, returned, having effected nothing.

In this mean while, the Count of *Buloy*, with a small party, wasting and plundering *Hennault*, and the Country about the *Mais*, never rested long in one place; and Prince *Maurice's* Horse, being by their late Victory grown more confident, going out of their Garrisons in *Brabant* and *Gelderland*, were both of them, though in several places, surprised by the

Enemy

Enemy and slain. Then was the Summer spent among the *Hollanders*, in trivial actions and attempts, and by the Archduke, in taking care to retain and keep *Amiens*; and because the *United Provinces*, while they had leisure, neglected all occasions of the War, having enough to do, to send aid to their Allies, and not themselves also to be wearied out. At this time, some discords begun to grow among them, although not sufficient to make a breach of the League, yet the more suspected, because they fell out at that time.

The City of *Greeninge*, and they that inhabited the open Country, between the Rivers *Emse*, and *Lacke*, breathing out inveterate and cankered hate one against the other, were not easily united or reconciled, while the City obstinately urged those things, which the Duke of *Parma* had granted to it, when it followed the Kings Party, not by a settled and perpetual Law, but in the manner of an Interloquatory Edict.

On the contrary, the *Boors* brake the ancient League with it, and refuse all Society, as if the City had endeavoured a diminution of their liberty, whereas they would manage their own business separately; It was true, that as formerly all the People of *Germany*, so likewise the *Frizons*, had distinct Dominions, that no Consultations should be held, but by their Consent; But the Country beyond *Lacke*, and such as were distinguished into *Dorpes*, had agreed by Article, to join their Forces with those of the City, which was their Neighbour, as well against foreign, as domestick evils; to whom likewise flourishing in Merchandise, and Reverenced for Sanctimony of Judgment, they had given great Authority in the ordering both, and all the Neighbouring People willingly offered them thereby, the Reward of their Alliance, being accustomed there to proclaim all their Solemn Conventions: But that which at the beginning was free, by long use, and many Covenants, had now passed into the force of Law and Right; yet this was not the time, that all Bonds,

however strictly tyed, should be loosed; 'Tis true, the *Spaniard* looked upon it, as a main part of his Porency, to nourish the divisions of his Subjects, by giving no definitive Sentence between them; But the Strength of the United States was augmented by Concord, and therefore they appointed Judges for the deciding these Controversies: At first, three, and when the Country-People were offended at their Judgment, nine others were added, whose Decree was allowed and confirmed in the Counsel of the General States.

To this purpose, the Deputies as well for the City, as the Country, are Commanded to make one Body Politick out of both, to Govern as one Common-wealth, and all matters of the greatest Concernment, were to be debated in that Assembly; but things of lesser quality, to be discussed by the Deputies. To their care was committed, all the common Tributes and Taxes, and whatsoever had belonged, either to the Prince or Priesthood, that in all equal suffrages, although the City should have Priority, yet it should not have any Superiority; yet it was provided, that they who governed the Affairs of the Country, (they were called *Heeren*) according to Custom, should be chosen by the City Senate, which the House of *Austria* had preserved entire in *Gidderland*, the rest of the same Court by the States: As to Merchandising, it was thus moderated, That whatever was of the Growth of the Country, or Manufactured there, should not be exported, till it had been first brought to *Groeninge* Market, neither might they use any other Drink, then what was brewed there in *Groening*: (this Ale there made, is of Water boyled with Barley, the common Drink of *Germany*) and the familiar use there, made this the more easily accepted by both; but for foreign Merchandises, free liberty was allowed.

Many other things there, were of like nature composed, which although at first moved with high Contests, yet coming

ing short of the intent aymed at, it irked to perform. But now the contention of the *Hollanders*, with those of *Zeland*, was so much the more grievous, by how much the Unity of the entire Body was maintained by the Wealth of these: The difference was about Customs, which were raised by Transportation of Commodities, either to Foreign Nations, or the Enemy.

This the several Provinces looked upon, not as a peculiar Propriety, but the common Stock of the League; for bearing the Charge of the Naval-Affairs, which if it fell short by any means, they were for the publick good to make up out of their private Purses.

The *Zelanders* stretched this further, compelling all sorts of Commodities that were brought out of *Holland*, and passed by their Islands to other places, to pay another part of Custom with them, which because it could not be hindred, was by a temporary Agreement between the two Provinces confined; But the *Hollander* renounced this Convention, relying upon an Edict of the United States, which declared, that where Carriage was taken in, there the freight ought to be paid; Besides this, the *Zelanders* were accused, that by diminishing the Customs and punishments, they had reduced the common Stock into their hands, as of right, and by that means, and the like deceits, they had converted all forreign Trade, and the advantages thereof, to themselves, against the Faith and Agreement of so necessary an Alliance: whereto when they answered; that the *Hollanders* by their Coverousness, obtruded the name of the States, as otherwise the name of the Prince and Senate, that they intermingled in one, many Controversies: Nor did they both cease to prefer their own merits, in the management of the War before those of the other, objecting to each other, sloath and neglect, and if the League should be dissolved, they could among themselves have sufficient strength to maintain and defend their private Affairs. Nay, to such a height, was

the *Zelanders* fury risen, that they denied to pay any Tribute to the League, which after ward, other meaner and less considerable People taking into example, it was scarce agreed at length, that some Commodities of *Zeland* being relinquished, for the future, their Authority should be preserved in the great Counsel of the General States.

While these things were in Agitation, several Foreign Embassies were heard, where were at large discoursed, the benefits and prayse of Peace, with the miseries and complaints of War, the *Spaniard* in the interim taking care, not so much to obtain Peace, as to throw the Odium of the War upon the *States*, as denying and being averse to peace: Among these Embassies, the ingrateful Speech of *Paulus Dialius*, sent to them from *Sigismund*, King of *Poland*, was taken notice of, who in a Latine Speech thundring aloud, when he talked much of the duties of Subjects towards their Princes, he threatened to the *Hollanders*, certain ruine from the *Spanish* greatness, unless they acknowledged their faults and desired Pardon, offering the King his Master as a Mediator; but on the contrary, he highly extolled King *Philip*'s goodness and fidelity, and that before the Sons and Kinmen of the Prince of *Aurange*, and Count *Edmonds*: no less were the names of Christianity, and that the *Turkish* Power, though at such distance, hung over their heads with terror, the better *Poland* to redeem its fear thereof with Peace, having withdrawn itself from the common War. Nor was it unknown to the *States*, how the *Polander* and *Spaniard* were linked together, both by necessity and Alliance, and which was the nearest tye of all, the *Jesuites* residence in the Kings Court.

To this it was modestly answered, as to cause and danger of Peace, and that the *Spaniard* waged more cruel Wars against the *Christians* than the *Turks*, out of an excessive ambition of Sovereignty. Whereof *Sigismund* ought rather to take care before any domestick Conjunction, And when

He

He notwithstanding this, yet grew more cholerick, as if he intended to break off all commerce, they who treated with him, affirmed, that they were in no more need of the *Polanders* Harvest, if the Laws of humanity should be violated, then the *Polanders* were of their money.

At this time also, the *Emperour* and *Princes* of *Germany*, and the chief City, sent to require Audience of a most magnificent Embassie, which the *States*, suspecting the preparation of so great an Authority, excused: whereupon, they sent other *Letters* by *Charles Nusfeldius*, questioning with some bitterness, whether that were the Reverence they bore to the *German* Alliance, and whether they would return this thanks for all the benefits they had received, to deny to them their Friends, what was granted even to Enemies among all Nations: Nor would it be sufficient for the *Embassadors* only to treat of Peace, which yet, that it might be without Fraud, and secure, if any occasion should be given, they should diligently take care, but also of many other weighty Affairs, which concerned the *Hollanders* no less, than the *Germans*: This *Nusfeldius* interpreted to relate to the restoration of the old Leagues, protesting not without threats, that no man should despise the Majesty of the *Empire* unpunished.

To this, the *States* with great Humility replied, that they did this onely out of Honour and Reverence to the *German* name, that they might be premonished, lest they should put themselves to the trouble of a vain and fruitless Embassie: There being no persons in the World, that could better understand their Affairs, and what was expedient for them, then themselves.

With a little more seriousness, came from the King of *Denmark*, *Arnoldus Wisfeldius*, the *President* of that Kingdom, and *Christian Barnicavins*, the same King, as was believed by most, doing this, rather because he could not refuse it, than of his own accord; for he had been a Fatherly

Friend, both to the House of *Nassau*, and the People of *Holland*, and besides, professed the sincere and reformed Religion, and therefore would require nothing, that might seem fraudulent, either to that or them. But because in Peace God might be more purely worshipped, and both publick and private Affairs, consisted more safely without the chances of War, he hoped they would not look upon him as unacceptable, or incapable Author of so great a good: To these so many and great Advisers of Concord, the *States* in effect gave one and the same Answer, the words onely varied, but they wrote to the *Dans*, with more civility than any of the rest.

I will here briefly relate the Reasons of this their Resolute so often before-mentioned, least that passe for current with the Reader, which they began by often hearing, and repeating the same things to nauseate. They insisted, that both by the *French* and *English* Alliance, and afterwards by the great vertue of Prince *Maurice*, they were so obliged, that they could not in private, either accept, or suffer any Articles of Peace, which as it would be wicked, so likewise would it be dangerous for them to think, because the thoughts of Peace, though frivolous, yet makes all men more remiss in matters of War, and for the most part, from the liberty and Leagues of Cities, springs, discord and hatred. And at this time, were certain Letters written by *William Clement*, the *Spanish* Orator to the *Emperour* discovered, which did set forth such hopes, and that the *Germans* had onely gotten envy from the *Hollanders*, by their motioning of Peace: And then were added, the examples of divers things done at *Breda*, *Gant*, *Colen*, and in *Brabant* and *Flanders*, which had much promoted the Enemies snares: After which things, they averred, that they could never hope for an end of the War from the *Spanish* infidelity, but by the goodness of God, the onely Ruler of Armies, if perchance then the *Netherlanders* consent might prevail.

A word or two now for the cause : how and under what necessity of labouring, they were compelled to those things, whereof no agreement could make them secure ; It was the Interest of their Neighbours, least the King of Spain being cast of so great a War, should grow greater by the addition of those Forces, which should by Peace become subject to him, which if he once attained, he might have alwayes in readiness, an Hundred Thousand Men. Now to oppress and enslave one, anon another. That it was a frequent Speech in the mouths of the *Spaniards*, that the *Hereticks* were to be Conquered by the blood of *Hereticks* ; nor did they by that Name, comprehend the followers of the Reformed Religion, as it is called ; but also those of the *Augustine* Confession, both by their own and the *Popes* Judgement, and because that name is no less hated now by the *Common-wealth* ; then of old was that name of King, among the most puissant *Romans* ; and yet there remain some tracks thereof, with those People which affect such a Sovereign Dominion, as is next of all to liberty ; neither is that Form of Government, which the *Polanders* publickly maintain ; so much grounded upon the Right of Birth, as the consent of Election, whereof also, the *German* and *Dane* retain a Similitude, giving almost the same account of their Governments ; They say, the *Netherlanders* were never enslaved, but had alwayes a moderated Empire bounded by Laws ; That the care of the Laws was committed from their Ancestors, to such as gave particular Testimonies of Valour and Vertue. That the Inclinations and Affections of Governing by Justice, passed from Father to Son ; for then there was no infinite, unbounded, and Arbitrary Power, but it was kept within Assemblies, which made the Name of King, be wholly unknown. Then both Prince and People, had a Confidence and Faith of each other, untill *Philip*, not onely by perverting Judgement, and exacting things never granted, violated the Oath he had taken ;

ken; but also on the other side, he contemned and laid aside, contrary to all Justice and Equity, the true Inents of Embassies, dipping his hands in the blood of innumerable Innocents. That which Nature Commands all Creatures, which is the Principle of self-preservation, we have done, and not promiscuously as *Libertines*, but under the Conduct of a worthy Prince, the Prince of *Aurage*. In the interim, many Supplications were made to *Philip*, and the Neighbour-Princes solicited him to mitigate the severity of his Resolutions; But after that Treachery and Revenge were found to lie hid under the pretences of his peace, We removed (which is no new thing among Subjects) him doing by his power, such things as were contrary to his duty as a Prince, and this by a publick Decree, wherein were set forth all the Causes and Motives thereof.

And then again it seemed good to some, to Elect for their Prince the King of *France* his Brother, while others submitted to the power of the Prince of *Aurage*, which they had no sooner done, but forthwith he was assassinated by Spanish Treachery, and the Succession of Government by his death devolving to Prince *Maurice*, who now being supported by the Alliances of sundry great Princes, defendeth and enlargeth our limits by Arms. I have in this manner declared these things, that among Remote Nations, the Report of Affairs then might be known from the use of matters at present.

Nor were the *Hollanders* satisfied, to shake off the offers of Peace, but that they incited others to take up Arms, objecting against the *Spaniard*, his ambition and thirst after Kingdoms, and the greatness of his Power to do mischief, Reproaches of a long standing, which great Empires, very hardly, or never can escape. And for the better winning of Credit hereio, besides the manifest Examples of *France* and *Britain*, were published all *Alphonsus* his Demands against many

many Cities of Germany, and also a fresh document from *Brabant*, what might be hoped for touching Religion; The Relation thereof followes.

Anna Hovia a Maid, living in Family with her Sisters, to whom she was in nature of a Servant, being suspected of dissenting from the Popes Sanctions, was thrown into Prison, and when they overcome either by the threats, or prayers of her Friends, or the allurement of life, wherewith, even the greatest minds are made to sleep, had begged her Pardon by acknowledging her ignorance, she alone was nothing moved; but in the interim, with modest Speeches, she obtayned, that being a Woman, and so both by Sex and Fortune, exempted from troubles, and as she her self believed, maintaining no false Opinion; but if it were so, that she was guilty of error, who could pardon her for it; for that was an offence, not against men, but God, and he would take vengeance for it. If any one overcome by fear, against the thoughts of their heart should recant, although it were thereby to maintain the truth; of whom the Senate advising, whether they should give judgement or no, *Albertus* is reported to have made answer, Let the Laws be put in execution. You may the more justly wonder hereat, that so cruel and inhumane a punishment, should yield delight or satisfaction to any Spectators; for she was buried alive under ground in *Bruxells*: the Authors of this Barbarisme probably expecting she would have repented; But she now descending into the Caves, and being placed between Death and the Priests, ready to give her absolution, without any shew of fear, calling fervently upon God, she was covered over with the Earth, and buried alive. This Womans constancy, was looked upon by all the Netherlanders, with great commiseration, Report adding to the novelty of the matter, in regard of old many millions of Butcheries were transacted upon short and small hearing. And afterwards, *Albertus* thought it almost enough to punish Crimes of that sort by threatnings, but if at any time he proceeded further, the torments were inflicted in more secret manner.

At this time a return of thanks was made to those several Kings and Princes, who had been solicitous for the peace of the *Netherlands*, recommending their Affairs in particular to every one of them; And in the interim, by reason of the Arch-Dukes envy, they stirred up all who had any care of Religion, to a severe revenge: The Entertainment and Charge of the Embassadors, was defrayed out of the publick Stock, out of which also, at their departure, great gifts were given to them. In their Letters to *Germany*, they excused several incursions into the adjoining parts of their Country by the like actions of the *Spaniards*, and the necessity of the War, whereto there was but one remedy, to wit, utterly to drive them away, as far as was possible: against whose insolency in taking several places of *Germany*, they had often received a hearing, but never any redress. Whereupon, they were compelled concerning this affair also to put all their hope in their Arms, which yet should not be prejudicial to the Neighbours all about, that were in peace; to which purpose, they had lately augmented the Souldiers pay, that so they might be kept subject by a stricter Discipline; The *Dutch* also seperately and a part requested, that the War, wherein they were altogether unconcerned, might not be made a burthen to them, and that they might not be restrained from *Spanish* Commerce; which Queen *Elizabeth*, by the same Embassadors, had denyed to the Kings of *Danmark* and *Poland*, and when they praised nature, who willed the Sea should be open to all, and the right of exchange or Trade be debarred to none, She answered, That there was nothing so congruous to the Customs both of men and nature it self, then to repel danger, and therefore no wise man would suffer him to receive any assistance, who lay at watch for his ruine. Nor did she deny them Arms onely, but all other sorts of Provisions whatsoever, avouching in defence of the same, an ancient League of the *Englisk*, with the *Anseaticke* Cities, and the examples of other Princes: deriding

ing the vanity of *Paulus Dietius*, behaving himself insolently, protesting, she rather took him for a Herald, then an Orator; nor did she spare his Master *Sigismund* himself, who she said, was ignorant what belonged to a King, and for that he received his Government but by Election. That his Father and Grandfather, when they warred with the *Muscovites*, shewed another kind of respect to *England*. But this was all the thanks she was like to have, who had by her Embassadors care and pains, delivered *Sweden* from the *Muscovitish* War, and freed *Poland* from the *Turks*. But the *Hollanders* not esteeming it just, to prescribe harder Laws to others, then they were willing to submit to themselves, did not intercede under other people from going to the *Westward*, and the *Enemies* Coasts by the same Rule that the *United States* themselves did.

This year were made some expeditions by Sea, begun with great Councils, but by reason of so many incertainties to end or no purpose: for the *English* encouraged by the yet fresh success of the *Cadix* Voyage, made new and great preparations at Sea, to countervail the *Enemies* designs there, and fall upon the rich Islands of the *Azores*, with endeavour also to seize and take all Ships coming from the other far distant World; The Queen set forth sixteen strong and well armed Ships, among which, were two taken at *Cadix*, to whom the *Hollanders* joyned twenty of theirs, under the Conduct of their Admiral *Warmonde*, besides almost three-score less Vessels for carrying the Souldiery and Instruments of War; wherein were contained some great Artillery for battering of Cities and Towns, together with six thousand Land Souldiers; although they heard that divers numbers of Foot Souldiers were levied, and ready upon all the Sea-Coasts of *Spain*: The Command as General, both of the Fleet and Souldiers, was committed to the Earl of *Essex*, for the avoiding those evils, which of late a divided Commission had made them sensible of.

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In the Month of *July*, they set Sail, favoured at first with the calmness of the Sea, and a gentle *Northerly* Wind; but soon after, the Wind encreasing, and when the *Fleet* was arrived in the great Ocean, over against *Galicia*, the Sea and the Heavens changed Countenance, for the Ships being tossed in the surging Waves of a horrible Sea, divided as well the Counsels of the Commanders, as separated the Ships one from another: Some having more nimble Vessels, were hurried in oblique courses, even into the Coasts and sight of *Spain*, and many wearied by the Sea and dangers, that they might the sooner return into their Country, of their free wills followed the pleasure of the Winds: But although the Earl of *Essex* his Ship was restrained by the loss of her Masts, and the springing of several great Leaks, so that the entering Water, could hardly be exhausted by all the toil and labour of the Pump; yet did he still endeavour to go forward, and steer his course, even in despite of Fortune. Until at last, all sight being taken away with the thick darkness of the Clouds, and the sense of hearing, become useless by the out-cries of such as were over-charged with fear, the dashing of the Waves, and the blustering of the Winds, present fear had made the Seamen senseless of their duties, so that there was no obedience to Commands.

Thus, by the consent of the Commanders, most of the Ships having many Leaks, so that they could hardly be kept upright with all their labour, yet at last, he brought them all back into *England* safe, the tenth day after he went out, where while they waited for their Companions, and contrary Winds detain them in the Port, by scarcity of Provisions, and the increasing of Diseases, they were compelled to dismiss their Ships of burden, and Soldiers, retaining only one Regiment, which being well Disciplined in Military Affairs, Sir *Francis Vere* had brought thither by the consent of the *Hollanders*: And now their Counsels being contracted as their Forces, and the hope of a Land War to-
ally

lost, it was thought convenient to wait about the Islands of *Azores*, to intercept the great Fleet now ready to return from the *Indies*: But the *English* Ships being again torn and boyled, by cruel Tempests, *Essex* having long compassed the Sea, and wasting the Islands, was at last, by the error of his *Mist*, carryed out of his way, and Sir *Walter Raleigh*, not able any longer to be subject to Command, took his course, though without any certainty, another way.

The *Spaniards* in the mean while, arrive at the Port of *Agua*, on the contrary part of the Isle *Tercera*, the most powerful of all the *Azores*, and bringing with them infinite Wealth. But the *English* by cross and contrary Winds, and other imminent evils were so kept back, that they could not come near them: yet three Ships being separated from their Company, were either sunk or taken and made a prey. Here began a mischievous contest, the *Hollanders* accusing *Raleigh*, who had Command of a part of the *English* Fleet, that he by force took away from them, a Ship which they had taken, while they were in pursuit of another.

In this Voyage, some small and open Towns were burned by the *English*, as also a *Garack* coming from the *Indies*, was fired by her own men, to prevent the falling thereof into the Enemies hands. The Commanders thus frustrated of their hope, and returning to winter in *England*, were derided by their evil willers, so that being before emulous among themselves, and now become enemies, yet they consented to aver sound advise, and their own endeavours not wanting for prevention of their ill success. Hereby appears that fortune is not to be commanded by wise men, nor forced by just ones.

The case of *Padilla* was harder, who was sent with like Commands as of late out of *Spain*, to indamage *Britain*, with one hundred and eight Ships, wherein were embarked eight thousand men: for having made a large progress, by the boisterous *North-winds*, three *Galleons*, six other Ships, and a
great

great quantity of men and money was drowned.

Padilia returning home, whether guilty of Imprudence or Infelicity, in his unfortunate Attempts, was removed from being Admiral of the Fleet, to whom, in the same place, succeeded *Didaca Brocarus*.

This Summer, four *Holland* Ships, which had sailed out three years before, were the first that returned from the *Indies*: Not was the Citizens joy greater then their admiration, when they heard tell of men circumcised, whose genitals only being covered, the rest of their Bodies was quite naked, living about those parts where you go out of *Africa*, into the *East*, and inhabiting the Island of *Malagasia*. These neither well knew, nor are totally ignorant of God: Their miserable genius prompting them to all manner of licentiousness: not distinguishing themselves by names, not knowing any varieties of seasons, and so ignorant of our manners and Customs, that they would give in exchange two small quantity of Tin, a good Oxe. They related also, the dangerous sedition of the Murders, notwithstanding all these dangers: together, with the perfidious nature of the *Barbarians*, whom the *Portuguses* brought up every where, but especially in *Java*, that under the pretence of peace, they might the better hide their murders and depredations. From hence proceeded as well fighting as delays: Not were the *Hollanders* free from fault, for they that were sent thither by their Kinsfolks or Friends, being such as were forced from their own Country, either by debt, or their own wickedness, yielded to the *Barbarians* nothing but an evil pattern to follow. Nay, so great was the stupidity of some of them, that among all the people at noon-day, they sounded the depth of the Haven at *Bantam*.

Java is an Island almost as big as *England*, and not as some believe, a part of the *South* Continent, as appeared by the Circuit. It hath many Kings, a part of them according to the Custom of their Fathers, worship false Gods, the other part

not long since have received the *Mahometan* Doctrine. They saw also *Sumatra*, the greater *Java*, and a little Island called *Balis*: and in their return another, which is called by the name of *Helma*, fruitful in the product of many things, but not inhabited by any men:

From hence the *Hollanders* then first began to fetch Pepper and other Fruits, the usual growth of those warmer Climates, which kind of Trade had of old been very gainful to the *Venetians*, by *Egyptian* Transportations; but for the space of an hundred years, solely usurped by the *Portugueses*, who discovered that Ocean, and claimed the same as their reward of their long Navigations, and the gift of the *Pope*. The first Voyage after many difficulties, being free from danger, yet for the future, gave hope of better advantage, and invited many others out of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and exiles of *Indians*, to attempt the same with a greater number of Ships.

From the beginning of the Spring for many months, had the Siege of *Amiens* been delayed, while the King, though with a strong Army of fourteen thousand men, yet sparing of his own Soldiers blood, and not greedy of his Enemies, only fortified his Camp against all force, as well inward as outward. And first he endeavoured to raise a Confederacy among the Citizens, and when that was discovered, he attempted to fill up the Trenches, undermine the Rampire, and to do other things, which though they cost little blood, yet they took up great expence of time, especially the Besiegers being unexperienced in such works, and the Besieged wanting neither Valor or Policy to withstand the same, and to protract the Siege in hope of getting Relief, and having turned out of the Town, above six thousand Citizens, whom they suspected. Besides, while the Enemy was gathering together his force, a Body of Horse entred the Town, thereby both strengthening and augmenting the Garrison. And although they were infested with the Plague, yet they made

frequent Sallies in defence of their Walls, with various Fortune, in several of which divers eminent men on both sides were slain, among whom was *Pernarwa*, the main Author of all their Stratagems: Yet the Townsmen, by cutting their Banks, turned the River upon the Enemy: And after many Repulses, caused by neglect of such as were sent to enter the City, the Arch-Duke in *Autumn*, with his new and old Forces, and according to ancient Custom, having raised the *Netherlands* Nobility, which were modelled into Horse and Foot, came thither with more Fame than Hope. At the first sight, he perceived, that it was not possible, either to force the King's Works; nor to draw the coming Enemy, though more than ordinarily cautious, to the hazard of a Battle: Onely some few loose Bands encountered. But now *Flanders* being weary by War, was first afflicted with scarcity of Victuals and soon after with Sickness. These Things forced the Arch-Duke to depart, overcome almost with Sorrow, for loss of the City, which (a Truce of eight days, according to Agreement being elapsed, which was, that if in that they were not relieved with above a Thousand men) was deliver'd up to King *Henry*, & *Albertus*, that the King might the less perfit by Successes, by scarcity of Victuals, and fear of the Winter, lest the Siege of *Durham*.

Soon after that, *Albertus* sent part of his Squillers to block up all the Avenues of *Ostend* with Ports, at the Request of the *Flandrians*; for as yet having sent Spies to sound the strength of all Fortifications about the place, as well to the Seaward, as Land, and conscious to himself of his own weakness, he durst not attempt the Siege of it. In the meanwhile, Devastations being hindred, Sir *Edward Norwiche* made Governour there, ragged foot-free all over the Country, being grown more terrible to the Enemy, because he had lately taken *Alvarus Aguilars*, the Governour of *Dunkirk*, prisoner, with some other booty. Here I have a mind to draw all Affairs into one Series, until the end of the Year,

but I may not place what was done during that time by the *Hollanders*, or continued by them a part.

They were quiet the greatest part of the Summer, while *France* detained their Money, and *England* their Souldiers, either expecting other business, or hoping some Sedition among the Enemies. But now *Albertus* his Forces being all recalled from *Amiens*, there was a necessity for some action, but not resolved whither to carry the War, their Affections wavering towards divers places, until at length it was left to the Judgment of the Prince, Count *William*, and the *States*; who thought it convenient, to drive the Enemy out of the Garrisons in *Overissel*, whereof the *Spaniard* had not many remained, but they which were, were governed and kept by *Frederick* Count *Harcourt*, that so the War being removed within the *Rhine*, all that part of the Country that lyes beyond, might be exempted from payment of Contribution to the Enemy; and that they might compass this with the more safety (for they had not equal Forces at Home to cope with the Enemy; and, it might be doubted, least the *Spaniard* might alter his Counsel, and come back) they thought fit to put off the Journey to some following time, with Commands where the *Rhine* might be passed: The same thing also proved famously advantageous, for the safety of the Borders; and that there might be a safe Passage into *Germany* opened, which was now shut up by the Enemy, to the great damage of Trade, while it is prohibited to carry through Rivers what was taken at Sea, and to carry back other things in them thereof.

At this time *Henry Frederick* entering into the 14th Year of his Age, having till those years spent his time at *Leyden*, in the study of the Liberal Sciences, was first taken to be instructed in the Rudiments of War: With which Companion, and many others of the same House, the Prince, and the rest of the Commanders, having privately held a Coun-

cil, go towards *Gravenaert*, so that the Enemy might not be aware, to what place chiefly they intended. He had Seven Thousand Foot, and Twelve Hundred Horse, who passed the *Rhine* in little Boats, and the *Waal* by a Bridge of Ships fastened together, carrying along with them their Waggon and Baggage. But the Ships, by force of the Wind, were carried up the Rivers, wherein were contained forty great Guns for Battery, and the rest of the Provisions proportionable. The Army marched along the Banks, which of old was called the *Gallick*, or rather the *Romane Causey*, and in their Journey, upon sight of the Army and Artillery, Fort *Alba*, a Hold of unreasonable strength, was without delay surrendered; and the same Evening, some Horse were sent out to encompass *Berck*. There are some who would have this Town to be the *Tiberiacum* of the *Ancients*, and that there yet remains some glimmering of the same in the word *Berck*, as it is now contracted. It is a small Town, but rich in Customs; for lying upon that Bank of the *Rhine*, which as we said, is beyond *Antem*, which is also known by the Name of *Petracastra*, being a place famous in former Ages, for the Siege of the *Legions*, and the War of *Holland*: A little upon one hand appeareth *Wesel*, near the back of *Gelderland*; but both sides of it are inclosed by the Regions of *Elross* and *Juilliers*. It is within the Jurisdiction of the Arch-Bishop of *Colen*; but the Duke of *Parma*, under pretence of the *French* War before-men-tioned, after much contest, seized and possessed it; for safety whereof, besides the sweetness of the place, and the Antiquity of the Fortifications, there was kept in it a Garrison of no less than a Thousand Men, part *Netherlanders*, part *Germans*: In the upper part of the River, there is an Island three miles in compass, adjoining to the Town, and separated onely by a River. Hither the Prince sent a sufficient number of men to guard it, and made a Bridge over the Channel, that there might be a secure Way

for Pastures, and other Provisions. Afterwards he pitched his Camp chiefly in two places, although at that time the Weather was very raging; and that no place might be left open, a Line, with a Trench, was commanded to be drawn on both sides the River all along. Thus the Town was shut up, many ships stopping the passages of the *Rhine*; And all Forts, whether in Ways, or upon meaner Rivers, were strengthened and maintained by the Guard of the Beleaguers by turns; which afterwards being laid aside, there was another great Work raised against the Town, for the securing Passages from place to place; nor had the Besieged either Valour or Confidence enough to disturb their Enemies Work by Sillies, they onely vindicating themselves by shot at a distance, having the greatest plenty of Ammunition, though indeed they wanted nothing else; for there were found in the City almost fourscore great Guns, with these they had furnished the Fortifications, to resist any thing that might oppose the Town. The chief Defence against all such Damages was a Tower, which raised its height somewhat above the Palace, and so infested all the places near the River; from hence arose Pity, Fear, and Wrath, to many falling in the Camp; for *Lewis* of *Nassau* was shot in the Thigh, and the Prince himself was not free from danger, for by accident his Tent was overthrown; yet the Besiegers began to set in order their Canon against the Town, whereby the before-mentioned Tower was so weakned, that none durst remain or stay therein: Hitherto all that was done, was by snatches and intervals, as it were at a breathing. Afterwards the Trench was filled up, and although the Weather were very bad, by reason of continual Rains; yet the Galleries began to be wrought on forward to the very Rampire, to a great breadth: The Artillery never ceasing to batter the Gate, which lay upon the River from the Island before-mentioned. This caused the Besiegers to send Messengers, that should Treat about the delivery of the Town, it being

manifest to them, that those Threats were not in vain, in regard they beheld and felt the Fore-runners of a Storm; yet could not all their Prayers at the present, prevail to obtain a Truce, the Battery continuing all that day, with the expence of Two Thousand shot.

In this interim also, *William of Nassau* had assaulted and taken an Half-Moon Sconce that lay upon the River, the Defendants being beaten out thereof by violence of shooting. Now also was the Courage of the Besieged utterly overthrown by a sharp Summons, whereby they were advised to prevent Extremity; and that if they should yet continue in their Obstinacy, they should be exempted from Mercy. Thus on the Tenth day was *Berck* deliver'd, the whole Garrison marching forth with all that belonged to them. All the publick Stores of the Enemy, together with the Artillery and Ships, were (according to Custom) deliver'd to the Conqueror. Some there are, who lay the fault of this Surrender, upon a suddain fear, especially for that *Herman Count Herenberg*, Governour of *Gelderland*, came to the Garrison, either because the Commander in Chief there was blame-worthy, being an immoderate Boaster, and before the appearance of danger beyond measure insolent; or else that the Souldiers were equally criminal, whom presently after their going out of *Gelderland*, many reprehended as growing Seditious within the Town: This thing done, *Legates* were sent from the Arch-Bishop of *Colen*, and the Colledge of *Priests*, to the Prince, with Command to go from him to the *States*, to demand the re-delivery of that being a Free Town, and not obnoxious to their War. But the great conveniency of the place, moved the *States* to return an Answer in their terms:

Although whatsoever was possessed by our Enemies, and taken from them by War, may seem ours by right of Victory, yet the great Confidence you have of the Batavian's Equity, is not altogether

either vain, since what hath been so long permitted, to undergo the
Yoke of Spanish Tyranny, you are not ashamed to challenge out
of our hands: We would truly have given way of our own ac-
cord, unless that former Action had taught us, that you your-
selves were unable to defend it: And certainly, he is deservedly
wretched, that will be deceived by another mans foolishness. Now
if the Spaniard may reside still at Berck, you ought also to take
the same Care both for Bonne and Nuiss. We are continually ex-
hausted and damaged by Excursions: Nay, our own Land, and
the common River is taken from us, so that we shall be said not to
rule, but to have given you the City: Rather then so, still be-
lieve it to be yours, and that it is ours a Pledge only against dan-
ger, and a caution for our Expences, which in all Reason and Jus-
tice you ought to pay, if we have conquered the same for you;
withstanding which, we promise that the Revenues which the
Bishop usually received thence, shall carefully be reserved to his
use.

With these Words the Legates were dismissed; nor did
the States as yet fortifie this Town of Berck as their own,
for they onely repaired the Breaches made by the Batteries
and Assaults, and placed therein for Defence of the place a
Regiment of Foot, with a few Horse; and that no part might
be open to the Enemy, they levelled *Mutelen* to the ground,
because it seemed too far off, to fortifie and defend the same
sufficiently. *Camillus Sabinus*, who was in Command under
the Duke of *Parma*, had raised that Castle upon the Bank of
the *Rhine*, in an excellent situation, and as was believed, in
the very place of old *Duisburg*: the original of which Town
the old Germans refer to the fabulous Wandrings of *Ulysses*.
And being the Duke of *Parma's* Countrey-man, gave the
Name to this place, as promising to himself without doubt,
by that Work, the perpetuating of his Fame, and continua-
tion of his Memory to after-Ages: But at that time the Count
Hohenlo accidentally passing that way in his Journey, with a

small Reinue towards *Germany*, it was with great fear de-
 setted, and by the Prince's Command levelled with the
 ground, the *Italian's* Arrogance being looked on with Con-
 tempt, who (to speak his own words) affirmed it to be built
 in the height of his Courage, to such advantage, that it was
 inextinguishable.

At this time the *United States* writ to the Princes of *Nu-
 enberg*, and *Brandenburg*, wishing them rather to lay open to
 them a Passage into the Dukedom of *Cleves* in reality, than
 to Tantalize them with empty Words and Promises, and to
 leave it to them, to lay hold on a fit time to vindicate Right.
 In those parts of the Bishoprick of *Colem*, yet under the Pro-
 tronage of the Dutchy of *Cleves*, is situate *Moss*. The
 Proprietors whereof were called *Counts*, and the last Heir of
 which was *Kalburgia*, innobled of old by an intermarriage
 with the Count of *Horn*, and through the Duke of *Alva's*
 Cruelty a Widow, and now again intermarried, and the Wi-
 dow of a related Family the Count *Menor*. She living a-
 mong the *Hollanders*, the *Spaniard* had possessed both the
 Town and Castle, being a considerable strength, above eleven
 years, with a strong Garrison, whose number was increased
 to above eight hundred, by the Count *Herman* of *Hem-
 burg*, upon the Report of the Siege of *Berck*, being other-
 wise helpless, and unable to have resisted. Wherefore taking
 along with him the rest of the Forces that were left, he re-
 treated beyond the *Moss*: From whose Bank the Town ly-
 eth a little distant, by which means an access thereto is more
 easie for the Enemy, and greater damage accruing to the
 Besiegers: In this well-known Site, the Prince in two sever-
 al places settled his Force, but without any defensive
 Trench, and their nearer Approaches which they had begun,
 were retarded by the Autumnal Showers, yet the Day
 brought them to the Ditch, which in three places was filled
 up,

Hitherto no great Guns had vomited Thunder to the Battery, or Ruins of the Works, though the Prince had commanded many to be planted, and a Bridge to be prepared as for an Assault, when unexpectedly the Governour of the Town and Castle (his name was *Andrew Miranda*, by Nation a Spaniard) came to a Treaty, Pledges on both sides being given (although a little before, being summon'd by Letters from Prince Maurice, That if he could defend the Castle, yet he should take pity upon the Town, and not leave the Citizens lying to the severity of War. He returned a proud and uncivil Answer); The Souldiers that marched out were permitted by Article to carry away their Colours, Arms, and one great Gun; the Prince, by the Concessions of these Honorary Vacuities, redeeming the War from delay, and the Enemy, under the pretence of a Titular Reputation, flattering himself in his own disgrace, notwithstanding he pretended a want of Gunpowder, beyond the Exemplar of *Berech*; but certainly he might have furnished himself with those things, neither indeed could he have wanted means to have moderately relieved the Town, but that Fear wholly prevented their Care.

While the *Frisian* Forces attended Prince Maurice, in the mean while *Frederick Count Heremberg*, drawing the Garrison Souldiers out of *Lingen*, and other Towns, into that part of *Friesland*, which is called *Septemsylus*, began to waite and burn the Villages thereof, carrying away many prisoners, and a great Booty: Nevertheless private damages did no way put a stop to publike Endeavours; wherefore the *Hollanders* Army passing the *Rhine* by a Bridge, thereabouts where the Village called *Rees*. And here also the same Fortune followed the Conquerours, none daring to resist them; for *Albertain* had resolved to lye on the *French Borders*, which made the Garrisons in these parts the more afraid.

IF I should commemorate like Wars among the *Antients*, and the concurring strength of diverse *Small Kingdoms* and People into one Body, by a like *Similitude* and Alliance of Chance, it would be no wonder, though I should weary my self in the plentiful recital thereof, and should undertake the Toil of decyphering all both persons and places, where such Things have been seen: But my Work is circumscribed and brought into a narrower Compass; for here is not to be declared the Conjunctions of *Allies*, fatal *Battles*, eminent *Slaughters*, and great *Dangers*; but onely the *Sieges* and *Assaults* of some mean Towns, and that too, if I discern any thing, more for advantage and gain, than pleasure or ambition. For in many other Parts there have been of old, yea even among our own Ancestors, more numerous Armies, Fifty or Threescore Thousand have been oft master'd in the Fields, sufficient to have drawn after them, in common Judgment, the success of a War: in which *Tempestuous Meetings*, the whole Discipline depended, in nothing more, than to equalize Valour, keep footing, and drive away the Enemy. But the following Age participated of less Cruelty, by the use of more Policy; nor, as before, were the hazards of War run upon at adventure, to the decision of a Quarrel at a Fight, but by fortifying against intervening Dangers; and, on the contrary, when a visible strength is found, either near or far off, to lay open all fenced places, dry up all Fenny and Moorish Parts, to fill up Valleys, and level Hills: Which if any one would sift out and value, according to the Experience of the Times and the War, no Land before our own could shew the like Patterns, where a man might find Cities either more strong, or more frequent. *Hither* have been brought all the Politike Inventions, both of *Pristine* and *Modern Warfare*, the long continuance of the War having drawn from all Parts Foreign Spectators, as to a publike School of War.

For

For at this very time the chief Dukes, Counts, and Great Commanders, as well out of *Germany, France, Britain*, as from other more remote Parts, follow'd the Prince in the management of the War in *Over-Iffel*. Himself went beyond the River *Lippe* in *Germany*, but the Ships were conveyed through the *Rhine*, and so into the *Iffel*, till they arrived at *Duisburg*. A little further inward lies *Große*, within the Jurisdiction of *Zutphen*, which having been besieged formerly about two years ago, though in vain, did seem to be a Reproach to the Prince, unless it were taken. The Fortifications of this Town were not ordinary, boasting the Care of the Emperour *Charles the Fifth* for their strength and Limits. There were five great Bulwarks standing out from the Rampire, with such Flankers, as commanded on every side any that should venture to assault it: The compass of the City is but small, and under the Government of *John Count Srembo*, with a Garison of eight hundred Foot, and three Troops of Horse; nor had he omitted, when he heard of the Prince's Approach towards him, to amend and make thicker his Works: But the Prince nothing affrighted therewith, but esteeming it very advantageous, that the Enemies Horse should be shut up, which otherwise might possess and infest the Ways, straight with more than ordinary diligence, to prevent any sudden Sallies, by one continued Trench with interposed Forts, in one Night he quite inclosed two parts of the City, Eight hundred Souldiers were designed to the Work, and were guarded by Two Thousand others in Arms. The next Night he encompassed with like Expedition the two remaining parts; in the day time the Works were made more strong and compleat; from thence towards the Towns, the way was broken by many Turnings and Windings, which while they were made, and soon after, the Water brought thither, which before had been contained in the Town Trenches, they were quickly fill'd up with Earth. The

Besieged

Besieged were very obstinate, in their denying to surrender by all means endeavouring to revenge themselves with their Guns, and by their frequent Sallies, until Prince Maurice his Gunners shot fire into the Town; which taking, and expatiating it self to the burning of above Threescore Houses, made them turn all their Care from the hindring of the Prince's Works, to the preservation of themselves, and what belonged to them: Nor yet did faint, although they were afflicted with Fire and Wounds within, and with the terrible Fear of unknown Miseries from abroad, having in two places begun some inward or second Works, for their better Defence, in case the old Works before them should be beaten down and become useles. But afterwards, when the Prince had wrought seven Galleries, unto the very Rampire of the Town, which he commanded to be undermined and blown up; and likewise that Four and Twenty Pieces of Canon should be drawn down for Battery, that so the Town might on all sides be laid open by Breaches: The Garison reclaimed their Obstinacy, and craved Pardon, which was granted to them. This was the 17th Day of the Siege; some were appointed, to conduct the Enemy marching off with his Horses, and Colours, and Waggon, and Ships, to carry away such as were sick; but upon all was laid this Restriction, *That within three Months they should not bear Arms about the River Maes.*

About two hours Journey from *Grolle*, is distant *Breefort*, a small Town of the same Jurisdiction; but, for the strength of the same, reckoned among the chief; for one continued Work runs round the Town: nor is there any passing beyond it, but by one narrow Path, every place else all about being incompassed with unpassable Marishes and Moors, which a man no sooner treads upon, but he sticks in the Mud and Dirt: so that there was no way to go on to an Assault, nor any place to pitch a Camp, for continuing the Siege.

Nor were other Things provided with less Care; The Wall being of very antient Work, was surrounded with a very deep Trench, which was the Work of *Martino Rossen*, when he made Wars in those Parts Fourty Years before: Three hundred Souldiers were sufficient to maintain the small Circumference of the Works about this small Town. But it was reported, that both these, and the Townsmen, were in Contest, and had a difference with the *Governour*, whose Name was *Gardoto*, by which means greater strength was added to their fear of our extrinseck Terrour. Nevertheless, they were not hearkned to, that urged a *Surrender*, as repining at the *Governours Authority*, in whom there was too much Courage, for the present Condition of Affairs there; or else for that their Confidence, in the strength of the place, with those helps before-mentioned, had made them all agree in this.

But Prince *Maurice* persisting, the Souldiers were much troubled with the appearance of so great Labour, and the wetness of the Marishes more offended, than their daily Conflicts with the Enemy; especially, because they were ignorant, what Swallows and Quagmires lay hid in the deceitful Nature of the Soil: For the Ground which lately was firm and solid, by the then wetness of the Season with continual Showers, were overflow'd and cover'd with Water; so that where-ever they went, there was nothing but a thick stiff Mud, and no safety or certainty any where; nor could they find any Ground fit to raise a Breastwork in. But when the Prince had with great Diligence used all the Arts formerly tryed at *Gertruydenberg*, and *Cooverdan*, all these Difficulties were by Experience mollified; And himself became both an Advisor and Director of the Work, sending part of the Forces under Count *Salmes*, and Col. *Braderode*, into those places that answer'd to the Gates; that which lay in the middle towards the *North*, being the most difficult, he reserved to himself.

The

The Moory places he made firm, by stuffing them with Stones, Wood, and other sound Earth, laying over all Planks, and into the deeper Water were thrown Bundles of great Rushes and Brushwood. Thus, upon this made Ground, Hardles being set upright, with Earth between them, at small distance, served both for Blinds and Defence, by this means a Breastwork was brought even to the Hill hard by the Town, but much helped by the singular industry of the Seamen, whose continual being in danger makes them fearless: There was erected a Platform for Twenty Canon, and to much pains was taken in eight days, that they were gotten to the very Trench of the Town: But there was no Expedient found to drain the Water from thence, for that the daily Rains, and the lower Springs in all that open Country, still more and more supplied and filled it. This, together with the Promise of Count *Frederick Hereinberg*, to send Three Hundred Souldiers to their Relief, through the Shallows, so heightened the Confidence of the Besieged, that they yet refused to surrender: Whereupon now the whole Camp intended a Storm, nor were the Captains backward, especially the *English*, who having lost many of their men, were incited by the Prince and incouraged, that at length after their Toilsom Labour in digging, they should be rewarded with the blood and spoil of their Enemies: Protesting, since the Enemy had had so many Examples of his Clemency, which he had refused, that now he should feel the severity of their Revenge. That there was a method in Pardon, as in all other Things, and Limits within which it is lawful to resist or relent: That Terroure and Moderation, are turned to Glory and Advantage, when too much Lenity breeds nothing but Contempt and Pride; That for all this, there ought to be Concessions of Favour, in all publike Dealings of War, for the Honour and Encouragement of Military Vertue, least the Victory should at any time set upon unfortunate Valour, the undeserved Stamp of a Vice: But on the other side, if

any

any shall despise, and mock at Threats and certain Destruction, it was never known, but that such weak Pretenders to Honour, suffer'd the punishment of their own Delay.

Wherefore the Prince beginning his Batteries, had beaten down with his Artillery the Towers and Steeples, as also the Tops of the Bulwarks and Fortifications; among which, the Rampire without the Gate, having been long batter'd, at last was taken; And the Besieged defended the Ruines of their Lines and Works with their Bodies and strength, throwing down upon the Prince's men, as well great Bullets as Stones: The Trench alone kept off the Assault till this time; but now a Bridge of Cork prepared not far off, was soon brought thither: And this being a Work full of danger, was undertaken by the Sea-men; for they, not waiting for the Word of Command, began to undermine the Rampire, not so much as minding their own Weapons, which they had carry'd thither with them. At the sight of the Bridge, as some stupendious Wonder, the whole People of the Town were affrighted, so that they could neither agree in Labour or Design for a space: But at last, leaving off all other business, all flocked to that part: But when they saw their Enemies advancing with certain steps, and in a plain and even way, and others to stand behind with glistening Ensigns, fierce Looks, and threatening Weapons, and that the noise and whistling of Bullets had now taken away all the Advantages and Opportunities of Speaking or Hearing, they shewed up and down their Heads, and the Coverings thereof, which were a sure token that they sought for Peace: Where to, when Prince *Maurice's* men gave no other Answer than Wounds, then flying back into the Castle yet intire, they left to the Rage and Fury of the Pursuers, a miserable Company of Women and Children, who falling upon their Knees with elevated Hands, although to an angry Victor, yet either their Sex or Age procured Mercy. About Seventy were killed in the

the flight; they who had entred the Castle, forthwith deliver'd both it and themselves to the Prince's power; who joyfull, that, after the satisfaction of his Revenge, there was yet opportunity for him to shew mercy, gave them their Lives, and set a mulct upon them, which they were to pay to the Conquering Souldiers, and to that purpose he took Hostages of them: But afterwards this also was remitted, towards the re-building of Houses, which had been there burned, which happed to begin in the Night, by means of a burning Bulle, which lying unobserved; among many others that were cooled, set fire on many Houses, the flame much increasing, by the great quantities of Scraw scatter'd all about: And in the mean while, the Governour no less conscious to himself of the hatred of his own men, for his severity towards them, then fearful of the Enemies indignation, and doubting least the Souldier would expiate his own pertinacy, by the punishment of his Captains, did not fly with the Multitude, but hid himself in a dark and close Cave under the Town, there expecting better Times; whence being drawn out, as he stood before Prince *Maurice*, retaining much of his old Contumacy, he began to dispute for himself, concerning the truth of the differing Parties, and many other Things, which at such a time, when all Affairs were in such disorder, are neither wisely, nor with safety spoken of: Where to, when the Prince, even against his Nature, had bin forced, he laid all the ult thereof upon him, by whose punishment so great mischief should in some sort be made satisfaction for, with much more Justice, than the blood of the People or Souldiers: At the hearing of which *Sentences*, both his Speech and Countenance were quickly alter'd, till humbling himself with many submissive Prayers and Tears, at last his Life was re-granted to him. Now were some few days allotted to the Souldiers, for refreshment of their Bodies, as well against the past, as the future Labours they were to

Wundergo, wherein they were not a little comforted with the Booty they had got; for all the Neighborhood round about had brought thither their Goods, and left them there as in a most safe Repository.

Soon after this, the Army marched in a Rainy Season; through a dirty Country, into *Over-Iffel*, now filled with Waite, the Terrorist whereof had already gained many Towns, though indeed there were few there comparable with the former; for *Gosen* was deserted of itself, and the Garrison of *Eufchale*, part of them were mer and slain in the March; and they that remained, affrighted to see and hear so much, removed away their Guns, and that was enough for them. From hence the Army was divided to go part of it to *Otmarsen*, and part to *Oldemuel*: It is supposed, that both these Towns drew their Original from the *Mosk*, and the *Sals* (sometimes noble Nations of *Germany*) where it yet appears some Glimmering in their Names. And now in *Otmarsen*, which we related five years ago to be lost and taken from Us, re-taken by Us in an instant: For the Souldiers made no delay, but demanded it of the Enemy, battering the Walls with their great Guns, to make them believe the necessity of their Surrender the greater. *Oldemuel* held out three days, for there were three Rampires and Trenches round about the Town, and six Companies fill'd up the Ditch and the rest of the Works; though the number of the Town Souldiers did not answer the Report made of them; yet were they such, as having been old Souldiers, might well supply the place of a greater number. These, to ingratiate themselves with the Townsmen, urged a speedy Surrender of the Town, lest the houses, by any pretence of delay, should be batter'd down or spoil'd.

Thus did these two Towns fall into the Prince's hand at once; and, by *Deeds* of the *Deputies* of *Over-Iffel*, the Works were thrown down and dismantled, because they did not think them worthy of Repair, and were afraid, lest if they

should be left so as they then were, they might invite the Enemy to a too sudden Return.

There remained yet one, and that a very difficult piece of Work, in regard the Winter approached, which was to quit all the right side of the *Rhine*. For that part of *Germany*, which hath grown into one Body with the *Netherlands*, both in Name and Government, contains towards the East the People of *Westphalia*, and, near the Sea-shore, those of *Embrun*. Upon these Confines, *Lingen* is situate, beyond the River *Emme*, being the Hereditary Demise of the Family of *Tschernberg*: But the Emperour *Charles*, in that War when he made the *League of Smalcald*, drew to himself the Possession thereof, though formerly given to *Maximilian Com Burgo*, as a Reward of his Service in the Wars; for he was desirous to enlarge the old Bounds, and that he might observe Garrisons more into that Country, and in time come to command unto the further Bank, where men pass to *Hamburg* and *Bremen* Sea-Coast Towns of *Germany*. This City and Country adjoining, the Prince of *Aurage* had, among other things, accepted as a Gift, at what time through Civil Discords, he enjoyed the most happy Affections of the *Netherlands*.

The strength of *Lingen* was not over-great, although *Fredrick* late Count *Herrnberg*, by the Advice of a *King*, had begun to fortifie the same anew; but the Castle was of a competent strength, being encompassed with a Winding Bulwork, which contained four Half-Moons, each at an equal distance. At this time six hundred men lay there in Garrison, most of them Foot, with a small party of Horse, but without all doubt, the choice of all the King's Cavalry: That they were no more, was occasion'd by an Oath, whereby they had gone out of the next Towns, were to be bidden to fight beyond the *Rhine*, during the space of three Months: It was observed by them, who were wont to judge of Things from the Events, that the *Spaniards* had done more politically,

when

when they saw there was no hopes to break up the Siege, if they had gather'd their Forces together, though to the leaving open and hazard of other parts; whereas now, the rest being lost, they had all reduced themselves hither, as if they intended with all their Forces to contest there, for the last Fort and strong Hold of their Government. They had here also both Brass and Iron Guns, and other Instruments, both for Defence, and Offence; Against this Town Prince *Maurice* having sent before some to possess the Passage of the River *Duyle*, and himself following the fourth day after, pitched beyond the *Ems*, where he found the Enemy wasting the Villages and Houses with Fire; by which means, he was compelled to quarter the Souldiers in the Villages at a greater distance from the Town: There then he pitched his Camp without any fear of an Enemy from abroad, taking no care on their back-side, and but meanly fortifying their front: Against the Town Batteries, they raised Batteries in the Camp, and drew a Line against any sudden Sallies that should be made by the Besieged: At this time, the Air was more mild than usually at that Season of the Year, and the Ground easily swelling into little Hillocks, much facilitated the privacy of working. And now, that which was wet with the Water being penetrated, some being beaten back by the Townsmen, discover'd to them the secret Way, to the great satisfaction of such as came thither; and not onely so, but that of Prince *Maurice's* men, as came for Supplies, were sent with so much vehemency, that with the fire from the Guns, the Castle seemed to be all in a flame: And this was then done with the less hazard, because the Prince, in hastening his Expedition, had onely brought with him a few light Field-pieces; the greater being commanded to be brought through the Mouth of the *Ems*, by an easie Passage of the Sea, until the Wind and the Tide should meet: And as soon as they were arrived, the whole heat of the Siege con-

tinued about the Castle; for Count *Heremberg* had brought
 thither all the main of his strength, and the Prince was pa-
 rring in the Assaults of the Town, as hoping shortly it would
 be his own, lest if he batter the Works of it, and so take it
 first, it should after be ruined from the Castle: And here
 they met with a hard piece of Work, which was to draw a-
 way the Water in the Ditch, before which lay a Bulwark,
 strongly defended by the Besieged; so that as it was beaten
 down, by any means they endeavour'd to raise it anew: But
 when at length continual Batteries had laid it quite flat, the
 Ditch being fill'd up, and Galleries made, then was sent to
 them a Summons, which had hitherto been delay'd by reason
 of the Scots which had bin put upon others in former Sieges;
 adding withall, *That as this was the first, so also should it be
 their last Summons.* Count *Heremberg* hearing that, and ha-
 ving received Letters from *Albertus*, whereby he was com-
 manded to save both his own, and his Souldiers Lives, for
 better Service; upon the 16th Day after the beginning of
 the Siege, deliver'd up both the Town and Castle; thus be-
 ing by his Kinsmans Valour deprived, and put out of the
 Command, which he had hitherto obtain'd and kept: This
 Action thus finished, the Souldiers were drawn into *Winter-
 Quarters*; And as the Fame of the Prince's Actions was glo-
 rious abroad, so was his happy Return, (which in 3 Months
 time, and with so small Forces, had compassed such long
 Marches through divers Countries, and reduced them from
 the Concubination and Prey of the Enemy, (for the future to
 be safe by the Boundaries of Rivers) was celebrated with
 the more than ordinary Affection and Joy, both of the *States
 and People*. Insomuch, that some of the Princes of *Germany*,
 publickly in their *Diet* made the Motion, *That he might be
 made General of the War against the Turks, whose Valour and
 Fortunes, it was probable, would put new Life into the Hungarian
 Affairs, which then lay gasping through unprosperous Success.*

But this Joy did not continue long without a Repulse, being interrupted by a Domestick Affliction, because his Sister *Emilia* being Stricken with Love, without the Knowledge, either of her Brother, or the States, was married, and this she did, as believing or hoping, in which Paradox would be sooner obtained for such an Action, than their Consent. This Lady, hitherto unspotted from that City, for any of the *German* Manners, was allured by an *Italian* Sweetness and Countenance of *Emmanuel*, who was not unskilled under the Similitude of Obsequiousness, to find means to win her, especially because being a young man, and of Royal Birth he was by Force and Injury driven from his *Paternal* Inheritance, for he had lost *Don Sebastian* for his Father, who for awhile was King of *Portugal*. This man, with his Brother *Christopher*, having wandered through *France*, *England*, and all other places in Ministry with King *Philip*. Seeing the young Lady, and conversing with her as oft as he pleased, (which Liberty is granted by Custom, and remains as the onely Relique of *Ancient* Simplicity, since it felt was lost), he assisted the need of Affinity with the *Nassau* Family, although be like the inequality of his Fortune, there was a discrepancy in Religion, which they both professed from their Father's time, he being a new convert, and she a true Protestant. At last therefore, this new Bride and Bridegroom are introduced in the Prince's presence. And thereupon, for asswaging his Anger, they retired to *Wesel*: from whence, returning to *Holland*, with their small Revenue, they lived after the manner of private persons: This was so much the more grievous to her, being the Prince of *Orange's* Daughter, and Niece to the Duke of *Saxony*; because, both before, and also at the same time, she had Sisters, of the *Bourbonian* Blood by the Mother's side, that by the Authority of the State, who gave them Portions out of the Publick Stock, lived like Princesses in great state, and with a noble Retinue; for *Ludowick Julius* was married to the Prince *Palatine*, one of the *Electors* of

the Empire; *Isabella* to *Henry* Duke of *Bavaria*; and *Catharina*, surnamed *Belgica*, to *Philip* Count of *Harcavia*; a Person of no small Wealth among the *Franks*; But *Carla*, to whom the *Brabanters* would have that Name given, was bestowed upon *Claudio*, of the Family of *Tramole*, Duke of *Tuare* in *Polonia*, a man of eminent power; for whose Marriage sake, *Henry Frederick* obtained to have an Embassy from the *States*, as well to see the manners of *France* with his Mother, as the King.

The *Winter* this year proved dangerous to *Holland*, on that side towards the *North*, by breaking down the Banks, and causing great Inundations; the like whereof hapned also about *Groningen*; And the frequent breaking out of Fires in *Amsterdam*, made them there have suspicion of Treachery dealing from the Enemy. With the Arch-Duke there was such a scarcity of Money, that the Soldiers began to move in every place; for beginning at first in *Goldrich*, the Example passed to *Wachtendonck*, and thence soon after to *Calais*, *Cambray*, *Arden*, *Capellen*, *Chastell*, *Linn*, *Durson*, *Sclaym*, *Lin*, and *Gant*, which were all infected with the same Contagion: In some places, they thrust out their Captains; in other places, the Officers joyned voluntarily with the Soldiers; and when a little money was procured, and seen some of them that was but a provocation of others, that had none to the like or greater Disorders, causing rather the Rewards of a Licentious Sedition, than the empty Honour of an unprofitable Obedience: Hereupon several Cities refused to receive Garisons; And the Arch-Duke himself, with his Retinue, was shut out of *Verden*, and all the rest of the *Winter* was spent in divers contrivances, relating both to Peace and War, even until the beginning of the following Year: Some *Townsmen* also were hired, to bring the *Spaniards* from the Isle of *Tolen*; but they expired their impious and unhappy Designs with the loss of their Lives: And again, after that while, a Party was sent to take the strong Hold of *Amstelredam*.

place of Zeven by force, while yet the Fortifications were imperfect; and, at the same time, another select Band, to force the Gate of *Ghringenberg*: but both of them being discovered by Scouts, were forced to depart without attempting any thing.

About this time, all Things seemed to incline towards Peace: for *Philip* himself being wearied out, both of his Courage and Forces, by a *Foreign War* with *France*, a *Nation War* with *England*, and as it were, a *Civil War* in the *Netherlands*: and learning by Example, That many times Hopes are destroyed by Hopes, or that the hasty Steps of Old Age and Diseases, where with he was now broken, had inclined him to more mild and moderate Counsels, he desired to hide his Arms, or to retreat and leave the new-made Society of his Enemies. And the Opinion of most was, that he chiefly aimed to rid himself of the *French* and *Dutch Wars*, that so he might the more readily revenge himself upon *England* and with the less charge; for, in *France* the loss of *Amiens*, and in the *Netherlands*, of several Cities beyond the *Rhine*, had much increased his Enemies Forces, and lessened his own: besides the Country was ruined, his Credit exhausted, from whence grew Seditions, it being impossible to keep a settled and strict Discipline, where the Soldiers want their Pay; and, if any part of the Soldier be sent away, while the Enemy hovers up and down, it is very dangerous, because both the Cities of the *Netherlands*, and the *Nation* are for their forepassed Acts much suspected as any: In the mean while among the *Hollanders*, the Country is secure, and the Sea open, which daily yields much profit and still promisseth more: And to this purpose, certain Letters written by *Albertus* to the King, and intercepted, spoke.

It pleased him therefore to begin with the *French King*, because under the pretence of the same Religion, that seemed both more feasible and convenient; especially since Pope *Clement* had often admonish'd him, That, since the Family of

Bourbon was receiv'd into the *Roman* Church, he should cease to trouble him. And if he yet did proceed further, his former Wars would seem to have been made more out of Ambition, and the Thirst of Empire, than his Care of Religion or Piety: Adding moreover, all that could be said for the advancement of Concord among Christians, and promoting the War against the *Turks*. But *Philip* a long time continued all these Warnings, though now at last he began to approve thereof; but chiefly, when he saw the profuse Largesses towards the *French*, and that his Armies sent against them were destroy'd; that what he hoped for was vanishing, and his hopes punish'd with too much severity, that he was thrown out of the possession of much which his Generals enjoy'd. Nor was it displeasing to King *Henry* to recover his own, that he might once enjoy in peace that Kingdom which he had obtained by War; and that he might settle by good Laws all those Things, which for the space of forty years had been corrupted and run to Ruine: And the way moved also all the *Christians*, formerly a Faction, were averse to him, but now the chief men in favour. Moreover, in all places as he pass'd, there still met him Crowds of the People, humbly supplicating him to hasten to Peace. The honour of counselling and advising these two Kings, fell to *Alexander Medicis* the *Pope's* agent, and *Biancamano Capiron* a *Sicilian*, the Chief of all the Order of *Franiscans*, who omitted not to shew to the *French* King, That among all Allies of War, the Reward of it always came to his Lot the first laid hold of Peace: Yet for all these persuasions, he would not hearken to a Treaty, until he had Assurance given him, That the Articles of the Peace should be such, that he might thereby not only claim but enjoy the whole Kingdom of France.

Fraught with this hope, the *Monsieur's* *Bellair* and *Brillat's*, from the *French* King, and *Monsieur d'Esca*, *Richelieu* and *Marinsarde* from *Albany*, to whom King *Philip* had given full power concerning this Peace, met at *S. Omer*,

where

where they proceeded in a very procrastinating manner. In the mean while Henry, that he might not seem irreligiously to break the League with England, sends thither his Ambassador to declare, That by this slow kind of fighting, France did not, as formerly, decay; but die; That all the Noble Families were waisted by the War, the People brought to Poverty, the Towns torned and burnt, and the Fields unmanured, which must needs hold to the King a sad Spectacle of Misery; And the Extremity of all these Evils was aggravated by this, That they wanted Money: Wherefore, unless he were furnished with an Army speedily in the Charge of his Allies, so as he might therewith, even at once, put an end to the War, What should he do, when even they who seek Peace, who must thereby lose the Reward of their Arms and Palms? However, he would endeavour, that whatever Peace should be made, both the Queen, and the rest of his Allies, should have their benefit thereof; but if they should not think fit thereof, yet it should be so, if he dealt any way with those who sought Peace, as to safety from War, and another with such, as sought nothing but certain Ruine. And that Queen Elizabeth might have the more accuse the King's Infidelity, this was added, That by the League she had promised to send him 4000 Auxiliaries, but that by the guilt of some few Persons, he was faine to be content with 2000. And those also in a manner extorted from her; At which the King of France had suffered, while he desired to have the Noise of her fruitless Alliance, yet could not forget the War against the Hollanders. He had no such plausible defence, however besent Monsieur Buzanval, to let them know, what small help he had either from their Promises or Performances, and that they had received and carried more out of France by Pay, than they expended by the Charges of their Alliance.

Both these People were sensible of the King's Arts in this Management of his Affairs, that he was weary of the War, though he would not seem so. But Queen Elizabeth calling

to memory the great Charges she had been at, in behalf of the *Hollanders*; and considering *Ireland*, which although at that time infested by Rebels, though indeed their strength was broken: yet detained there *John Norris*, and *Thomas Barre*, formerly famous Captains in the *Low Countries*, and these also emulous of each other, had destroyed the Rebels by War indeed, but not by fighting. Upon these Considerations therefore, the Queen returned this Answer: *That as he had not been wanting to her Ally, while he proceeded in the War, so if Peace were made, she would willingly be present at the hearing of the Conditions.* Only the *Hollanders* easily perceived, that they were the persons, that were by Peace to be distinguished, from those against whom a common War was to be waged: For, between the Kings this was one certain Rule leading to Peace: For the future, to abstain from any further Injuries and both to give and take Satisfaction for former Actions: Besides, they well knew, that if a man undertake to reconcile a Prince and People, he will find, that the one must enjoy his Will in all Things: and the other must suffer for the Offences of both: Whereupon they were not ignorant, how hard a Task they should undergo, if the whole strength of *Spain* were turned against them, they thought fit to hint both at the Force and Fraud of their enemies, thereby to deter others, yet themselves polittely to offer any thing: And, as to the King of *France*, who was now advancing against *Namur*, besides the Regiments of the *League*, they offer'd as many ships as he would towards the shutting up of the *Loire*; and great raides upon all that if any of the *Netherlanders* should invade the *Barons* of *France*, he behold, as a prevention of all these intended Designs, that themselves are tempted by new Allurements, viz. King *Philip* had two Daughters, the younger was married to the Duke of *Savoy*; the Elder named *Isabella Clara Eugenia* had kept at Home, thereby the better to inspire, and I am

fire many with the hopes of so great a Marriage: For the which is, she was looked after by the late Emperour *Rudolphus*, *Erasmus*, and the Duke of *Guise*, (though this last had spent the principal part of his Age in an unfruitful *Calabria*) but now at length is betrothed to the Arch-Duke *Albertus* of *Austria*, not without the heavy displeasure of *Rudolphus* the Emperour, as many reported, that the honour of marrying with her should be refused to him, having formerly so earnestly sought after it.

But *Philip* not minding that, proceeded to the New Marriage, promising in Dowry with her, *Burgundy* with the *Netherlands*, not onely that by this division the right Heir might be provided for against her younger Brother, but also for the reconciling and winning the Affections of such as had rebelled, if perhaps the Name of *Austria* should be more acceptable to them, than that of *Spain*, whose fresh Injuries would make the others former Benefits be remembered and will refused.

But all these Endeavours were vain, and to no purpose with People, who would neither be perswaded out of their Fear or Liberty, but weighing all the Necessities and Prejudices of that House, who even by force usurped the Name of the *Belgick Empire*, they suspected every Thing proceeding from thence: But the *Netherlanders* of the other part, returned Answers fit for the time, to the Letters *Philip* had sent them, wherein was transmitted what he had determined, so this purpose.

That it was much against their wills, that they should be dissuaded in their Obedience from the King, of whose Justice and Clemency they had had so many Examples, unless that it should be taken as a part of their Duty, that at their Prince's Command, they would acknowledge his true Effigies: Thence they fell into Enlogies of their New Lords, highly extolling the virtues of him who was present among them, as daily seen;
and

and no less admiring those of Her who was absent, which they had but heard of; humbly begging one thing, That he would not withdraw his Assistance from them now, when their Affairs were in a manner desperate; That as to his Care of Religion, and his Commiseration the Peace was celebrated even in most remote Nations, who had been obliged to him for many Benefits: How much more justly then should they esteem his Goodness, who had advised with his most Noble Daughter, his most generous Kinsman, and them his antique Subjects, Against that odious Calumny, whereunto they are threatened on one side by the Enemy; on the other by their own Soldiers, as his grievous and an Enemy? And if they might continue fixed to himself, and his Son and His, the Netherlands would refuse nothing, if they have an Honourable Recovery to the same Liberty, and their Rights given. The Dutch, but chiefly they of Flanders, did separately urge and insist, That some might be found of making Peace with the Hollanders: but if they would seek, from their Obstinacy to heighten their Punishment, to must that seek to win some Part of the Old Religion, as likewise some Ecclesiastical Persons be willing, either by Arms, or some other way, to give Assistance to the common Cause: It even they thus hitherto have feared the dreadful Greatness of Spain, will about themselves much more equal to it when they find this Power weakened. But all these Things, as they were intermingled with Truth and Fairness, the Sequel of the History, wherein I shall proceed in the next Book, will manifest.

The

The Seventh Book of the History of the Dutch AFFAIRES.

1198. **T**HE United States did not delay to adde new Signs of their old Hatred to their Enemy; for they set forth an Edict, That nothing that was fit, either for War or Shipping, should be transported either into Spain, or any Places subject to them; and thereupon followed another, whereby a Restraint was laid upon all Home-growing Fruits, lest while they sought for advantage abroad, they should breed a luxury at Home; but Hostile Flanders was forbidden of all sort of Trade: Among which Passages, the French Peace, that had never been well observed, disappointed such as greedily sought after Advantage, and dealt in Matters of that Nature, by abating the Custom, and using other Crafty Policies. Now also, Counsels began to be taken concerning arming the Militia, as well such as were to be *Lancers*, as those who had either in the *Infantry* or *Cavalry* deserved well by their *Experience*, and use of greater and lesser Guns: Besides, new Troops were gather'd, with the *Revenues* which had been raised out of the Fields the last *Autumn*. But afterwards, when they began to search into the Frauds and false Dealings of the Captains, they found by *Experience*, that all their great Noise of Remedies fell short, and that it little profited to reduce the Numbers of every Company, so long as the same means of Deceit remained, whereby the more their Numbers were lessned, the more perniciously they gaped to devour what was possible.

More-

Moreover, the most active and valiant Souldiers of that chaffering Age, whom the Captains used to invite over with the hopes of greater Rewards and Pay than they had before, were now onely equalled to the rest, by this contracted Licentiousness of Defrauding, although themselves with infinite Greediness sucked dry the Common Treasury for those uses: From hence began frequent running away, even to the spoiling of whole Regiments; and certainly, the Mischief would have increased, had it not been stopped by the Enemies Poverty: Which Things being perceived at length by the Prince's daily Admonition, the *States* acknowledged the Evils were grown too big for them.

In this mean while, there was a secure Quiet beyond the *Rhine*, which made all the *Provinces* of the *Union*, as their *Tributes* increased, to consider of a way to gratifie their *Goverment*: Prince *Maurice*, and Count *William*, either with the Rewards of Lands or Money; though there wanted not some, who would have blasted this Testimony of their grateful Minds, with the ignominious Name of an Ambitious Prodigality.

About this time, being the second Moneth of the Year, hapned a more rare than admirable Thing hereabouts, which because real Prodigies were not sufficient, was reputed for the account of an Omen. A kind of *Whale* was found upon the Coast of *Holland* by certain *Fisher-men*, and drawn ashore by them with Ropes; which is a *Creature* not so much unknown, but that many of our *Country-men* that live by the Sea-side are well acquainted both with its Name and Shape: The place where it was taken is called *Berchysla*, between *Schrovelin* and *Carmick*, an old Village, drawing its Original from the *Cart*, as the Name testifies: from whence, not far off, is a Passage into the middle Channel of the *Rhine*, and a Castle, which is now utterly ruin'd by the Inroachments of the Sea, the Ruines whereof may sometimes be seen at a Low Water: This Castle is said to be one of the Works

of *Drusus*, or rather of *Severus*, to whom our *Antiquaries*, by reason of its standing opposite to *Britain*, gave the Name of *Britannica*. But to return to the *Whale*, which reached seventy Foot in length, filling all the Shore between the Sea and the Sand-hills; so the sight whereof, went a vast multitude of People, not minding the filthy and nauseous Savour thereof; for as it was dead upon the Land, as it lay the Bowels burst out, which so infected the Air thereabout, that many of those that went to see it, were cast into Diseases by the stench of it, and some dyed: Certainly, no Wise-men looking could seem less wonderful, than one such *Creature*, whereof the vast Ocean contains a Multitude in her immense Profundities, cast upon the Shallows by *Winter Storms*, where at the Ebbe of the Tide, it could not get off, but discover'd it self by the vain strugling, and beating of her great Body upon the Flats: But among the Vulgar, who have liberty to interpret all Things according to their own Fancy, and to draw all the Works either of Nature or Chance into Omens, and from thence to fore-tell to the *Hollanders*, who were the *Conquerors* of that *Creature*, rich Spoils, and the Victory over their Enemies: Others, from hence, denounce bad and unlucky Omens to them, who are follow'd by such *Mothers* in their own Seas: Which Things also being bann'd backward and forward in Books, the Year following manifestly convicted of Vanity: being a Year of Idleness, if compar'd with some that went before. Nay, though from the Event, would seem with Reason to conclude, from the taking of a *Sea-Calf* in the River, not far from *Gorinchem*, not long after, that these *Creatures* were the Fore-runners of those Actions, which in after-times were transacted near those Places. This indeed is true, that seldom in any Year have more Things happen'd, contrary both to Hope and Expectation, the very beginning thereof, from the *Winter* going all along with unsuccessful Endeavours: For the Commanders

mandets of the Garison of *Borghen-op-Zonds* being persuaded, that by an agreed Connivance of the *Scots*, they might get *Wonde*, which is a Castle situate inwards from whence some of the King's Souldiers being sent out into the *Escharies*, did infest all the Rivers; the Setier forward of this Design, being a man no less timorous than imprudent, as soon as the Danger began to appear, himself by his own flight, spoilt the Plot which had been laid by his counsel. But Prince *Maurice* suffer'd a greater Mishap with the *Fleet* sailing into *Flanders*, without the fault or neglect of any man; for the Winds raging without intermission, quite destroy'd such ships as lay abroad, while the rest, not without great hazard, sought to get into Harbour. And by chance it hapned, that some few days after, a Castle or Fort of the same Coast, that lyes opposite to *Burflus* beyond *Zealand*, was by some Garison *French* Souldiers deliver'd to the *Spaniards*, who bought it of them, the Third Year after it had bin in the hands of the *Hollanders*, by the Treachery of some *Walons* Souldiers; and in this manner was both the shame and loss recompensed.

A Party of Horse also marched towards *Limburg*, covering to intercept some Companies of Foot lying thereabouts; but their Journey being discover'd, they were forced to return Home empty through the deep Snow. The same in the Dutchy of *Juilers*, by the surprize of some Troops, about *Berick*, were forced to leave some Provisions to the Enemy, which they had intercepted, though not without the loss of some blood. And others returning from *Leige* and *Trenier*, were met by the Enemy and worsted: Which trivial, but frequent Mischances, in some measure, diminished the Honour they had gotten the former Year, in the action of *Turbant*. In the interim, the *Hollanders* neither lost the good that comes by Peace, nor those Advantages which in other Wars were unknown: Nay, they made good use of the Dis-

cord

and that fell out between the *English* and *Germans*; the beginning of which Contention, when, in the Event, it reached the *Low-Countries*. I must begin at a greater distance.

In former Times, the chief Trade for Merchants was settled in the *German Cities*; of which they that were situate, either by the Sea, or some famous Rivers, to the Number of Seventy, were by the just Laws of Commerce incorporated into one Body, but consisting of divers Nations; as the *Vendians*, *Saxons*, *Bornussians*, and *Westfalians*, who were all united by one *League*, which was named the *Ansiatike League*: Nor were the Superior *Northerly Parts*, and the *Netherlandish Parts*, onely frequented by the Industry of the *Germans*, but also *London* it self was a great *Mart* for them; where, after they had publiely flourished for their Fidelity and Profit in Trading, it was granted by the Kings of *England*, that they might barter or exchange their Commodities, paying but small Customs: But at that time, the Pastures of *Brittains*, with the onely proceed of their Wooll, did almost answer all Importations from *Foreign Parts*, although nothing was then fetched out of the Island, but rough Wooll in the Fleece: until the *Netherlanders*, weary of their Domestick Evils, and for divers causes, being banish'd out of their own Countries, as they sought some People in other Things, so they instructed the *English*, in ordering and working of their Wooll. This hapned during the Reign of King *Edward*, who minding to draw some part of this new Gain into his own *Treasury*, thought himself hindred in his intent by the *Ansiatike League*: Wherefore, seeking some cause of Quarrel, whereby he might recede from what his *Predessors* had granted, the *English* began to turn all Topple-Turvey, yet still to offer the *Germans* their old Priviledges, if they would undergo the Customs and Burdens laid upon Cladithing; with the same readiness and obedience, as the Citizens and Subjects of the Kingdom did; averring, That nothing was so contrary to the Duty of a

Prince, as to release that Burden to Strangers, which the Subjects were forced to bear; and therefore required, that they might enjoy the like Immunities through Germany. All which prevailed nothing with the Germans; who retorted, That by these new Inventions, the Priviledges which they had purchas'd with three hundred years Merits, and had been confirm'd unto them by the Oaths of fourteen Kings, were utterly infringed. And no less were they moved, at the new settled Company of the English, who took away all their Gain, by serving other Nations with their Cloth. Hence arose Envy and Complaints to the Emperour, especially at that time, when by reason of the Quarrel between Queen Elizabeth, and the Duke of Alva, the English being commanded out of the Netherlands, had settled beyond the Rhine: They were accused for spoiling and undervaluing the Commodity in the Manufacture, by discovery of the Prices at the first hand: In this manner much time was spent, partly in Wranglings between the Subjects, and partly in Letters of Princes, sent to and fro, until the English Name, growing more and more hated, by continual Pyracies at Sea, Philip, the Inciter of such Feuds, renewed these old Controversies, undertaking the Defence of the Cause with Caesar by his Ministers Mendoza and Clinck, not with any Affection to the *Assiatike League*, but that he might rise up old Sores, and disturb the Sea with an Enemy. Now also, *Lubeck*, the Head City of the *League*, in an Embassage by them sent, (at which time the Authority of the King of Denmark was sought after, for the working upon the *Hollanders*, of which Embassage *Florus Barlaymont* was the Chief) blamed the Germans; who, passing by all the rest of the *Netherlanders*, only endeavor'd, by their Commerce, to increase the Wealth of *Rebels*; which shewed, that they bore neither an honest, nor grateful Mind, for such a good Office of the King: And now they were daily solicited to take Arms against the English, with Promises of great Assist-

inco to them therein: And thereupon the *German*s sent these Demands to the Cities, formerly of the *Ansatike*, but now of the *Belgike League*, with *Letters* discovering Hatred, either out of Envy against that People, growing potent by Merchandize; or else, because it hath been found true by frequent Experiments, that the nearer men agree in Religion, the more sharply they differ; for they of the *Augustine Confession*, and the *Catholikes*, the more different they are in Judgment, the more concurrent they are in Affection.

These Things were all done the former Year; wherein, at last, by the Decree of the Emperour *Rudolphus*, the *English*, that exercised the Manufactories of Cloth, within the Bounds of the *German Empire*, were commanded by a certain Day to depart: Nor did the Queen indulge much longer time to the *Ansatikes* in England; And it was in vain to begin Treaties, in regard there could be no convenient Meetings, for the *English* departing from *Stond*, which was the chief seat for their Trading, from thence all sort of Traffick and Negotiating Factories were translated to *Bruges*, (though it had been sometime at *Antwerp*) and from thence again, it was forced to remove by the miseries of the War; and then the Merchants, for the better chusing of themselves a convenient station, the War being now carryed away to the borders, they compassed and tryed most of the Cities of *Holland*, who were in Trading, as in the midst of a settled Peace; by whose Emulation, and contending who should excel most, in rich Presents to them, they were divided in Opinions: But at last complaining, that the Waters, in many places, were not good for the washing of their Wools, they settled at *Middleburg* in *Walcheren*; from whence also, part of the same Body again had formerly gone away, when the Affairs of *Antwerp* were in a distracted Condition, as well by a Siege, as by Fear. The *States*, for the inviting of Society and Commerce, answer'd all Things to the D. Grot

of their Suitors, as knowing, that their Company would advance both their Stock and Tributes.

Much time was spent, in contriving Covenants between the *English* and *German*: In the interim, the *Hollanders*, whom they of *Flanders* not long before forced Home, having gotten the Manufactory of Cloth to *Leyden* and *Harlem*, by the same mightily increased those places, making to themselves an advantage from other men's harms; yea, and several *Renegades* of *Portugal*, part of which were the Remainers of the *Jews* in that Kingdom, that they might be free from question, for professing the Religion of their Country, and also out of hope of greater Gain, much advanced the bigness and Trade of *Amsterdam*; and their Navigation in Sea, by how much they were more subject to danger in *Spain*, by so much they spread themselves far and wide into other parts of the World: One Wind brought out of the *Baltike* Sea one hundred and fifty ships all laden with Corn, which by the Coverousness of the Merchants, was either kept up, or dispersed into Foreign Parts, that the Price of Corn was no whit abated thereby; and this was reckoned among the Advantages of the Common wealth, not only for the Gain it brought from abroad, but because Necessity had reduced Matters to that pass, that any ope could live more easily, than he that Tilled the Ground. They went also by other Seas towards *Constantinople*, and the Ports of *Syria* and *Egypt*, and the Islands in the *Egean* Seas, under the Name and Protection of *English*, or *French* Traders: In all which places, they passed backward and forward with safety. But yet they could not avoid, but that they might be intercepted, either by the *Spaniard*, or if they escaped him, they might fall upon the Coasts of *Barbary*, or meet a *Turkish* Galliey: by all which, being Enemies to one another, they were sure to be seized and taken as Enemies: And in all these Cases, the Danger was more grievous; for that the Fortune

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and Custom of their War is such, that the smallest of their suffering or punishment, is to pay an excessive Ransom for their Liberty.

And certainly, herein the Merchants Avarice is worthily accused, who run their Ships naked, both of Men and Arms, into so great and unavoidable Dangers, and yet do not endeavour to win some Vindicators of their Rights in those Barbarous Regions, but are glad to fly to the Patronage of them; by joyning with some of whom, the rest become more enraged: For the *Hollanders* follow'd the *French* and *English*, as they formerly did the *Venitians*; from whence sprung, among *Christians*, Discords concerning Gain, rather than a Sacred Society, which their Name obliged them to.

The same *Spring*, and the *Summer* that follow'd, no less than fourscore Sail of Ships, of great Bulk and Burden, set out for long Voyages; part went to the Golden Shore of *Libia*; part to the *Indies*, and the *Molucca* Islands; and some to *America*, or that part of the World which is opposite to Us, or to the Streights of *Magellan*: Questionless, this is no new Thing, to make several Attempts in divers places at once.

About this time, one of the Ships of *Zeland*, which had bin at the *Indies* upon the *English* Coast, either by the sticking of the Rudder in a Shelf, or for want of Ballast, turning on one side, at all the Port-holes of the Guns, (which by chance were open) took in the Sea, and, on a suddain was overwhelmed in the Waves, and all her Lading, which consisted most of Silver, together with the men that were in it, were utterly lost. Unfortunate also, and full of Damage, was that audacious Attempt of *Balthazar Mucero*, who being a Merchant, and revolving in his Mind how to acquire a New Government, because the *States* and Prince *Maurice*, had granted him Letters of *Mart* upon his Request, assayed to take from the *Portugezes*, and King *Philip*, a certain Island in the *Ethiopick* Sea, upon the *Bennine* Shore, near the *Equin-*

Eial Circle, which, although it were not over-fertile, yet it was very convenient for such as passed that way: Two hundred Souldiers and Marriners blown up with Hope, that they should each of them have six hundred *Florins* Yearly Wages, took his part. Over these he placed as Commander *Johannus Clerbage*, a Captain of a restless Nature, and unfaithfull to his Country, and its Governours: for, under the Earl of *Leicester*, he was not so free from Sedition, but that he was accused to have been willing to have had a hand therein. To him were joyn'd other young men of small Fortune: At first, they flatter'd the *Islanders* and *Natives*; and, upon pretence of Feasting, upon a private persons words, the chief men of the Island were cunningly allured into the Ship, and there kept, giving to the *Portugueses* this hope, *That they should find the Friendship of Holland more advantageous to them than the Castilian*; and promising the *Natives* a more moderate Servitude. And now by sowing the Land with Seed, and using other Husbandry, they began very successfullly to flourish: But the Priest of the Island instigated to Revengeful Arms and Slaughter, all the men, who were of their own record fearful of Things untryed, and choosing rather their old and known Slavery: Thus their first Instigator, being afterwards taken and put to death, by a pretence of Law, the Multitude were so exasperat'd, by his Death and Punishment, that they continually were in Counsel to Rebel: though at the present, they seem'd to crave both Peace and Pardon. But some other *Legates* of *Mucero* were slain by Treachery, not without suspicion of *Clerbage*, as having purposely removed the Watch; and they which remain'd with him, leaving their Care of fortifying themselves, fell to such variance, that they much augmented their Enemies Boldness and Courage to set upon them.

At last, Diseases increasing, through the unseasonableness of the Air and Weather, *Clerbage*, with many others, being dead, the few that remained in health, having no supply of
 Victuals,

Victuals, but what their Ships afforded them, for fear of Aid, which the *Portugezes* had sent for to the Neighbouring Islands; and the *Continent* left carelessly, and, with much ado, their new-built *Garrison*, when, in hope of a growing Colony, Women as well as Men, Arms and Provisions, were sent (though too late) out of *Holland*, to relieve them.

Neither at this time did the *English* lye still, of whom the *Earl of Cumberland*, with Forty Sail of private men's ships, beset *Lubona*, which was of very great advantage to the *Hollanders*, who, when the *Portugezes* were shut up, were like by themselves onely, to obtain the whole Trade of the *Indies*: Nor could it be otherwise, as the Enemies themselves ingeniously confessed; for if they durst not cope with one Fleet of Pirates upon their own Coasts, they might, for the future, well despair, that they should not keep the possession of the Sea under their Dominion: From thence, passing towards *America*, by the *Fortunate Islands*, he strook the King's *Plais-Fleet* into a great fear; and, not long after, touching the Island of *Porto-Rico*, he got nothing but a little Booty; and so, ei her broken by the Diseases of his Men, or ignorant how to use his Victory, as hath been observed to be the fruit of many of that Nation, he departed. But the *Hollanders* suffer'd great Losses in their own Sea, the Enemies frequenting it being onely Pirates, which formerly harboured at *Dunkirk*, but now lurked in the Narrow Sea near *Calais*: With which Trouble, the *Fisher-men* were much perplexed; yet if at any time, they perceived themselves equal in strength, they blamed their Sea-Captains, for avoiding to meet the Pyrates; for, that since they could not enjoy their safety, they would fight with them to the Death, for Honour and Revenge: Against this Evil, many Remedies were sought after: And some there were that believed, that our great Ships would have been sunk in the Enemies Harbour; but the Force of the Winds and Waves, helped by

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the Labour of Men, in some manner, saved them, though by reason of their great Bulks the danger was the greater. Wherefore the number of these ships being increased by some that were new built, they were sent to keep Guard upon the Enemies Coasts, to secure the Enemy from coming out, and be a Convoy and Safeguard to other Vessels that were unarmed: Other part of them were commanded to scour their lurking places, and to clear the Sea, by running backward and forward cross-wise: And the Guard of the Narrow Sea was committed to *Peter Douse*, who had under his Command an indifferent Fleet.

The chief Care of the *States* was, that as the War increased upon them, proportionably to augment the Revenue that was to maintain them against it, which was submitted to by the Common People, sensible of their danger, with much modesty: Opely in *Hireche*, the giddy-headed Multitude, with great Fury, withstood these New Taxes, as long as the Revenues of the Church, which the other Provinces had converted to the publike Use, were detained in private hands.

At the beginning of *Christianity*, and afterwards as Affliction thereto increased, every famous City did collect the Products of Religious Charity, wherewith the Convents of Men and Holy Women, separated by divers Names to the Service of God, maintain'd themselves in their Pious Recess; which being conveyed from hand to hand, for the ease of Posterity, long since grew into an Antient Custom: But the very Face of Religion being alter'd by these Wars, they have now not so much as the Shadow, while partly Youth brought up in Learning, takes the Monastike life upon him as a Pleasure; and partly while every sluggish and idle Drone, either for Favour or Money, obtaining the same, infinitely abuseth it, by his Lascivious Life, disorderly Carriage, and superfluous Pampring: And yet these same, by the Name of *Ecclesiasticks*, both in the Senate which Com-

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mands, and among the Judges that put the Law in Execution, are the first who give their Opinion; and that by the same Right, as the whole Nobility, and the third Estate; the one part of them is drawn out of the Cities, and the other out of the Towns.

Scarce could the Authority of the *United States*, or the *Prince*, abate the Rage of the Commons, against these Things, though the Example thereof began to be dreadful, and might prove a matter of evil Consequence, yet at last they reduced them to Order: In the mean while, *Philip* having settled his Affairs, as to matter of Money, as well as he could, together with the Threats of War, he used Invitations and Allurements to advance Peace: And because in the *Netherlands*, there were as well Souldiers wanting as Money; and that, besides the new raised men, his chief Confidence was in the *Spaniards*, who lay about the Borders of the Country: He set Sail from *Calais* with 38 Ships laden with men, being part of that Fleet, which we formerly related to have been driven by Tempest from the *English Coasts*, when they last attempted to invade that Kingdom. In this Fleet were four Regiments, consisting of so many Thousand Men, of which *Sancius Leiva*, the Commander in chief of the Fleet had the Charge: He, with a prosperous Gale, and the steerage of a Renegado *Hollander*, brought most of them safe to Harbour, while a contrary Wind and Tempest had beaten back the *Hollanders*, that were to guard those narrow parts of the Sea: But the *Spaniards*, with all their Labour, were scarcely gotten within the Port before they ran aground: For so they were commanded, that if any considerable strength of the Enemy appear'd at Sea, they should be sure to land the Souldiers, though by that means they should be forced to lose their ships: yet notwithstanding all this, one ship fell into the *Hollanders* hands; wherein, contrary to the Custom of a *Maritime War*, the Captives had all their Lives spared; and the Reason was, Because the first

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Heat being passed in Consultation, it would have seem'd very inhumane to have kill'd them in cool Blood: But they which passed by, part of them by the Advice of the *Germanes* and *Danes*, went out upon their Shores; & others being taken up by the *Spaniard*, by the *Hollanders* consent, had leave to pass the Sea quietly Home; the rest were to be furnish'd with Men and Arms, and with a greater Fleet, which was to be built and rigged up in *Spain*, they were, by Report, to begin a new War at Sea; because, within a few days, *Calais* was to be deliver'd up to the *French King*.

Not long after, two ships, hoping to take a Voyage privately into *Spain*, fell into the *Hollanders* hands, being full of rich Merchandize, and well manned with Souldiers, who having had enough of War, and gotten therein sufficient Wealth, were there returning to their Country to take their ease: There were in it also taken Letters, wherein were discover'd the Intentions and Gifts of the Cities, destined and allotted to *Fountain*, which Prince *Maurice* sent back to him. The coming of the *Spanish* Souldiers was every where displeasing to the Common People, as well for the Hatred of their Persons, as of War; But the Arch-Duke glid of them, their Poverty having, by the sense or fear of Evil, overcome all Difficulties, by their Aid, and the service of *Herman Count Hermsberg* put an end to that long-continued Sedition of the Souldiers at *Grave* for want of their Pay; although some Prisoners and Letters also did certifie, that though they were pacified, more were offended, that among all these Turnings, would yet remain faithful to their Parties: This was the state of the *Low Countries* on both sides, before the state of Affairs was there anew changed.

At this time, between the Embassadors of *France*, and the Arch-Duke *Albertus*, the long-continued Treaty, produced great hopes of Peace; and the Queen of *England* had sent thither *Cecil*, Son to the Lord *Burghly*, and with him one

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will, who was privy to all his Secrets: And therefore now the matter it self required, that the *United States* should send Embassadors to *France*; and Queen *Elizabeth* desiring, that they might be authorized with a full and free power, together with her Embassadors, to Treat of War and Peace; They disapproved the Motion, lest afterwards, if they denyed to consent, they should be over-powred by her Royall Authority.

Hereupon a double Embassie is appointed with a convenient Retinue; one of which was to go into *England*. The Persons were, the Lords *Warmonde*, often before-mention'd, and beloved by the *English*, in remembrance of his good service in the *Cadix* Expedition; *Min Hec Hefingen* a *Frizon*, and *John Wercken* of *Zeland*. To *France* they sent *Justina Nassau*, Governour of the Sea for *Zeland*, and *John Olden-Barneveldt*, principal Counsellor and Assistant to the *States* of *Holland*, a man well skill'd and industrious for the publik: good of his Country, and by his Authority did, and obtain'd as much as by the help of Art, Wit, and Industry could be done, or obtain'd among a free People: And here, among many other things which I have cause to fear, this is one, lest any Strangers, into whose hands these Histories shall come, should wonder, how the Names of such famous men, an honourable Report of whom they have receiv'd in their own Country, should come to be so seldom mention'd in my Writings: But I hope the great difference between the Government of that *State*, and the *Empire* of other Countries, shall be a sufficient Excuse for me. For where the Actions of Cities and Towns are related, which are ruled either by the *Senate* or *People*, if any more eminent matter of Valour or Policy happen, there is given a fair occasion meetly in a return of Gratitude, to set out the Authors or Inventors thereof: Neither in Kingdoms do the great Ministers of
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State remain obscure. But, among the *Hollanders*, all things are transacted in the Name of the Council, without any mention of the *Authors*; whom, although you know, yet you would seem ambitious, in seeking to praise them; nor would you avoid the hatred and displeasure of many, by whom another's Glory is look'd upon as their shame, and the praise of their active Honour, as a Reproof of their sluggish and dull Nature.

The *Embassadors* that went to *England*, endeavour'd by many Arguments to make the *Queen* averse to a Pacification; advising also, That she would, in some measure, gratify the *French King*, in his desire concerning Aid; and then urge him further, being encouraged by *Embassadors*, that he would, of his own accord, rather seek Reparation both for Old and New, former and later Injuries by War, than to think to appear his Domestic Discords against such a restless Nation: And then bowing the Knee, according to the Customs of the Court, when they had returned large Thanks for former Benefits, They added in these words:

All who are called from their just Arms, to talk of Peace, ought to consider, whether the Peace that is offer'd be real and sound, or deceitful and insincere; and, on the other side, whether the War be terrible or dubious, or be not more safe than Peace; for it is a vain thing to talk of the goodness of Peace, where men shall never be suffer'd to enjoy it: The Spirit, O *Queen*, is report'd to solicit you to a Peace, whose perfidy Conjoin'd with Barbarous Cruelty, and whose Ambition of reaching at the Rights of others, we need not accuse. when his Masters openly teach, that with men differing from them in point of Religion, no Faithful Promise is to be kept. neither ought they to partake of the Benefit of Divine or Humane Laws: Others have not fear'd to say, that by the Decree of Fate, the height of Empire is allotted to the West; and that, among Christians, there shall be no other visible Empire on Earth, than that of Spain. And though it

might be to purpose, to speak of the impotent Pride of the Austrian Family to other Princes, and how, by Trifling Leagues, it hath claimed to it self that Angle as Hereditary, with oiber the furthest Parts of the Earth, that whatever lies within the bounds of Europe, if it be not his own, is accounted and looked upon as an Enemy; yet it will be to little purpose, to remember these things to you, which have suffer'd and undergone many Hazards by him. And can it be doubted, but that he still hath the same Mind, who hath not onely armed the People of your Kingdom to Rebellion, and more than once sought to invade it by Fleets, (though prevented by Almighty God) but also, so far contemned all Honesty and Justice, that he hath procured Murderers and Poisoners to do mischief to your Sacred Person: Certainly, it is not to be doubted, for the old Grudges, and the Causes thereof remain; and as you continue fixed in your antient Piety, so is he nothing alter'd from his wonted Avarice. And now this man seems to seek to make an honourable Peace with you, with a just and pious intent, is it not that he may wage his Wars at his own pleasure, while now he is forced to wait upon yours? And therefore, he presuming, from the present Affairs, to gain opportunity for greater Matters, will lie in wait for all occasions. And shall we, in so great danger, be caught and wrapt up into a sluggish security; We know, that since he cannot catch us all, he endeavours by this League (which he surely intends to break) to loose as many of us as he can: Former Kings and People did better; for though they were not at all troubled, yet they never fear'd to join together against increasing Empires while they had time, lest at one time or other, though piece-meal, they might be all conquer'd. For they knew, that some Wars were waged onely to obtain Peace: Others, because a safe Peace could never be obtained: And as the Nature of Fire and Water are directly contrary and endless, so is the Contention of them that on the one hand seek to domineer over all, and of those, on the other side, that will serve none: wherein to seek Revenge or Defence too late is folly; but to anticipate the very beginnings is a glorious act befitting wise men: For it is not so much

much for the punishing of Injuries, as for preventing Princes of that sort of Dominion, which is nicknamed to be Power given them by Heaven. He cannot be said to preserve himself, that lies upon the Defensive Posture: 'Tis Impunity makes wicked Minds worse: Let Philip's Pretences be what they will, 'tis sure he will always keep Armies a foot both by Sea and Land; What to do? To fight with the Turk, or keep other Foreign Enemies in awe? No, no, but to bring Us under his Yoke, or otherwise to o'with Us what Providence will suffer him, Nor can England be free either from Chage or Fear, while his Armies are raging every where. Let but this Question be answer'd, Whether is an Act of greater Valour to be afraid of, or fight with an Enemy? and whether is it more just and honourable, to take Tributes from our Subjects, or Booties from our Foes? We do not boast, Great Queen, our Alliance with you; We acknowledge our selves obliged to you for infinite Benefits; which, that they may not be forgotten or lost, a little concerns you, but us highly, who both would be, and be accounted grateful. And if we, on our part, have done ought in requital, which might be acceptable for the readiness of our Intents, in regard the multiplicity of our pressing Necessities could not grant more, We doubt not but You will be ready to remember it with more Equity, than beboves us to speak of it. This is without all Dispute, that your Ancestors have had such an Esteem of the Belgick Provinces, in regard of their Site and Customs, that they always thought it a matter of great moment, in all their great Affairs, to have their Friendship, and of Prejudice to have their Enmities. But herein you have excelled the Glory of your Ancestors: that by how much you exceed others in Power, by so much you excel them in Acts of Mercy and Piety; by whose Means and Aid the French have gain'd many Victories, and We more which will redound to the Honour, not only of your Self, but those that shall come after you. The future Events of Wars, are in the Hands of Almighty God, whom we humbly beseech to be propitious to us, beyond all Humane Expectation.

Ration. And as far as it is lawful for a Wise-man to judge of
 Futurities, we have all those things, that pur- Life, and add Si-
 ments and Strength to War; for we have: Men, Monies, Towns,
 Cities, and Forts; nay more, we have a General so famously ex-
 emplary for Valour and Vertue, that it is hardly to be imagin'd,
 how any of these things should decrease, and not rather be aug-
 mented: Whereas the Enemy, unless by our giving way, hath not
 where to settle: And as his Dominion is wider, so is ours more
 convenient; for in a great and over-spacious Empire, it is usual
 for some People to Rebel: Upon which occasion, if at any time he
 be employ'd, it will be easie for other Princes to appoint what Me-
 thod they will use for the future for their own Security. That which
 is usually said, or thought to the contrary, That a man ought not
 to thrust himself into another Man's Affairs or Business; I
 will not say it is a hard Speech; against Humanity, against the
 Honour and Glory of Princes, with whom nothing that is good or
 great is left unquestion'd, nor any suffer'd to do good that would:
 And, where any puts that upon another, that he is not wil-
 ling to undergo himself, may it be his Fortune to obtain no
 other Doom. In this case, whatever we speak of our selves, the
 same may be said of England; for they that, without themselves,
 would endanger the Hollanders, with an intent onely to save them-
 selves, do little consider, that it is alike easie to Fortunes, to
 make an end of them, as for any one to set Bounds to his de-
 fires. Will therefore our Ruine add any thing to you, or to your
 strength? Or will it any way diminish your Enemies Ambition?
 Or rather, will not any man think it more truly probable, that if
 we are devoured, the Danger will not go over to the English, who,
 as they were not behind us in Wealth, so they are like to be second to
 us in Misery? Wherefore, what advantage is it to consider, whe-
 ther you fight in Holland, or your Country. for your own Lands
 and Territories: You may have us for your Associates, in De-
 fence of the Common Weal; and is not that safer, than to have us
 unwilling Servants, to advance the Spaniards Tyranny?

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For if three Nations, which are at this day powerful at Sea, if the Hollanders be joyned to the Spaniards, it is much to be feared, that England afterward will have a hard Task to cope with them, especially since the Sea and their Navies are the main, if not sole Defence of the Kingdom; Besides, none will be then equal to match Philip in Wealth, if his Revenues out of the new World, and the Indies, since the Conquest of Portugal, till this time infected with War, be once brought to a certain and safe Return. Thus, in five, his own Forces will be able to accomplish his Designs, upon those whom he hath hitherto treated as his Inferiours; and then shall it no longer be lawful for the English to be any where, than now it is lawful for them to be in Germany, from whence he hath driven you by bought Decrees, as profane and guilty persons, and, as much as in him lies, would banish them from all Humane Society and Commerce. But this thing troubleth us, for we hear there are some, who by Clandestine Speeches, object against us the Envy of an ill Example, as if we were guilty of a new Defection: This hath been spoken before Philip; but to gratifie whom, we shall not say, but chuse rather not to know them: What hath been done in France and Ireland, merely out of a desire of Innovation, the Hollanders were compelled thereto by a most excusable Necessity; otherwise, with what Confidence durst they have call'd it a Fault, that Kings had approved and assisted them, by Leagues, Writings, and Arms? We seek the good our Grand-Fathers enjoyed which is Liberty: Let no man start at that Word, for we believe Liberty to be in a most flourishing condition under a lawful Principality. We do not yet fear Foreign Powers; and now, if any one will look upon Oppression, and not Names, we shall quickly agree. There is no other or better Tye to keep Subjects in their Obedience, so be used either by you, O Queen, Us, or all Governments, than to teach them this one Rule, That they would be content in their present estate, and not seek change or alteration. Observe also, what a pernicious Example he induceth, who, however for Ambition and Dominions sake,

he hath voluntarily submitted himself to the *Take*, commands all Kingdoms to bow to the Pope, and calls not only the *Peoples* thereof, whom he hires to Sedition, but the very *Kings* themselves, *Rebels*: Certainly, to this man there will never be wanting either a cause, or a pretence, for War: but that he may sometimes want hopes, next to God Almighty, it lies, Great Queen, in your Hands; and if you resolve with Us to Conquer, We shall be ready to run the extremest Hazards for our Social Fidelity; and we hope you will rather maintain your wonted Constancy, than neglect Advantage; and, by the ruine of your Friends, promulgate and corroborate the Enemies strength.

The Consultations upon this Matter, in the Queen's Court, were various, and both Opinions had strong Supporters; to know whose Behaviour and Affections, will not be from the purpose, that it may appear how the Perswaders Authority bore sway in the Publike Counsels.

The Earl of *Essex*, as we have elsewhere declared, being a young man, and burning with the desire of Glory, was a Liberal Giver, beyond the Ability of his Estate, wholly spending himself in compassing the Love of the Nobles, Commons, and Souldiers, having no hopes in Peace, but putting great Confidence in the Friendship of the *Hollanders*; and therefore, he, being General of all Forces in England, was for the War with *Spain*; affirming, That it could not be put off, unless at once, both the Queen's Security, Credit, and Charges, should all be hazarded. On the other side, the Lord *Burghley*, from a private Person being called to the Court, and advanced to the high Honour of being Lord Treasurer of England, minding wholly the Care of the Treasury, especially now in the declining of his Age, and his Parsimony agreeing with that of the Queen, being also very rich, and well-grounded in Experience, and so, by his Authority, preceeding the others Favour; This man, with grave Words, praising Christian Concord, debated among all the doubtful

Counsels, what was the most pious and honest to be follow'd; He laid, [That a present Commodity ought to be present'd before the Incertainties of Suspicion, and that Peace would not be more profitable to the Enemy, than to the *English*; And is the strength of our Countrey so little known, that it cannot be safe, but at the pleasure of the *Hollander*, when, in the mean time, the *French* out of common fear, and the *Hollanders* themselves out of their Care of Religion, are tyed with stronger Bonds against Danger by Necessity, than by a League? Besides, the *Spaniard* is willing to be quiet, out of a sense of his own infirmity: And then Peace would follow without more ado, both in *Ireland*, and elsewhere.]

Queen *Elizabeth* either really wavering in her Mind, or else willing to express all other Things by her fear of Peace, made Answer in a very temperate manner. [That from the beginning she had done nothing without the Advice of her Allies; that it was acceptable to her, that they had declared their Minds so freely, yet there were many and great causes, both for her Self, and the *French*, that moved them to desire an end of the War, and to make her trust to Peace, by removing or disbanding her Armies; for since the *Spaniards* old hopes have been crossed, by the *Netherlanders* abjuring him, the loss of *France*, and so many other slughters and misfortunes, if he should think fit to re-assume his Arms, the same God that had helped them before, would, she doubted not, assist them again, to maintain their Right by the Sword; but if they thought fit to continue in Arms, things more certain ought to be offer'd.] This thing the Peers of *England* interpreted thus: That there was no Fault more beinous, than to defraud the Queen of her Rights and Duties, sometimes by Cavillings, otherwhiles by deceitful Supplications, and Pretences of Poverty, which the Wealth of the Cities in *Holland*, and their well-stocked Treasury, openly confuted.

Nor was it more to be endured, that the *English* should lose the Trade of *Spain* for them, and yet they prefer'd their own Gain, before the famishing of their Enemies, and so make Merchandize of the War.

At last, this Delay was put to the Pacification, that Embassadors from both should go to take notice of the *French* Affairs: And, to that purpose, by the Queen were sent thither, the before-mentioned *Cecil* and *Wilks*, with whom the hopes of Peace was grown dead, by being at the Treaty at *St. Quintins*; for the *Spaniards* preferred, by the Name of Allies, those whom the *French* Peace would advantage, giving out at last, that they onely should be included in the Treaty, who observed the *Romane Rites* in point of Religion: The Embassadors from *Holland* came a little later, by reason of contrary Winds. The King, at this time, was at *Angers*, busie in pacifying *Bretayn*, which is otherwise called *Armorica*; which, as yet, Duke *Mercury*, one of the *Lorraine* Princes, (the Fury of both Parties being asswaged) forcibly detained, having deliver'd to the *Spaniards* the Port of *Blavette*, that they might with more ease land with Supplies. But he seeing the King's Army prepar'd on the one hand, and a Pardon offer'd in the other, and knowing well that when an end is put to a War, all subsequent Offences with severity punish'd, obtains for himself, and his noble Conditions, and an Augmentation of Honour.

The King, at this time, was happily without a Wife, *Margaret of Valois* being divorced from him; but though his body was exercised in Military Matters, yet his Mind was liable to the Darts of Love, for he was absolutely taken with one *Gabriella Estran*, a Noble Woman, but led aside from the Embraces of her vowed Husband: This Woman, what with her Beauty, and what with her sweet Temptations and alluring Arts, had so vanquish'd the King, that advancing her to the Title of a Dutchess, which was then a

Novelty in *France*, so heighned her Pride, that though but a Concubine, she aspired beyond the Greatness and Authority of a Wife : And she also was numbred among the Causes, that induced the King's Mind to be inclinable to Peace, that he might the more securely enjoy his pleasures with her. She had a Son by the King that was four years old, and at that time called *Cesar*, whom the King, with great Obtestations, gave in Charge to *Mercury*, (this Woman had also by the King a Daughter very young) and appoints to the said *Mercury* a great Allowance of Money, and bestowing upon his Son the Dukedom of *Vendosme*, and the Government of *Bretaign*.

And now the Embassadors of *Holland* just arrive, and find the King puffed up with these Matters, together with the *Spanish* Pacification; and yet, if by chance that had failed he had called a Council of the *Brittons*, to consult about the Siege of *Blevette*.

Monsieur *Buzarvale*, who was well-skill'd in Affairs of that sort, and one of the King's Council, was there present, who went and recommended the Embassadors to the King; who, after he had received their Salute, very pleasingly and without any pride, *Olden-Barnevalis*, in a grave and composed stile, according to his Custom, began [First to applaud the hopes of his Alliance, to urge their late made League, and to require his faithful performance thereof, which would be much to the advancement, both of the King's Honour and Authority; and advised him to take heed of the Peace that was offer'd him : Adding, in the Name of the States, many Promises of Assistance and Money for the future, both by Sea and Land, which way soever the King would please to command them, that the War might, in some manner, be again renewed against the *Spaniards*; urging also many other things, that might inflame their Minds, to resolve anew to fall to Arms. And, among the choice of the King's Council, it was debated,

debated, how much more safe and honourable would it be, to make an Example to Posterity of this Enemy, whose Treasury was drained, and Mind perplexed, with the wavering Obedience of his Subjects; witnessed, by his seeking for Peace as well his fear, as the inconveniences he suffer'd out of this League of ours, to deter, for the future, any from thirsting after the Dominions that are belonging to another.] There were present at this time the *English*, who now more freely commemorating the many Benefits they had done him, and how unworthy an Act it was to lay aside his sworn Faith for present Utility, helped forward the Speech made by the *Dutch*, sometimes by their Silence, and sometimes by applauding Speeches, not forbearing to demand the Money which had been lent to him. The King, on the other side, said plainly, confessing his Necessities to be such, as would not bear slow Remedy: And that he doubred, for all this Noise of Peace, whether the *Spaniard* would deliver up to him, either *Calais* or *Blavette*; which if he did not, he assur'd them, he would continue the War; giving them Thanks, for they had so freely offer'd their Assistance. The States Embassadors replyed, That if the King rested in that Judgment, yet they hoped their coming and Offers would be advantageous to *France*, and cause the Enemy to make larger Concessions, than perhaps otherwise he would: And therefore they pray'd, on behalf of their Masters, that if a Peace were concluded, yet the Alliance might continue between them; by which the *Hollanders* might make use thereof to their private benefit, and to the security of the *French*, in the managing of the War in *Holland*. The King answer'd, That he would be willing, not onely to continue his own Friendship with them, but that they should likewise enjoy the benefit of the Friendship he was to have with others: Those things at present being onely removed, whereby the Commerce of several Nations was hindred; and how much might be wrought thereby, was learned by Experience in the

future Times, when the King, no less intent to keep, than to get Money, gave so much scope to the defence of Liberty, as the Kings of old would hardly have afforded to any People, unless with a Design to intrench upon it. The first Liberality given to him was two hundred and forty thousand Florens, which after, in the Years following, was increased according, as his Necessities required: For now remembring the Monies he had received from his Allies, and at what time, he resolv'd how he might repay the same, that it might not seem altogether as the payment of a Debt; but as if it carry'd along with it the grateful shew of a Remuneration: Here the King carefully excusing his own, highly applauded the Counsel of the States, that they would stand upon their Defence, since (which few Kings could boast of) they could, upon occasion, be on a suddain in a readiness, in regard any new Necessity would forthwith put the idle Multitude into Arms.

For maintaining this Friendship with the King, because *Levinus Calward* dyed there in performing the same, *Francis Arsen* was left in *France*, whose Father *Cornelius* wrote the Chronology of the States.

And now it appear'd, that the *Spaniard* had by many Arguments perswaded the *French* to lay down Arms, being contented, rather to have the *English* still their Enemies, than to make a Peace with them upon equal Terms: And this was the cause, why the *Holland* Embassadors in *France*, *Johannes Nassau*, and *Olden Barneveldt*, went thence into *England*, neglecting thereby a while their former Embassie, and assuming a boldness, till that time dreaded; where they deliver'd themselves in Terms, to this effect, That if the Queen would follow the *French*, there should be no hazards of Peace so great to the *Hollanders*, that they would not rather hazard, than singly to undergo the unsupportable Burden of the War.

And

And these Dissemblers thus used their Art, as believing that the *English* would yet disturb the Pacification, if they supposed the *Hollanders* could be drawn to it: But they offer'd the *Queen* all manner of Assistance, if she would Resolve to continue the War; and the hope of perfecting the same with Expedition, though she had hitherto for a time succeeded, as being moved rather to incline to Peace.

In this mean while at *Vyrbie*, (forthither was the Meeting, upon the Treaty, adjourned from *St. Quintins*) by the endeavour of the Embassadors, a Peace was concluded between those two eminent and great Princes of *Christendom*, containing the same Articles, which formerly had been concluded on 29 Years before, between the same *Philip*, and King *Henry* the Second of *France*; onely there was a small Addition of some others, which to insert here in words at length, I think to be altogether unfit for him, who professeth himself to write onely the *Dutch Affairs*: However, in brief, take them thus: That there should be a free Trade between the People; That all Prisoners should be set at liberty, and at their going away, should be restored to what they had lost, or had been detained from them; That the *Spaniard* received into the County of *Charlois*, should, in the Name thereof, owe to the *French* Faith and Homage; That *Calais*, and other places in *Picardy*, and last of all *Blavette*, as they were then, should be deliver'd up to the *French*; all other places, which the *Spaniard* had fortified, being dismantled: These were the Articles agreed to, and accordingly, having given Pledges on both sides, they were within Three Months after performed. But for the Oblivion of Injuries, and continuance of mutual Concord for the future, that if War were made upon either of them, the other should neither help against him himself, nor suffer any belonging to him to interest themselves; and if any thing of doubt arose between them, that it should be argued, neither by Violence

or Fraud, but referred to indifferent Judges. But these things were agreed more for shew, than that such equal Greatness should leave any Thing out, that might seem to secure Friendship. Both of Them comprehended their Allies by Leagues, whether Kings, Princes, or People; especially Philip took Care for his Daughter, to whom he was about to give the *Low-Countries*; as also, for the Duke of Savoy. Hereupon, *Areschor*, *Mendosa*, and *Arenberg*, went into France, and *Mareschal Biran* was sent by the King to *Brussels*, to see *Alberus* take the Oath, where the impotent Mind and Spirit of that great Souldier, which was always beyond his Fortune, was said to be corrupted into Treachery, which afterwards more clearly appear'd.

All Things, on both sides, being thus done, for the conclusion of the Peace, which yet was repined at by some, whose Valour and Hopes was nourished by other Mens Evils; but all the Commons rejoiced at it, not so much for that hereby much Christian Blood would be saved, as for that the Law was restored to its power, by which they should with security enjoy their Possessions, reap the Rents and profits of their Lands, and the Ways be all open for free Trading. Then was the first day, that France could boast of a solid Peace, after it had been for 36 Years wasted with War, and bathed in her own Blood, then was restored to this most ancient Kingdom its pristine Face of Beauty; and all by the King's Care, that the *Governours* and *Magistrates* being reduced to Order, himself growing powerful, by the Exclusion of the *Catholikes*, in regard of the Times, that he might by Fear or Force compel the Professors of another Religion; when, in the interim, the *Netherlanders* were left in Arms, that they might not onely lose the Hopes of Peace, but any interval or solice from their Neighbour's sufferings: Yet the King sent back Mounseur *Buzanval* to the *Hollanders*, by which Witness of his Friendship, and secret Converse, he might

might confirm his Peace, even while there continued by publicke Declaration a Foreign War. The business of *France* thus finish'd, there was no less Experiment of Princely Alliance received out of *England*, by the earnest Desire of *Queen Elizabeth*; which being related to the *States* by Sir *Francis Walsingham* when at the same time, other Embassadors were sent to *Albany*, as if she would seem still to retain the hopes of Peace; of which, she said, *This had been the only Delay hitherto, that she desired to lay down Arms with the same Colliques, for whom at first she took them up: And that nothing could be now demanded of her by the Hollanders, but only Right, they having given the first cause of War, it was necessary, if it might be, that an end should be put to it by them; but if not, that, for the future, they should give their Reasons for the continuance of it. And certainly, it would be a sufficient Cause for all Princes to envy and hate them, that they have been, and are, the only Obstructors of the Peace of Europe: But God, she hoped, would insuffer, that being deluded by ingrateful Determinations, she should be a Pattern to Princes, to abstain from helping such a People, who bear no Reverence to their Superiours, nor take care for Advantage, Reputation, or Safety, of any but themselves.*

The *States* now thought themselves, at one blow, almost overwhelmed, both for their former and future Charge: yet, that the Name of an Alliance with *England* was of such benefit to them, that they would submit to such Conditions, as the *Queen of England*, being their Superiour in strength, would lay upon them: Wherefore, sending them who had been employ'd in both the former Embassies, together with *Andrew Ascel*, who had private Instructions, which gave him power of Treating, concerning the Monies due to her, and concluding about the same, even to the Sum of a Hundred Thousand *Florens*. At this time, there were divers occasions offer'd themselves to the *Queen*, who already pretended great Fears, whereby she was dissuaded from War. For *James King of Scotland*, of whom *Queen Elizabeth* made

no mention, secretly claiming the Inheritance of the Crown of England, did not think himself able enough thereto, unless he were supported by some Forrein Help: Nor did there want some, who, pretending to have found some Letters written by King James that came to the Pope, raised from thence great Hatred and Jealousies: Moreover, the Lord Burghley being grown very weak, through Age and Diseases, beseeched her, as she loved God, to have regard to his dying Words; whereby he advised Her, That she would give Credit to him, now going out of the World, that she would, without an enforcement of Necessity, consult the good of her Kingdom, and by the making of Peace in Earth, merit the everlasting Peace of Heaven: Nor did he omit, to declare to her, her ill Fortune in America, and the fear that was conceived of the Irish Affairs; affirming, That the Belgick Wars were never to be ended by Conquest.

As soon as this man was dead, and Essex, for the avoiding of Envy, declined to come to the Council-Table, the Court soon appear'd empty of Care and Counsel, in Defence of its own Right: Whereto the States Embassadors being often admitted, they excused themselves, by reason of the Times, for their not paying of the Queens old Debt due from them; professing, That as to what related to the Spanish Negotiation, they did not intercede: whereby the English, if they pleased, should be hindered more than the Dutch, from making use of the Name of any People being in Peace, unless they believed it more profitable to compass what they desire by Arms, than by Commerce or Trade. Neither did they desire, but that the League made 18 years before (when the Troubles of Antwerp affrighted the English less than the Hollander) yet never faithfully observed, should so long after be changed into another form, that it might now bind all those, which before thought themselves free from the performance thereof.

Some time was spent in debating and settling the Sum of the Debt, for that the English reckon'd their Musters of Men, and

and their Transportation and Wages too high; while, the other side averred, those Musters to be untrue; maintaining withall, *That several Naval Expeditions of the English had cost the Hollanders more, than all the Money they ever borrow'd would make a Compensation for.* At last, after Cautions entered, it was agreed to the Sum of Fourscore Hundred Thousand Florens: The one part of which should be paid by Three Hundred Thousand Florens Yearly during the War, And, at the end of the War, if ought remain'd behind, it should be paid by Twenty Thousand Florens Yearly: The other moiety, should be peaceably appointed, when there was a Peace concluded, and payment thereof made, upon the surrender of the cautionary Towns: In the interim, the English should continue their Garrisons therein, to the number of One Thousand, a hundred and fifty. By this Reckoning also, the States were to pay every Three Months Five Thousand, and a Hundred Florens to the said Garrisons, besides all other Necessaries fitting for the Souldiers. And, for the future, the Queen's Promise of sending them more Aid, was remitted. The English that were in the States Service already, or hereafter should be Listed for their Service, should be raised onely in their Name, and should fight under their sole Command, and at their Charge: And from thenceforth, the so much envied Authority of the English Embassadour, was absolutely taken away: Yet still the Queens Priviledge of nominating an Assistant to sit with the Senate, was reserved: If the Queens Enemies should invade her, either by Land or Sea, or the Queen should think fit to make War upon her Enemies, the Dutch, upon notice, should add to her Fleet 30 or 40 lusty and stout Ships; together with an Army of Five Thousand Foot, and Five Hundred Horse. Upon these Articles and Covenants, a firm Agreement was made; but reserving to the Queen her Right, that she might vindicate her cause against the Netherlander, under the King of Spain's Jurisdiction.

There,

There was excepted out of this League, *Horatio Palatinus*'s Debt of Fourscore Thousand Florens, which was afterwards privately compounded. It was not, that *England* chose Peace rather than War by this League; but that as it was eased of a Burthen, so it had gained thereby a Fortification.

Not long after this some were taken, who went about to poyson Queen *Elizabeth*; and, in *Ireland*, by one happy Fight, and the taking of a Castle, was the cruel *Tyrons* made Prisoner, while he was drawing the Province of *Munster* to partake in his Rebellion: No more did the *Hollanders* repent them of their Old Resolution, although there was a new Face of Affairs with the Enemy, and many ways were sought to invire them.

And now the Report of the New Marriage grew every day more frequent, there being *Letters* brought to the *Netherlanders* by *Frisio*, whereby the whole Government of them was turned over to the Princess *Isabella*: The Causes and Articles of which, King *Philip* published to be these:

When by the *Pope's* Licence he had destined, and by the Consent of all his Relations Resolved, to bestow his best Beloved Daughter in Marriage upon his Kinsman, he conceiv'd it would be of great Advantage to the *Netherlanders*, to the advancement of Peace, and settlement of the present Government, that they might always have their Prince present among them; which their Ancestors could not be, in regard of their many and great Cares; and therefore he did give and grant unto his said Daughter, all the whole Country of the *Netherlands*, and every part thereof, together with *Charluis*, and the County of *Burgundy*, together with the Name of Duke of *Burgundy*, (for the *French* had long since got the possession thereof) yet so, that himself and his Successours, Kings of *Spain*, should enjoy the Honour of the same Title, with the chief place among the Knights, or Companions of the

the *Golden Fleet*, being an Order instituted by his Fore-Fathers. Adding moreover all other Things, that were thought fit by Men learned in the Law, for Confirmation of the Premises; by which the Rights of Principality, and the Revenues, and all other Incidents pertaining thereto, might the more rightly descend, and pass unto the said *Isabella*, and her Posterity. These Things were the more remarkable, because *Philip* using the word (*Clientela*) did declare, *That he gave all those Dominions to his Daughter in Fee*: And this seems to be added, because the greatest part of the Lands were held of the Empire, and other part of the Crown of *France*; and then because by his Command, the Oath which the Nobles had formerly taken, was to be alter'd now from the Obligation to himself, in a New Obedience to his Daughter: And if any thing contained in these Instruments, seemed to contradict the Law in any point, that he did confirm by his Supream and Royal Authority: And if it should happen, that no Children should proceed of this Marriage, or that Issue, Male or Female, did ever fail, all the aforesaid Premises, and the Right thereof, to revert to the Kings of *Spain*. And this was given as a Reward to the Merits of *Albertus*, that he might have the Government of the *Netherlands*, as a Compen- sation to his Widowship. And if there were any Issue, then the wife and profits thereof, but nothing to descend to the Heirs, besides the Revenue of the *Dutchy of Lutzenburg*, and the County of *Chiny*. There was also prescribed an Order of Succession: First, to the Male, then to the Female, and so to the Younger, and the Elder Daughters. Nephew should precede the younger Son, That it should not be lawful to divide or alien the Lands, unless by the King's Licence; And it was provided also, that this Gift should return to the Donor many ways; As if any Woman should, for the future, attain the *Netherlands*, that it should presently return to the Hands of the King of *Spain*, or his Heirs; neither might it be lawful for a Son or Daughter, being Princes of the Country, to marry, or otherwise alter their condition, unless by the Consent of the same King.

More-

Moreover, They are forbidden by themselves, or their Ministers, to intermeddle in the Trade of America or the Indies, and that every one coming to that Government, is to swear to the Articles, and also to maintain the Romane Catholike Religion. And if any thing be done to the contrary, the Right of the Netherlands to come to the Spaniards.

These Instruments were signed by the Father, and attested by Witnesses, the Sixth of May. The same day, the King's Son and Heir, *Philip* also by Name, gave his Consent to the same by Writing, carefully taking Cautions according to the Laws.

There were divers Speeches concerning this matter, and they disagreeing among themselves, as is usual in such Cases. Some accused this as an Evil Custom, that the Heads of Free-men, or any private Service, should be rated and valued: That it was onely used by *Barbarians*, to give and bestow Dominions: For of what value was a Prince among them, who never knew what belonged to Lordship: But to them that make a distinction between Right and Wrong, it is nothing ambiguous; because the matter belonging to the People, makes the Government, from thence, be called a *Commonwealth*. The ordering whereof, as it is in some places, committed to the Nobles or Senate; so, with most, it is settled under the Tuition of a Prince. Nor was there ever any just Empire, but what begun by the Consent of the People, who have trusted the Defence thereof, either to one Single Person; or else, by reason of Faction in Suffrages, to more; who have this onely Reward of their Honour, that next to their own Welfare, they take Care of the benefit of their Subjects: Which, as it is true every where, so is it more manifest among the *Netherlanders*, who being neither Conquer'd by Arms, nor yet willing of their own accord to serve, will not suffer their Princes to do many Things, but with a Limited Power and Revenues, it being chiefly forbidden;

hidden, lest at anytime they should break any part of the Trust committed to them: And therefore, in former Time, the Daughters were put off with a small Portion in Money: To the rest of the Children were given Governments, and other small Offices; the Name of King, unknown to the *Netherlanders*, being circumscribed by such Limits, needs neither to be feared nor opposed. The *French* Greariness indeed (if it be necessary to use Examples) no otherwise interested than by this, that many Collations of Fortune meeting in one, no Cross Event ever separated or pulled them in sunder; whereas, on the other part, is it not a miserable condition, that in Regions involved in, and exhausted by Wars, whose Sides lyes a powerful Enemy, an envious Neighbourhood, and Forein Greatness, that should be taken away, which for a hundred Years had nourish'd it, and been as nutriment, and the Radical Moysture, to a weak and infirm Body?

We find in History the Emperour *Charles*, when desirous of private Repose, by transferring his Worldly Cares on his Son, he onely a little anticipated the Gift of the Law, himself and his Son, both standing in the Great Council of his Nobles, that nothing might be wanting of ancient Customs: But now by a Letter to renounce, and by a Letter to assume Government, and by Sight and Speech, to seem to set free a People, as it were disdained, from one Dominion to another, and that not virile; when it was known from all Antiquity, that the *Netherlanders* accounted it as one of the greatest Mischiefs, to be subject to a Woman, was an Act of great Rashness. Others wished, that in good earnest, the *Netherlanders* might in this manner be freed from the Influence of the *Spaniards*; That, if the Council of War were removed: the difference of Parties and Factions would easily be reconciled: But, alas, the old Hopes and Arts of *Philip* were not so easily forgotten, as that he would denude both

himself and his Posterity of the *Netherlands*, which are the strength of the *Spanish* Security, and serve him as a Castle against *Germany*, *France*, and *Brittain*: But that by laying them a little aside, he might diminish his fear, he makes use of his Daughters Name, to whom is given a precarious Right and a Titulary, but naked Profession, under a Domestic Trust: That, by these very Covenants, he hath not sufficiently dissembled with these, since the Government must relapse onely to his Son, proceeding from this Marriage, and not to any other Children: And although it were not perceived, yet it is not to be believed, that the *Spaniards* would have suffer'd this Lady to come from him, after a continued Virginity of 32 years, unless they had either believed, or procured her, to become barren: That it was a shameful thing, that the *Netherlanders*, being a People having Privileges of their own, and by whose Wealth the *Austrian* Family hath augmented its Greatness in *Spain* it self, and in many other Kingdoms, and, in a manner, laid a Yoke upon the Neck of Mankind, should be publickly governed by Foreign Laws, and deliver'd to the Dominion of such as are subject to the *Spanish* Power.

Among all these Discourses, other *Lettors* were brought, written now from *Isabella*, as *Lady Paramount* therein, Commanding *Albertus*, in her Name, to take possession, and actually to take and give an Oath of Obedience, and to do all other Things usual, in the like Cases, for Princes to do. This was against the Laws, which will, *That the Entrance into a Government shall be publick*: Wherefore he not daring, according to ancient Custom, to call a *Senate* of the *Provincies*, and wuh them freely to Consult; but as if he had had something in private to have said to every one apart, on the 19th of *August*, he calls to *Brussels* onely the *Deputies*. At the same time, there was gather'd about the City a great Multitude of Souldiers, to the number of 15000 Foot, and 1000 Horse,

these, to keep in awe all that would but seem to gain say the
 Design: And therefore *Richardus*, in an Oration which he
 had prepared of purpose for *Albertus*, imputed all the Evil^s
 that had befallen to the *Netherlanders*, and the cause thereof
 to the Prince's Absence. Hereupon *Masius* answer'd for the
Netherlanders, beginning first Rhetorically with such Things, as
 might win the Favour of the New Princes: But when he
 came to the Matter, he disputed some Things, as if the *An-
 cient Commonwealth* had yet been in Being, desiring such
 Things to be done, as the present Necessity requir'd. And it
 was submitted to by most, that Conditions should be pre-
 scribed to their Obedience, viz. If within three Months it
 should be that the Rites of Marriage were performed, and that he
 should did return into the Netherlands within the Month of
 May, in the following Year; and that in the mean while, nothing
 should be innovated by his Governors or Commanders; And that he
 should be his Deputy-Governour, one allied to him by Blood, all
 which he well. And hereupon he Elected, as his Deputy, the
 Cardinal *Andrew of Austria*, whose Father was *Ferdinand*
 Duke of *Tirol*, the Brother of *Maximilian*, the Father of
Charles: By the Mothers side, he was not so Noble, She
 being *Philippa* *Yellera* and descended from a Consular Family
 in *Augsburg*, a City of Germany. Besides all this, it was
 decreed, That all, both private and publick, Laws, and all things
 should remain firm by Oath to Philip; That the lesser Go-
 vernours, and the Guard and Custody of Castles and Forts,
 and the several degrees of Judges, should be new chosen from
 among the *Netherlanders*; That the King should testifie, that in
 the building up of his Rights in Fee, he had no intent to intrap the
Netherlanders; That they would take care to pay the German
 with their own Native Souldiers, as far as the Treasury would
 bear, but for the residuum, and the Forrein Souldiers, the King
 should take the Charge thereof upon himself; That *Albertus*
 should be content with the antient Revenue of the Princes, and
 should ease the People of their extraordinary Taxes, and the Con-

from Service they did in Garrisons, and the Charge of quartering Garrison Soldiers; And that upon these Terms, they should, for the time, be Obedient. But upon the Return of *Albertus* with his Wife, a Solemn Oath should be taken on both sides, all the States of the Netherlands being Assembled, with whom, in the interim, *Albertus* would deal, to win them to come to some Conditions with the *Hollanders*. And because this was very earnestly desired, and it was thought no absurd Thing, to compare like with like, in making a Pacification: *Albertus*, before his departure, who did not think fit out of his Grandezza, to send a Princely Embassie, writ Letters to the States of *Holland* and *Zeland*, and their Colleagues; wherein he signified unto them his Marriage, and the Right of Government translated from the *Spaniards* to him, who was ever studious and willing to make Peace; and therefore he hoped, there remained nothing on their part, which should cause them, either to distrust him, or the Peace he offer'd them: They would therefore do very well, and according to their Duty, if they would unite themselves to the greater part of the Netherlands, having to this purpose left Instructions with the States under his Authority.

In the same manner did the Prince of *Aurange*, *Archeb.* and *Hanreck*, write to Prince *Maurice*, That he would, by his Authority, prevail as much as he could with the United States, to set an end (so much desired) to the War; That it would be as owing to his Renown at the present, but to the everlasting Honour, and advancement of the House of *Nassau* for the future. At this time was heard also one *Daniel Malain*, a private Merchant, but of great Repute; who, reported himself incited thereto by his Brothers dissembled sickness, and came to *Antwerp*, and from thence was brought to *Bruxels*, to the speech of *Richardus*, *Assorville*, the Abbot of *Mared*, *Hanreck*, and at last of *Albertus* himself: The sum of all his Discourse was tending to Peace; so also were all their Counsels; and there was nothing omitted, that might obtain Credit among the *Hollanders*.

landers. All the Princes protesting, That their Religion should not be meddled with; that the Government of the Commonwealth should remain in the hands of themselves, and their Posterity; and that King Philip had such esteem of Prince Maurice, his Vertues; that he would detract nothing from his Honour, but destin'd for him the chief Command of the Hungarian Warre. But the States, although before they were resolv'd for War, yet grew more indurate and averse to Peace, by reason of some Letters of Philip's by them intercepted; wherein the manifest contrary to all these former Offers was discover'd. And besides these, the Treason of Peter Damy of Ipre was found out in the same time: He was a man of a slothful Nature; but such are generally the most ready Instruments to put in practice the most impious Attempts. This man being suspected by his looks, and taken, related his Condition, That the Cruelty of his Creditors, to whom he was very much indebted, was such, that nothing would content them, but to throw his Body into the worst Prison they could find; of which, he endeavour'd with grief of heart to have an end, but could not find any means to compass the same, in which perplexity he fell among the Jesuits at Doway, and serv'd them for Wages. The President of whom, making a Speech, how great and meritorious a Work it would be to the Christian World, out of so many Multitudes of men, to kill one, which rag'd with Cruelty, working the destruction of many: this presently inflam'd his Mind, over-whelm'd before with Misery, to murder Prince Maurice; And if he did it, himself (if he survived) or else his Son was to be rewarded: But if he fail'd in the Attempt, yet they promised him to go to Heaven. He added further, That by the Domestick Exhortation of his Wife, who being restless, by reason of her Cares, and not able to endure a little misery, was urg'd to put on a Man-like Resolution to all his Design: whereupon being instigated, and confirm'd therein by the same President, by the Sacred Tye of Religion, and the Absolution of his Sins, he took his Journey, and came

into Zeland; and from thence to Leyden; where his Conscience beginning by little and little to dislike the villainous horror of the Fact, together with the fear of danger that would ensue, at last he began to repent, and alter his wicked Intentions. After he had many Times by Intervals repeated these same Things, being convict by his own Testimony, on the 23 of July he was put to death by Command of the Magistrates of Leyden, whose Sentence was confirmed by the Superiour Judges. There were some on the adverse Party, who, ashamed of the wickedness of the Fact, would have denyed the whole substance of the matter.

As this Year was famous for great Alterations, so was a long time very free from Warlike Expeditions; only near *Nimwegen* a few Foot Souldiers were worsted by some of the King's Horse; and again, beyond the *Maas*, among many Troops of the *Hollanders*, one belonging to *Mausfeld* was slain, the Conquerours returning not without Prey: Besides, a few other petty Attempts, and vain Endeavours to have done greater: The reason of this Quiet might be, because the *United States* spared their Provisions and Charges for Times of Necessity; and for that *Albertus* labouring to add a great Terrour to his offer'd Peace, had determin'd not to proceed, before his Army was increased with the Regiments that came from the Cities of *France*, that were to be deliver'd according to the Treaty. Which Regiments denying to surrender the Garrisons they held, until they had received their Pay, and a dreadful President beginning in the Town of *Chastellat*, by Seditious Licentiousness, for that Money being rais'd for them, made other places, more inward in the Country, to rage with untwix'd Fury; and chiefly, because he saw, that Count *Heremburg* was not able to appease the Tumult in *Gelders*, without present Money, and immediate sending them away.

At this time, there were some grumbling Complaints, and concumacious Behaviours: But when the Business of raising a new, was put in Agitation at *Antwerp*, (as generally the Souldiery love to make Disturbances about the Changes of Governments) Seditions broke out in several places at once, but chiefly among them that kept the Fort at *Antwerp*, being 500 *Spanish* Foot, with some Horse; who, being bent against the City, which they supposed obnoxious to them, were provoked to take from thence the Price and Reward for their Crimes: Wherefore, putting out their Old Commander *Augustino a Mexia*, they Elected into his place a Sergeant, a Fellow of a Malapert and Sawcy Tongue, but faithful to his Companions in their greatest Crimes. They reckon'd due to them, as well for their *Belgike*, as *Italian* Service in the Wars, the Remainders of 22 Months Pay, which, while they were paid off, they compelled, in the interim, the Towns People to allow a Floren a day to a Horseman, and half as much to a Footman: Nor did their injurious proceedings rest here; for they set a Tax upon all precious Garments and Household-stuff, and all other Instruments of Luxury, not sparing those Sinks of Iniquity, common Strumpets; and all this was done in contumely of that, but late most flourishing City. Without doubt, here was never any Action shew'd more arrogant Pride, than their manner of exacting: They would shoot off their Muskets, and other Guns, until the People came voluntarily, and asked them, *Whether they would please to command any thing?* Soon after this, the Garrison Souldiers of *Liere* were observed to associate Themselves in Counsels; and, in the Borders of *Lutemberge*, Messengers brought word, that the *Walloon* Regiments, having thrown off their Obedience, did fortifie themselves, with many others flying out of the City: They who staid there, either by reason of their Estates or Business, part of them compared this Force with the Dissimulation of *Raguelens's* formerly; others likened it to the violent Irruption, Slaught-

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ter, and Devastations, made with Fire by *Rhoda*; thus weighing their present Fear by their past Sufferings.

In all this burli-burly, the Deputies of the Magistrates, brought no other Comfort from *Albericus*, besides Excess of the publike Poverty; so that for want of Remedy, this Murinous Licentiousness continued until the Year following: The Souldiers, in the Castle of *Gant*, were a little more modest; for being content with their own Number, they would not receive any that came from other places, which, in this time of common Disturbance, seem'd a great part of Honesty. But in the City of *Gratz*, there was not a Murine, but a Fight of the Souldiers among Themselves; but when the *German*s ran to Arms, in Assistance of the Towns-men against the *Spaniards*, that Commotion quickly was appeased beyond hope. After all which Disturbances, *Albericus* being thereby spurred up to Arms; and, the rather, because he received no Answer to his *Letters*, either from Prince *Maurice*, or the *United States*, he took away from the Souldiers, their hope of continuing in their Garrisons: What Money could be scraped together, either out of *Spain*, or upon Credit, he distributed among such as were going to the Camp, as well old, as new raised Souldiers, which made a great Supply, and consisted chiefly of *French*-men, who fled from the late made Peace at Home.

Now upon Debate of the Matter in the *Senate*, and with the most skilful and understanding Collonels, it was thought fit, that the Army should march beyond the *Rhine*, either to the invading of the *Hollanders*, or else, that they might do what Prince *Maurice* had done: who, in the former year, in the settling of *Friseland*, had finish'd one part of the War for the *United States*; where the Country being large and open on the backside towards *Germany*, and but thinly strengthened with Towns, he shew'd many notable Examples of good Conduct and Industry, in laying hold upon all convenient Opportunities.

Now, as this was in it self very prudent Counsel, to surround the *Hollanders* on all sides with their Armies, to diminish and abate their Tributes, and to disturb their Garrisons; so, at that time, there was nothing more fit, than having retrenched the Treasury as much as they could; if yet with all their Forces they could spend the *Winter* in the Enemies Country, they should destroy the *Hollanders* by their own President. About the middle of *Autumn*, the Army was commanded to meet at the *Maas*, over which *Francisco Moncada* was made General, who was returned out of *France*, after the Confirmation of the Peace there. Whereof, as soon as the *Hollanders* heard, Count *Hohenlo* being Commanded to look to the Isle of *Brunswick*, the greatest part of their Forces, under the Prince's Conduct, met at *Arnhem*.

In this interim, *Albertus* being about to go to perform his Marriage, and receive his Principality; yet, first by the Pope's Licence, laying down his Honours of Cardinal, and Archbishop of *Toledo*, he shew'd himself publickly in his Archiducal Habit; He Dedicated his Cap and Sacred Robe at the Altar of the *Blessed Virgin*, which is honour'd at *Hall*, a Free Town in *Hruals*. This was an ancient Temple, famous for many Pilgrimages thither made, and Miracles there wrought, whereby the Inhabitants were perswaded, that the *Duty* testified himself there present. For there might be seen many rich Gifts of Princes, and great Multitudes of the Common People; who, having been deliver'd from Dangers, or Diseases incurable by Physick, have here performed their Vows: Nay, some Reports do not stick to tell, that at this place dead Bodies have been restor'd to Life: Many Relations of this place, concerning Things some few Years before done, we set forth by *Justus Lipsius* in the *Latine* Tongue; by which he denoted to the World, the Truth of the *Roman Catholic Religion*, and the Reverence due to Images: Although on the other side, some Dispute in their Writings, alledging the known Fraud of Priests, and many other Stories feign-

ed for Gain; most of which being called Miracles, have either hapned naturally, or by accident; And yet those old *Magicians* of *Egypt*, and *Tyans*, and other Masters of Condemnable Worship, because they confirm'd their Opinions and Tenets by stupendious Works, seeming preternatural, it must be brought at last, as an Argument, to work upon our Faith to believe the like, who assign all our Devotions only to God; not requiring the Patronage of others, nor corrupting our Piety with the forbidden Superstition of Images.

After, the Cardinal *Andrew*, being sent for by hasty *Leters*, was come out of *Assatia*, whereof he then had the Government by *Cesar's* Authority, *Albertus* giving him only some few Embraces, and leaving with him his Commands, immediately went into *Germany*. To his Train were added some of the most Noble Counts of the *Netherlands*, who were, in the Name of the Publike, to give Thanks to the King; and there certain select Matrones, and young Ladies, who went also to attend the new Princess: Among the Noblemen that were selected, was the Prince of *Anrange*; whom, many, ignorant of the Power of Custom, admired to see returning into *Spain*: He, when he had receiv'd of his own in the *Netherlands*, what the King's Exchequer had drain'd, and could procure his Fathers Goods among the *Hollanders* means of his Brother, and his Mothers, by the help of Count *Hobouls* he was wholly bent to look after his Principality of *Anrange*; which, although it had been always free, and ought no Obedience to any; yet, by occasion of the Civil Wars, some of the *French Governours* having entred therein, did yet, though the War were ended, retain, or rather usurp the same; and now of late Prince *Maurice* had sent thither *Aldegond*, in vain affecting by Treaties, and other Arts, to have gotten the possession thereof. But he now hoping, that the *Spaniards* might do him some kindness to the French King, by their Recommendations of him, was the main Motive that induced him to the taking of this Journey into

Spain;

Book 7.
the Low-Countries.
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which having begun, and when now he was gone
higher towards the Bank of the Rhine, he turned towards the
Palatinate, to see the Elector's Sister then first, and but newly
married. But as the Arch-Duke was proceeding in his Jour-
ney to Prague, that he might communicate some of his secret
Counsels with his Brother the Emperour; and, as it was be-
lieved, upon the hopes of attaining the Name and Honour
of King of the Romans, which is next of all to the Emperour,
he was overtaken by Messengers, who brought him the News
of King Philip's death. The Relation whereof, as it hapned,
was thus.
His weak and crazy Body was broken with old Age, but
chiefly from the last fore-going Spring, with sharp pains of
the Joynts, but in the Summer his sickness began to increase:
To whom, that he might have some ease, by the Relaxation
of his Mind, he commanded his Servants to carry him in his
Horse-Litter to the Escorial, a Palace which he had sumptu-
ously builded with extraordinary Cost; while, in the interim,
the Netherlandish Affairs languish'd, and lay gasping for want
of Money: This Palace is reckon'd among the most famous
Instruments of this Age. Then being unable to endure the
tossing of the Litter, and the thickness of the Air, as soon as
he was repos'd, he fell into a Fever; his Sinews being more
contracted than ordinary, and at the same time the Poyson
that lay hid in his Bowels broke out; in which, and in his
Legs, being inflamed through pain, he was likewise afflicted
with a stopping in his Breast. These Things being removed
by Physical Administrations, he fell into a Frenzy; and, at
the same time, sad to tell, he was follow'd with an infinite
quantity of Lice; so that by the labour of many hands about
him, he could hardly be kept clean from the filth that pro-
ceeded from them: Anon after, when his weak Body was
not able to indure any longer such handling, as was necessary
to make him clean, his Bowels were eaten up with a filthy
Congregation; but with such an invincible Courage bore the
Tor-

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Palatinate, to see the Elector's Sister then first, and but newly
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Congregation; but with such an invincible Courage bore the

Tor-

Torments, that they perceived he was yet alive, but retired himself to Meditations of his End: So commanding the Crown to be laid close by him, and afterwards shewing his Limbs to his Son and Daughter, he instructed them in humane Frailty; and particularly, read a Lecture of his own Weakness, who had been of so great Esteem in the World. Then he commended them to Brotherly Concord among Themselves, and to the maintainance of the *Roman Faith*, with great seriousness advising Them, *That when he was dead and buried, they would remember those their Fathers dying words.* Then while Divine Prayers were singing, he received the extreme Unction; and now drawing on to his Death, he embraced the same Crucifix, which his Father before at his Death had also done. Then giving in Charge, what he had in his Mind concerning Religion, and commending to them several Examples of Clemency, on the 14. Day of September he dyed; which day he had fore-told to be fatal to him, from the Dictates of an *Astronomer*. This was the End of that most potent Christian Prince, who was the richest in his Time: He was of the Age of 71 Years, and had Reigned 43. He was of a middle stature of Body, and well compos'd, only his Fore-head was somewhat high; his Lips were large, and hanging down, after the manner of all who are related in Blood to the House of *Austria*; His Countenance carried the Lineaments of a *Netherlander*, though his Conditions were altogether *Hispanioliz'd*; you would have believ'd him to have been of a mild Nature, for that he was easy and affable in access, and did not fall rashly into passion; but as often as he was acquiring, or looking after Dominion, he did rather prefer his Fame, than his Clemency. He was not so cunning and subtle as his Father, but Age and Diligence supplied that defect; for being very moderate, both in Sleep and Recreations, he did more Personally, than by his Servants and Ministers; which the *Spaniards* extolling to the highest, equalled his Praise with *Solomon*: He

He well knew the use of Money, that he would renounce what Emperours or Popes he pleas'd almost, and with that Key unlock'd the Secrets of all Kingdoms, bearing both *Prosperity* and *Adversity* with an equal Countenance: and Courage; but being given much to *Dissimulation*, he indulged to himself the Liberty both of *Hatred* and *Jealousie*; unsatiable in his Hopes, and in his Ambition and desire of Rule, to be match'd with any of the *Antients*; most observant of Religion, which he shew'd even in his outward Actions: Concerning his Rules of Government excusable, as walking by the Pattern of *Princes*; and in those Things wherein he offended as a private man, laudably modest. He maintain'd Wars continually, even from his Childhood; yet besides that in *France*, which he onely saw when he was young, he was never personally in any, but managed them all by his *Deputies*: He merited variously, as to his *Progenitors* and *Successors*, whose *Empire*, as he augmented by the *American Treasures*, and the Accession of the Crown of *Portugal*, so he lessen'd it by the loss of the Kingdoms of *Goleta* and *Tunis*, and by his Tyranny over the *Dutch*: At Times it was observed, that divers Things hapned untowardly in his *Paternal Dominions*; but not in the Age of those men, by whom his Fortune was upheld, but when he had Women, Children, or weak Emulators, or Enemies. These were, for the most part, the Judgments of the wiser sort concerning him: But others, who were offended at him as Enemies, say, That he undertook Wars rashly, and managed them perfidiously: Nor do they less accuse him for the Cruelties of his Peace, both in *Spain* and the *Low-Countries*, his throwing *France* into Troubles, by his Ambition and Thirst of Blood, and many other, as well Publike as Domestick Evils; making the foulness of his Death an Argument against him; averring, *The Justice of Heaven met him at last, and punish'd him for the innocent Deaths of his Son, and Wife Isabella; thus murder'd by his*
o *Father*;

Father; that by her Husband: So that meritedly he dyed, as Herod, (with whom, in regard of his Nature and Fortune they compared him) or as Pheretice, Queen of the Cereians, and with them suffer'd the Vengeance of his Parricides; or, that he meritedly perish'd, as being a most bitter Enemy of True Religion; according as the most famous Antiochus, another Herod, Caesar Maximinus, or of the Tyrant Caesar and Sylla, that were Oppressors of the Common Liberty, whose Memories stink: Although, if it be true, that it is remembered in History, that many men, famous for Wisdom, learned in the Laws, skilful in the Art of Poetry, and others, have dyed of the same Disease.

*Philip, the Son, had possession of all his Father's Kingdom by Inheritance, being the Third of that Name; and there was hardly ever any Change of Government that carryed along with it so great Weal h: But, among the *Hollanders*, many men, in their ancient Simplicity, who had hitherto believed, that they were perpetually bound to that Prince, to whom they had sworn Obedience, now, by the Kings Death, thought Themselves freed there-from, both in Conscience and Religion: And now in *Spain* they began to take very sharp Counsels against the *Hollanders*, which did much sully the Fame and Repute of the New King, as if he had been of an unsound Constitution. But many times it appears by use, That Things are often better, and more safely, managed under a Prince, who will sit his Ears and Commands of others, whom he finds knowing in the *State*, than where a Confidence of his own Wisdom, makes him rash and obstinate to his own Humour and Will. But these Things will (in time) be made more plainly appear.*

Albertus going out of Bohemia into Italy, in the Venetian Territories finds Margaret, who, about 14 Years ago, having been Betrothed to the King's Son, was now upon her Way to King Philip, and was come from Graic, a City of Hun-

Hungary, through the *Streights* of the *Alps* near *Trent*, towards the River *Atchfis*: The Brother of this Lady, being named *Ferdinand*, to whom the Vicinity of the *Turks* was hateful: and being desirous to change the Form of his Religion, (for most in that Country had departed from the *Roman Church*) first intreated the House of *Austria* to intercede, and afterwards to fight in his Defence. This Lady had also two other Sisters; the one, married to the King of *Poland*; the other, to *Sigismund Bator*, Prince or Vayvod of *Transilvania*, but both very unhappy in their Husbands, both their Countries being afflicted with worse than Civil Wars: For He of *Poland*, following the *Jesuits* Counsels, by means of his Uncle, whose Name was *Charles*, was beaten out of the Kingdom of *Sweden*, the *Antient Inheritance* of his Fathers; And the other, perswaded by the same Authors, to deny the payment of Tribute to the *Turks*, soon after, being unable to defend his Territories, was forced to transfer his Principality to the *Emperour*, who gave the Government to his Brother *Maximilian*.

That was He, who, when he possessed the Kingdom of *Poland*, made a Journey against the *Swedes*, onely for Forage sake; and being afterwards taken Prisoner, and quite forsaken by all, would yet retain the Name of a King. But *Bator*, under the Name of Exchange, was sent into *Silesia*; and moreover, being Robbed of his Wife, as if unable to get Children, being soon weary of his wandering Life, and mean Fortune, he returned to his own Country, and at once received both his Old Dominions, and his Wife, threatening all that durst resist with the *Turkish Power*, which would come in his Aid: The Mother of this *Margaret* was a *Bavarian*, and being the *Emperour Ferdinand's* Niece, had married his Son *Charles*, from which Marriage proceeded this Issue: So that having the same Father, and great Uncle, by the like Reason she might have a Husband, to whom the same great Uncle might be Father.

Pope *Clement* being come to *Ferrara*, (for he claimed this City, the Family of *Atesti* being extinct, and subjected the same rather by Threats and Devotion than Arms, when one *Cesar* by Name, but the Off-Spring of an unlawful Bed, challenged it) and the *Proxies* of King *Philip*, and his Sister *Isabella*, being ready, by Solemn Rites of Marriage, he Conjoyned two Leagues by one Nation. Going thence to *Mantua*, and *Milain*, they met the Duke of *Savoy*, who also was come to salute his Kindred. Thus was one whole Year spent in *Italian Complements*; then they went to visit *Sacred Monuments*, passing frequently by great and rich Cities; where, the Affections of Friends and Subjects contesting, with great Cost and Art the *Austrian Greatness* was excellently decipher'd in shews, and *Albertus* his own Victories represented to him in *Effigie*. But by reason of the Journey into strange parts, yet not absolutely divided from us, I will make a short digression; and before I repeat the Expedition to the *Rhine*, remember some Things about the Borders, which at this time were more than usually troublesome; by some occasions of difference among Themselves.

Edward, Earl of *Friesland*, beyond the *Emser*, being offended with the Covenants made at *Delfzeijl*, as extorted by Force, had appealed to the *Emperour*. The *Emperour*, who could neither approve *Foreign Decisions* in *German Affairs*, nor saw the Issue of them, which should be adjudged against the Will of a City, found yet this *Expedient*, That abrogating the *Delfzeijlian Laws*, he himself would command, in a manner, the Self-same thing. The Earl being thus frustrate of his hope; when now he had a great while expected an Augmentation of his Power, this Year attempted to sow *Intestine Discords* in the City, already so exhausted by Troubles and Charges, that it could not pay the Money owing by Covenant, and other necessary Things, but by the Assessing of New Taxes: Wherefore, sending two of his Sons into the City, to foment

the Tumults, they sought out some among the Vulgar, that should gather together more, who were offended at the Assessments, (for of 19 *Fraternities* two refused) or else such as differ'd from the Publike Religion; with Directions, That they should, at the Gates, resist the Soldiers that were to come in; and whom he had sent for to that very purpose, though pretending other matters. But, the Conspiracy being set afoot, the *Magistrates*, angry with the Earl's Sons, complain'd of the Father's Treacherous Dealings; and putting to death those, whom they found guilty of raising the Tumults, they banish'd the rest of the popular part of the Faction, or else fined them. One of the principal Leaders, in this Sedition, was *Grany*, a man famous in his Family, and of great Alliance, being Kinsman, among others, to Count *William*: He was of Kin, by the Father's side, to *John Fauquier*, who formerly had presid'd the *Belgick Affairs* for the *Spaniards*; and, not long since, under pretence of private Business, had come among the *Hollanders*. But being detected, to have brought *Albertus* his Commands to *Edsard*, and asked what they were, answer'd, *Nothing else, but to desire Passage for the Spanish Forces through that Country*: Although it was believed, and indeed more congruous to received Judgments, that he came to treat of an Exchange, concerning the very Right of that County with others in *Burgundy*, or else of Goods in *Lutzenburg*. For this cause, he being for a while diligently kept, at length he was let go, upon payment of his Ransom, as a Prisoner of War, because he had violated the Publike Faith.

But, at this time, some of the *Fauquier's Letters* to *Edsard* were found, wherein he was advis'd, That he should not look after Germany, or other remote and lingring hopes, wherewith he had been so often vainly elud'd; for nothing but the Spanish Power would ever restore him to his Government, but a Reward must be given to the Society, that at the time appointed, they might have leave to pitch their Camp in the Country; and that a Fleet should

be brought into the Mouth of the River, and the next Bay, with which he should sufficiently revenge himself upon his Rebels. For which Causes, Count William, the Governour of Frizeland, was desired, That he would have in readines a strong Force to help them in time of need, whereof he took Care accordingly: And, in the interim, from the adjoining Parts, commands a Party of well-armed and disciplin'd Souldiers, to take an Oath to be faithfull to him; and then, as if they had bin discharged by him, he causeth them to go into the City, and then to learn what more they could. But now the Concord of the Citizens being grown more firm, because the Conspiracy was Reported to intend Fire and Slaughter, and they were fearful, and not skilled in the use of Arms; and in wanting the help of a *Forain Garrison*, they Listed and took into Pay 300 men. But the Earle, as if he had receiv'd, not given, an Injury, of his own accord; summons the City to plead their Cause before the *Imperial Senate*, complaining there of many Things; as particularly, That the Holland Souldiers wasted his Fields; that they had inflicted extreame punishments upon innocent Persons; against whom they ought not to make any Legal Process without him; that they had unworthily dealt with his Children, and compelled the Youth to make New Promises, whereby they should lay aside their Allegiance due to their Prince. Thus, in words, they seem'd onely to mind Legal Proceedings; but, in deeds, they practis'd all kinds of Hostility.

But both the Earle's Sons went to the King of Poland. (from whose Aunt they were descended) though to small purpose; and there they put the *Embden Exiles* into a few ships, giving Command, That they should vindicate their own Right against the Authors of that injurious Oppression. And the *Pomerander*, in honour of his Kinsmen, went so far, as to threaten the City with an Interdiction of Traffike, if it continued obstinate; to the same purpose, writing Letters to the United States, stuffed with many proud Words, even to admiration;

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That although he were deprived of his antient Kingdom of Sweden, yet he could come with hazard, and prescribe Laws to them, though so far distant. The Duke of Holsatia also, whose Daughter was married to Keno the Son of Edsard, commanded a Restraint of Trade with Embden, seizing all their Ships that were in his Coasts: The like also was endeavour'd with the Danes and Spaniards.

The Dissentions of *Aquisgravi* continued longer between the Old Magistrates, whom the Duke of *Juliers* helped, as being Patron of the City by Hereditary Right; and Them who had obtained the Administration of the Commonwealth, by the Expulsion of others, under pretence of giving Judgment against Them. Anon after, at the publike instance of the Spaniards by *Mendoza* and *Clement*, Determinations were wont to be made in great Assemblies, were privately taken, and by the Judgment of *Spire* the Occupiers were condemned: And because they would not perform the Judgment within the time limited, they were proclaimed Enemies to the Empire: Concerning whom it was thus Decreed, viz. That it should not be lawful or safe for any to help them; That to offend, hurt, or kill them. Shall be imputed to none for a fault, and that all their Goods may be taken from them as lawful Booty. The Custom is within the Year, to promulgate now the same Proscription in harsher Terms. The Herald, after he had proclaim'd all Things in a solemn manner, commanded their next Neighbors of *Germany*, the Duke of *Juliers*, the Arch-Bishop of *Colen* and *Triers*, with all their Powers, to defend the Authority of this Law. It seem'd good to these to take *Albertus* his Forces, that were as then ready, to assist Them: And now Garrisons were put into all the Towns within the Territory of *Aquisgravi*, and their Castles, and whatever else was in the Fields, was taken away by the Soldiers of *Juliers*, and *Limburg*: But this did not agree with Them, whose City had been the Royal Court of *Charlemagne*, and long continued the Metropolis of all the Region.

ons within the *Alps*; and, to this day, in all the Councils of the *Empire*, a Seat equal to *Rome* and *Adrian*; that They should utterly be excluded from all the Affairs of *Germany*. Thus the Governours being amazed, whom the Favour and Promises of the *Augustine Profession*, had made unaware of such a sudden Mischiefe; when on the one side they saw an Army coming under *Mendoza*; and, on the other side, the choice Souldiers of the *Hungarian War*, and that they could make no Defence, for the avoiding of Envy, they suffer'd the People to have the Government of the City. And hereupon, the Arch-Bishop of *Colen*, being chosen *Arbitrator* and *Intercessor*, for the Restoration of Peace, by good *Law*, They avoided the Ruine that was coming upon Them, but the Customs which had prevail'd among Them, for the space of 40 years, were alter'd: For a Garrison entering the City, all Offices, both high and low, were bestow'd upon *Roman Catholics*, all such being remov'd, as the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists*, differing among Themselves, named as such. They who had born Offices, first were committed into private Custody: Afterwards, part of Them (accompanied with many *Netherlanders*, (who being formerly Fugitives thither, because of their Evil Discords, were even pursued the heels with these Evils) that for fear of more grievous punishments, their *Advisers* conniving thereat) took *Hollanders*; and other part of them to other places: Among these *Evils*, that now returned, was *Engelkers*, who had formerly been a Captain of a Troop on the part of the *United States*, known more by his *Military Vice*, than any *Valor*; and having, at the Council of *Spire*, obtain'd Licence to seize what he could, because he said his Wages were unpaid him, he fell upon the *Netherlandish Merchants* going to their Houses, with a *Portulack Spear*, and carrying with him persons to buy their Goods: Afterwards, he was chosen into the City Tribunal, and this made him so much the more cruel; untill by several Letters from the *States* writhe-
gained

against him, he was moderated and kept under: For they took it ill, averring it a Thing intollerable, that *publike Causes should be handled by private Persons, who were not able to distinguish among the Judges, between a true and false Name; adding Threats, in case they were not obtained: And forthwith it was so order'd, whereas before the Netherlanders could hardly be secure from such Injuries in any Kingdoms. But it is an old and well-known Rule, That as the Power and Strength of a Party is, so are the Rules they give out obeyed.*

In the Dutchy of *Cleves*, the Councillors of the Duke as yet kept all the Authority, they were of the *Austrian Faction*. Nor did the Princes, who were concerned in the Inheritance, trouble themselves, that *Berck* was taken by the *Hollanders*: The Nobles indeed of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, pretending the Guarding and Safety of their Diseased Prince, consulted, as it were, with the *States* of the *Provinces*, for the raising of Forces, to the number of 2000 Horse, and 6000 Foot, which should lye upon their Borders, for Defence of the Country; whereas it was, in truth, to secure the Government of the Common-Wealth to Themselves: But when they began to think of a General, some praising *John of Nassau*; Others, the Count *Hohenlo*; But not finding a ready means to raise Pay for them, their long deliberation gave their Adversaries Opportunity of increasing their Power. These and many other Things, were nothing so much fear'd by the *Hollanders*, as were those suspected Preparations made in *Germany* by *Mendoza*; for he had drawn together 62 Companies of *Spaniards*, 19 of *Italians*, and two of *Irish*. Besides, he had of *Germans* 4 Regiments, consisting of 10 Companies, as many of *Walloons*, and one of *Burgundians*: So that the whole number of the Infantry was esteemed 20000. Of Horse, he had 6 Troops of *Epirot Lancers*, two of *Spaniards*, and two of *Netherlanders*, besides 5 smaller Troops, most of them *Netherlandish Harquebusiers*, and eight greater of *Spaniards* and *Italians*, yet all not much exceeding 2000

For the rest, to the number of 12 Troops, were left about *Brabant*, to be a Guard against suddain Incurfions of the Enemy.

Of a long time the King had not greater Forces, whole Number and Fame was almost doubled by the vast Company of Slaves and Servants attending, and 1700 Carriages following the Army. Without doubt, the Face of the *Netherlands*, under the *Spanish Obedience*, was never more pleasant, for their Towns and Fields being eased of so great a Burden of Souldiers, especially upon the *French Borders*, they had now a small breathing space from their long-continued Miseries: The Enemy also being gone far from thence another Way, added Confidence to their Security. Count *Fredrick Herenberg*, by reason of Count *Mansfeldts* great Age and Weakness, was Lieutenant-General of the whole Army under *Mansfeld*; but was by Them intituled Camp-Master-General: The Horse passing the River by *Maastricht*, some of them went to *Venloo*, others to *Ruermunde*; Thence spreading themselves through *Jullers*, by the Territories of *Cole*, and other parts of *Germany*, they lay among those naked People without fear, and so came to the Bank of *Rhene*; *Barlot* was sent before, who was a Captain frequently made use of in Business, requiring either speed or audacity; for he drawing together what Boats and Wherries he could possibly meet within the River into one place, between *Bonn* and *Cole*; and having with him 800 of his Men, and a small Guns call'd Drakes, he drove away the Ships of *Holland*, which had been left to keep Guard at *Berck*: Thus, many Souldiers being taken, he enjoy'd the River free from Trouble, and all the further Bank of it. All this while *Mansfeld* lay heavy upon a quiet People, with an oppressive and licentious Army; and because he could not remedy the Peoples Complaints, he abhor'd to intermeddle in the moderation of their Oppressions; whereof many every where were conscious, that knew the Discords and Divulsions of *Germany*.

and how much it had lost of its antient Renown gain'd by Arms : But to his Prince he was of a Courageous Spirit, and great Faith, while, performing his Commands, he was a Contemner of Forein Fame, and valued not Hatred, that was attended with Power.

It will not be out of the way, since the matter it self hath led us thither, to describe those several Nations which lye about the *Rhine* next to the *Hollanders*, and the Sites and Extents of the Countries, of the Princes and Bishops, formerly under the Obedience of the *Almain Empire*. I can, with more shew of Learning, than Truth, compare the Names of Antiquity with those now in use : For old Authors, not looking much into *Germany*, have hardly mention'd them : But when the whole World was disturb'd, by the frequent Transigrations of one Nation to another, then Writers following them increased the obscurity, every one drawing the Antiquity of Fame to the Honour of his own People. This I am almost a Cert. that beyond the *Hollanders*, who possessed the Country next to the *French Coast* without the Island, which part opens between the *Rhine* and the *Maes*, and a few other places beyond both those Rivers ; of Old, a Soyl full of Woods and Marishes, was the Antient Seat of the *Menapii*, from whom came the *Eburones*, and other Allied Nations ; and this, at first, made the *Germans* to be called *Togri*, which People afterwards attained the well-known River *Moselle*, or the *Maas*, and the Country of *Triers*. The *Romi* with their Partakers, lay at the back of these, by the River *Scheld* ; beyond whom, the *Morini* lay hedged in by the Forest of *Ardenne*, which is now the Bounds of the *Netherlands*, but was formerly under the Dukes of *Burgundy*, and divided them from the Kingdom of the *Franks* or *French*. But after *Agrippa* Translated the *Ubi* out of the Region which is against *Triers*, to another part ; or had taken into his Protection, such as had voluntarily transmigrated, especially a Colony of the *Romans* being given him by his

Neere, and the *Gugerni* settled next to them, the Name of *Mamapi* grew obsolete; but that some of the Inhabitants being driven into the inner part of the Country, first seem'd to seat Themselves on this side the *Mau* and *Wail*, afterwards between the *Scheld* and the *Mosini*. Hereupon all this Tract, from the *Hollanders* beyond *Triers*, even as far as *Mentz*, was possessed and planted by *Roman* *Garrisons*, and took the Name, partly of inferiour, partly of Higher *Germany*, because the Original of the Inhabitants came from beyond the *Rhine*, as may easily be discerned by the Tone of their Speech to this day. On this side, upon the Border of the River, stands *Wageningen*, *Grimes*, *Duren* and *Arubym*, all which were upon the *French* Bank, though formerly many were otherwise erroneously perswaded: From thence one might have been seen *Burmasium*, *Dutchshausen*, and *Aiken*, famous sometimes in the *Dutch Wars*; *Emmerich* also and *Cule*, but now so lost in their own Ruines, that the most Learned can but conjecture where they were situate: But *Nay*, *Colem*, *Bonne*, *Andernach*, and *Coblentz*, keep both their Names and Stations unalter'd to this day. In after-times, all this Region, and the Country that lyes above it, was call'd *Austrasia*, because that part bordering on the East-side of *France*, was held by the *Franks* or *French*, who in most parts where they settled, gave new Names to the places: But they, at length, being weaken'd by their own Discords, the *Almay* *Emperours*, by bestowing larger Power and Liberties on the Prince's and People than they had before, drew to Themselves the Superiority of Government; and therefore they of *Cleves*, inhabiting on this side the *Rhine*, took that part of *Gelderland*, which is now call'd *Low-Holland*, and continu'd in it the City of *Nimwegen*: With these is intermingled the Arch-Bishop of *Colem's* Territories, which extend a great way upon that Bank: Another part of *Gelderland* encompasses the Dutchy of *Cleves*, the *Governours* whereof were formerly call'd *Guardians*; and herein is the Town of *Gelders*.

from whom the People of that whole Province take their Name: Behind these, the Old Maps and Descriptions would perswade us, that the *Gugerni* inhabited; and there is a Village in those Parts, that seems to speak something of their Name in its own, which is *Gogen*. At the backside of *Calen in Gulick*, an ancient City, they have now the same Government with *Cleves*, but formerly their Government was the same with *Gelderland*; yet more up into the Country, we find the *Liege* by the *Maas*, the *Lutsemburgers* by the *Miselle*, and the People of *Triers*; which two Cities of *Angers* and *Triers* are governed by Bishops, the rest are accounted among the *Netherlands*. But, on the further Bank of the *Rhine*, which was the Ancient Seat of the *Almans*, and *Great Germany*. Of Old, the *Frison*s were the first that met us, who, by reason they possessed the lesser part of the Region, were call'd the Lesser *Frison*s; from whence the *Canine-fur*, (now People of *Garichem*) coming into the Me of *Holland*, were, on another side, compassed with great Lakes, and the Estuary of the *Uly*, and from thence, by the *Eem*s, as it you come to the Ocean: To these are joyning the Greater *Bruster* hard by the same Rivet, and now opposite to the *Menapi* are the Remains of the *Sicambrians*, after that People, either of their own Accord, or by the Compulsion of *Augustus* his Arms, had serled Themselves about the *Waal*. At *Lappen* we have the Lesser *Bruster* again; which River, some of the *Antients* believed to run into the Sea: But others, more truly, that it intermingles with the *Rhine*, or rather the *Isle*, into which *Drusus* brought a part of the *Rhine*: But the incertainty of it, at present, is so great, that a man may indeed name a River, whereof there is no sign, but hardly shew the true place of its passage: But whatever it was, the *Bruster*, both greater and less, were beaten out thence: yet not so, as that their Names were utterly abolish'd. Soon after their Expulsion; the same place was possessed by the *Ch*

marci; and above them inhabited the People of *Angermunda*, together with the *Marfi*, who were shut up on the backside, by the *Chattuarii*, and the *Dulgabini*: Next to these were the *Tubantes*, but not the same that live by the River *Issel*, and the *Tenclari*, who were opposite to *Calen*, before whom, the *Wibi* possessed the same place: But these being expell'd, the *Alamanni*, a sort of *French People*, came into their place about the *Rhine*: But further from the River Bank, were seated the *Catti*; between whom, and the Ocean, the *Cauchi* took up a large Continent of Land, all along from the Coast of *Friseland*, to the River *Elbe*; but the *Vueser* running in the middle between these People, divided them one from another. Adjoyning to these *Cauchi*, were the *Saxons* towards the Sea, and from thence the *Danes* beyond the *Elbe*. Which River being passed, if you would follow the *Vueser* farther from the Sea, you will find the *Cherusi* bordering upon the *Cauchi*, *Angriuarii*, and *Catti*; round about whom, the *Suevi*, with many other Nations, possessed both sides of the *Elbe*, and vast Lands backward, in the *Herosian* Wood: These *Suevi* were a long time a most powerful Nation of *Germany*, so that oftentimes they drove away the People inhabiting nearer the *Rhine*: But Time, and the Vicissitudes of War, hath so alter'd these places, that they scarcely resemble Themselves in any thing: For as the Sea-Coasts belonging to the *Cauchi*, came to the *Frisons*, in probability, by such Appeal as we now use; so it is plain, that of the more inland part, which as we have said, was possessed by many of the *French*; some Nation or Nations coming from other Parts, out of Affection to Liberty, uniting Themselves in League and Name, took the possession: These first coming into the remoter Parts of *Germany*, and afterwards going forwards into *France*, made the *Saxons* flourish; who also enjoying something on this side the *Elbe*, and near the *Rhine* also, gave to this *Western* part the Name of *Westphalia*; This is the Account of all these several Nations.

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The *Rhine* mixeth and powres it self into *Iffell*; in that part of *Gelderland*, which is called *Veluwe*, to which we have elsewhere set forth *Over-Iffel* to be contiguous. There we meet with *Tuents* for *Tubantes*, the antient name of a People; Nor should we lose our selves, to finde *Teneteri* in *Drente*, or *Tarantij*. There are also in the County of *Herenberg*, which is part of the Province of *Zutphen*, some glimmering of *Sicambrian* names; as also of the *Brusteri*, called more lately *Barnstuarij*, every where about the Fenny parts of the Country: which things, though I know they please Learned Fancies, yet I will not dissemble, that it appears out of the former demonstration, that most of those Nations were very far distant thence, unless it be lawful for us to conjecture, that they came hither, being by force of Arms, driven out of their own Country.

The *Dutchy* of *Cleves*, lying beyond the *Rhine*, joyns to the Province of *Zutphen*, even at the very edge of the Isle of *Holland*, and the Marquisate of the Empire, compasses the said *Dutchy*, lying in a long tract, each of them being under one Authority: From hence we see small Principalities, amongst whom, *Nassau* is opposite to *Triers*, at the River *Low*, famous, either in its Latitude, or in the numerous Issue of a noble Family spring from thence. Next to *Over-Iffel*, is *Friesland* along by the Sea; which name now continues even beyond the *Eemse*, as far as *Emden*, and behind, inclosed with *Oldenburg*: The next that appears, is the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of *Brenes*, both within the *Vueser* and the *Elbe*, after whom follows *Holsatia*, a part indeed of *Germany*, and a *Dukedom*, and so is *Fusel*, and an adjoining Province of the *Danes*, but their Princes acknowledging their Allegiance due to the present Kings of *Denmark*; Now must we go through the inland part of the Country: the *Dutchy* of *Cleves*, and the *Marquisate* of the Empire, are bordered by *Munster*, a Country of the same name with the City, under the Dominion of a Bishop. Neerer to *Over-Iffel*

Wissel, is the Countrey of *Bentheim*, from whence it is but an easie Journey, to *Lingen* and *Teslenberge*: which are subject to *Counts*, and so to the Bishoprick of *Osnaburg*, and the Countrey of *Duyhold*, and end your further enquiry at *Osnaburg*.

Another part of the Countrey contains three Earldoms, or Counties, the first of *Luppe*, taking its name from a River therein, the second is *Ravensberg*, which now belongs to the Duke of *Cleves*; and the third is *Leunow*. After which, the Territory of the Bishop of *Minden*, endeth at *Vueser*, Hitherto *Wessalia*, above which lies the Countrey of *Walden*, and further off *Hessen*, under the Landgrave, by the *Rhine*, and the Bishoprick of *Paderborn*, by the *Vueser*. Which doth not acknowledge the Arch-Bishoprick of *Coleu*, spoken of before; but that of *Mantz*, for her Metropolitan. Now, if we should go to the *Palatinate* of the *Rhine*, *Frankland*, *Thuringen*, and *Braunwick*, I shall interrupt the order of Affairs, without any just or reasonable cause for the same, and therefore to return.

The first breach of peace, at present, was made at *Orser*. This Town lies upon the *Rhine*, above *Bercke*, upon the side of the Bank, next to *Cleves*, which the Enemy having formerly begun to fortifie, by reason of the conveniency of the place, they had scarce laid the Foundations, but they were forced to leave off again, the greatness of the charge, and their own dissensions hindering them; And fear of infamy made the *Hollanders*, that they would neither undertake, nor perform the same; But the *Spanish* General, when he had once resolved for the Town, toge her with his Officers, debate of the right thereof against all force, and he prepares to cut off the Bolts and Bars of the Gates, with an Axe. And now some joyn together, and carry Scaling-ladders which they brough in Carts, towards the Walls, when presently the trembling Townsmen set open the Gates. The Castle was kept by a sort of Souldiers, that were half Clowns new-ly

ly lifted, yet not so unexperienced in Rapine and plunder, as they were in matters of War, whom the rest of the Souldiers laughed at for their more vile Apparel, adorning their heads, not like their fellow Souldiers, but with parti-coloured Feathers of strange Birds; whereupon, they nicknamed them Cock-feather Asinegoes.

Mendoza by using delayes, drawing these fellows into a vain hope, at last, shewing them the Hangman, and a Halter, made them come and submit. And now Count *Busquoy* having transported his Regiment over the *Rhine*: as also two other Spanish Regiments, and afterwards, almost half the Horse, at one and the same time.

Orso and *Malsen*, a Village lying over against it, were both by *Mendoza's* Command, begun to be fortified, though he had promised; within five dayes to depart from thence: sending forth into the by-ways, Souldiers to fetch Wood, who lopping and topping Trees, though never so far distant, would hardly abstain from taking Wood from the Houses: At first, it was thought safeguard enough, for the Garrison to make a firm passage over the River, but afterwards, they receded from that Counsel: While these things were a doing, and *Frederick* viewed all the Skirts of *Germany*, wherever he came, whether among Subjects, or Enemies; the violence and cruelty of the Spanish Army, did not onely cast a great terrour among the naked and unarmed People, but by various Reports of the vulgar, as is usual in War, but much perplexed also the *United States*, so that they mistrusted their Borders, and were unsatisfied of their more inward Garrisons.

The Prince, who was preparing, as well to meet as prevent this terrour, at the first news of their motion, calling together his Souldiers, that were quartered in the inner parts of the Country, especially the *English* and *Scotch*; to whom likewise came part of the Garrison-Souldiers from the *Brill*, and *Flushing*: he marched to *Aynbeym*, whither also hastened

ned those Regiments of Foot, and the Horse, under the Conduct of Count *William of Friseland*; But the Ships of War that were to come thither, being hindred by cross Winds, were somewhat late ere they arrived. Soon after, going to take a view of *Gravenaert*, from thence passed to the Territory of *Zutphen*, and the Towns of *Over-Issel*, and to all of them, being either afraid of the Enemy, or hoping, and desirous to defend themselves against him, he imparted an addition of strength out of his own Souldiers; But the rest of the places, were taken care of by their particular Governors: But *Douburg*, and *Dontichem*, from whence, was the next passage out of *Germany*, to the *Issel*, on the right side of the Isle of *Holland*, the Prince himself especially, minded going thither with some Horse; There was he met by his Aunt, the Mother of the Counts *Herenbergi*, who, with a great and Noble Train of her Daughters, after Salutes past, and Complements ended, intreated him by all the ties of blood and alliance, and by his own fortune, by which alone he had seen his nearest Relations divided in the War, his Brother being on one part, and her Husband on another, that he would as much as he could, by the Laws and Rule of War, spare their Possessions. To which purpose, the works about *Herenberg*, should be thrown down, and the Garrison withdrawn. (This *Herenberg* is a Town of *Zutphen*, from whence the Family of the Counts *Herenberg* take their Title) and by the same example, other Towns and Castles that were likely to fall into the Enemies hands, were likewise dismantled, and so as was hoped, redeemed from the miseries and mischiefs of War. They fell to Consultation, where they should pitch their Camp; for in regard, it appeared unsafe, to incamp about *Bricks*, lest the Enemy interposing himself between them and the adjacent Towns, to binder them from Provision, should cut off their Army, which indeed was much inferiour to the Enemy: Wherefore, the Prince thought fit to possess himself of a little Island,

land, that lay on the right hand of the *Hollanders*, not far distant from the division of the River, and the further Bank of the *Rhine*, where the *Dutchy of Cleves*, winding about the Town of *Servnaer*, sets bounds to the Jurisdiction of *Zutphen*: On both sides, they had Bridges made of Boats, for the more commodious passage over the River, as well of their great Guns, as their Horse. And as soon as the danger was gathered all together into one part, the rest of their fears vanished, so that now the Souldiers were called from *Offend*, *Nimwegen*, and the furthest parts of *Holland* and *Zeland*, to supply the want of those Forces, whereof the Army had been drained by the Garrisons. These were brought to the *Prince* by Count *Hohenlo*, whose diligence and labour was very remarkable, in furnishing all the Cities of *Overt-Issel*, while the Enemy lay every where scattered among them, with great Guns, Engines of War, and all other necessary things for the defensive part, and beating off an Assailant near at hand, or at a distance. Then the *Prince* supposing it necessary to be provided against all imminent Occurrences, by knowing what number of men he had with him, upon muster of his Army, he found, that he had fifteen hundred Horse, and scarce six thousand Foot, too small a number publickly to meet the Enemy in the Field with, yet sufficient to repel them, yea, and fight with them upon occasion, where they might be helped by the Policy of the General, and advantage of time and place; And therefore understanding by some Prisoners, that *Mendoza's* Provisions were coming to the Town of *Geldres*, he made hast back with some Troops, and the chief Officers of the Army to the *Maas*, in hope of intercepting the Enemies Relief, and Convoy, between *Venloo* and *Moers*; But the River being passed, the *Spaniards* first suspecting, afterward learned the design, and so escaped the danger. Thus being disappointed, they every one went to follow their Commands at their own Regiments: Now there began some Skirmishes upon the Ri-

vers, by the more then ordinary confidence of some few runaways, who being brought in a Carriage-Boat, should, as if it were by chance, strike against a long Boat of the *Hollanders*, lying upon the watch at *Rees*, and so overwhelm it with Dark.

In this Interim, the *Spanish* Army every day increased more and more, by the new coming of fresh forces, insomuch, that now their multitude became burdenson to themselves, while they devoured all the Provision that could be brought to them far and wide, besides what came from *Cologne* and the Neighbouring Towns; by which means, Provision grew very dear, which happened not through any want that there was thereof, but from the Souldiers want of pay; and evils seldom go alone, this dearness of Provision in the *Spanish* Army, was waited on by a plundering of the Fields and Villages about *Mons*, and other parts of *Germany*, that border upon the *Rhine*, but their malice was chiefly vented upon those who were averse, or seemed Enemies to the *Roman Catholic Religion*.

This was the beginning of Rapine and plundering, and if either the Souldiers of the place, or the youth of the Country, offered to resist their injurious extortions, there was no more then a word and a blow, which was the cause of many promiscuous slaughters; yet could not the Souldiery be kept within their obedience, for all this liberty they took to themselves; but sometimes falling into extravagant demands of money, as if they had been weary of idleness, or timorous blood, would turn their madness, either against their Captains or Companions, so that *Mendoza* himself could hardly so interpose, as to pacifie the *Wallons* and *Spaniards* fallen together by the ears, in a sudden tumult, but that they would even before the Generals Tent, have encounters even to blood-shed, and spoil their Captains, even in his sight. Besides, the Noblemen differed in Counsel, out of envy one to another.

Leuis Velasco, General of the Ordnance, undertook to drive *Prince Maurice*, out of his Station, and boasted, that after he had so done; he would harasse all along the Rivers *Wesell* and *Rhine*, and further, that he would magnificently, and like a Souldier, pierce into the very bowels of the *Hollanders* Country.

Count *Harnberg*, passing to the right hand, marched a safer way as far as the *Ems*, taking easie possession of a Country, where there were no Forces to resist him: or else, as if because he had known the Country, he had as it were, come thither to challenge the *Prince* to fight; and because he did not meet him, studied nothing but revenge in their daily spoils: And this might be believed the Reason, why his Son being at that time in the Army, was called the *Transformation Count*. Of all which things, the *Prince* being informed as well by intercepted Letters, as by Intelligence of some Souldiers that were come over from them to him, admonished the City of *Embsay* of the danger, wishing them to be very vigilant in their own defence.

Now began grievous complaints every day to be made in the Duke of *Cleves* Court, the Rulers of *Moss* envying the *Spaniards*, and with doleful outcries, beseeching the *Governours* or *Officers* of the Army, to intreat *Monsieur* on their behalf, that he would let them have some ease and respite, though not in peace, and the enjoyment of their own, which because they had lost by their sluggishness and cowardise, they were ready forthwith to leave their Families, desert their Country, and freely go with them, being stronger then themselves, onely they requested, that their Wives and Children might be permitted to leave that ancient Seat of their Fathers, that they might not be slaves to the vilest of the *Spaniards*, and be unworthily vexed with contumelious words, and scornful behaviour, whereas otherwise they would not enjoy their liberty, though to that purpose they lived in banishment: which things were very grievously taken by
thoſe

those that hoped better things; or else had been of Counsel with the *Spaniards*; for they who had the chief Authority, being hated by the *Protestants*, did voluntarily call in the *Spanish Forces*, to keep in awe the dissentors: They who were more simply honest, would take a Journey to the *Rhine*, alledging, that in a short time, those miseries would be over, and in the interim, they must be excused, as being customary among Souldiers; for the revenging of small evils, is but a provocation to greater; That in a short time, the whole World would be inflamed into a general War: if they should run to Arms upon every slight offence of their Neighbours, and some take part upon one side, and some on another; Hereto were added *Albericus* his Letters, wherein he answered with much humanity, *Sybilla* the Duke of *Cleves* Sister, setting forth the necessity that compelled him at the present, to do so many injuries, but for the future protesting, that as soon as the Rebels were conquered, that peace and security should be restored to the Duke her Brother, equally with himself. But notwithstanding, all these fair speeches, his Souldiers growing every day worse and worse, the Nobility, Governours, and Deputies of Cities, were commanded to meet in the City of *Cleves*: The Dukes name was only used for a shew, for as well his own as others miseries, were concealed from him, least his disease should be increased thereby.

But his Sister *Sybilla*, being a Woman of a Masculine Spirit and Prudence, sometimes spoke to them all, otherwhiles, to some particular persons, not for encreasing the *Princes* Revenues, nor to dispute about settlement of their Borders, but to stand up in defence of their liberty and Consciences, which were at once in danger: wherefore they should awake, and, while they had time, seek for remedies, they should go and consult together for the common good; and thus oftentimes,

with

with tears in her eyes, she wrought pity and compassion in her hearers: Whereupon laying aside all private animosities and discords, it was decreed, That the chief of the Cities being strengthened with Souldiers that should be speedily raised, they should on all hands go to get what strength they could together for their defence.

All *Germany* is divided into ten parts, which they call *Circles*, five Superiour, and five Inferiour. The first of the three inferiour contains three Bishopricks, whose Bishops are three of the seven Electors of the Empire, and live under their dominions, three free Cities, *Mentz*, *Trier*, and *Coleu*; within this also is the Palatinate, whose Prince is another of the Electors, besides divers other less dominions. The second is *Westfalia*, which we have described before; therein are the Princes of *Cleves*, *Frizland* beyond the *Rhine*, and *Walda*, with many Bishopricks. The third and fourth contained *Saxony*: And in that part that comprehends *Misia*, and *Lusatia*, are the Duke of *Saxony*, and Marquess of *Brandenburgh*, two more of the Electors: the Duke of *Pomerania*, *Anhalt*, and many other Princes, and some Cities; herein are the Archbishops of *Breme*, and *Magdeburg*, and five other lesser Bishops: Besides the Dukes of *Holsatia*, *Brunswick*, *Londari*, and *Lunenburg*, and many Cities by the Baltick Sea; In the last, which is called *Burgundy*, is the Bishop of *Besancon*: And to his Jurisdiction, Duke *Charles* appointed that part of the Netherlands under his obedience. Every Division hath a selected Governour, who with some assistance dispatcheth all affairs of inferiour quality, but calls a Council to determine the more weighty. At that time *Simon* Count of *Lappe* had the charge of *Westfalia*, whom then the Lords of *Cleves* desired to demand *Moers* from *Mendosa*, and in case it should be refused, that he would call a Council of the five inferiour divisions at *Dortmund*, and in the mean time retaining the Souldiers that should go to *Hungary* with the Turkish tribute, prevent a

danger at home, rather then a fear at so great a distance. Nor were they that were sent to the Emperor more backward in importuning him with prayers; and in like manner were solicited all the Bishops resident about the *Rhine*, as also the Count *Palatine*, the *Landgrave* of *Hessen*, and the Duke of *Brunswick*, who all for fear the same evil should at one time or another creep towards them, were ready to be drawn into a league of defence: And the *Coloniats* were deborted, that they should no more serve the *Spaniards* with provisions, lest thereby they seemed to encourage them in their design of common ruine. Some also were commanded to go to Prince *Maurice*, and to return him thanks, that he had hitherto maintained the war with so little damage to the borderers, and to desire him to proceed to convince the enemies abominable villanies with his valour and vertuous actions, and that he would not take in ill part any injuries that should be done him or his unwillingly, but rather that he would look upon them with an eye of pity and mercy, hoping that he would rather revenge himself upon the authors and causers of the injury, then the patience of a weak people: That they hoped it would be acceptable, both to Himself and the States, because formerly they had fought it; that since the Laws were in vain, and the *Spaniards* insolence was increased by impunity, the *Germans* would now joyn in arms with him, and they said, That since they were compelled to deliver all that they held in the German soyl, they were promised that the *Spaniards* should be forced to do the same, if they would not do it voluntarily; which since it had not been performed, and that rewards were given to injurious oppression, and modesty used with contumely, so that *Albertus*, the author of so great mischiefs, was by many designed to be heir of the Empire; that goodness of theirs which had been so excluded, should now one way or other compel the enemy to wish they had rather have done equal kindness, then only to feed them with empty words: And if the *Germans* would

could not understand what they had so often by experience found, after so many acts of hostility done by the *Spaniards*, they would never find a more opportune season to joyn with their neighbours and friends, justly to subvert their encroaching tyranny, then now, that old King *Philip* was dead, and the Army was full of discord and poverty. But *Mendoza* returned answer to those sent to him, That it was usual so to do, when rebels could not be otherwise repressed, nor would be treated to give a better answer. Nay, he proceeded so far in the contempt of Justice, that he would not vouchsafe to inquire what might be pretensively said, either from the Ancients, or at present for the *Austrians* against them of *Spain*. In the interim, the *Spaniards* were daily more and more afflicted with fresh mischiefs, themselves suffering what they indeavoured to inflict upon others, for on this side the *Rhine*, by continual Rapines, all the fruits of the ground were consumed, the husbandmen driven away, and the woods felled, so that the Countrey far and wide was in a manner left naked, nor did provisions come to the Camp as is usual, because they that brought it, were so often pillaged, and hence proceeded great famines among them, which made the Souldiers daily run away, not by one and one at a time, but by whole Companies in a day. Some of which intending to go to the *Moselle*. *Mendoza* sent some horse after them to bring them back, whom they saluted so discourteously, that they were glad to return without doing what they were commanded. There was another accident also that increased their penury, which was this. The *Rhine* being very much with tempestuous winds, had broken their bridge of Boats, the ignorance of the Smiths having not well fastned them to the banks, so that by this means their commerce was cut off from one another. *Mendoza* admonished by this inconvenience, certainly decreed the Siege of *Breda*, which before this time they had but threatned; and this he did because the Island there, the Blockhouses upon the River, the

firm passage; and the rest were not kept without loss and infamy, the possession of all which might be more justly, and with less trouble retained by the title of a victorious Conquest: and therefore it was much admired, that he deferred this care above a month, while the enemies were weak and far distant, unless by that delay he sought a more specious pretence to stay in those parts, for which now a sumble occasion presented it self, because the States being often required to redeliver *Bergb*, would neither surrender it to others, nor fortify it as their own. At the beginning of the year, the Archbishop of *Colen* reiterated his demands of restitution, by *John of Nassau*, the son of *John*, protesting the equity thereof in very friendly words; so answering the pretence of charges, which was the States only Argument, that he said they were the first that usurped upon the City, whose example the *Spaniards* followed, yet they had often promised they would leave it, until at length they continued their delays so long, that they were prevented from performance by a Siege; but if they expected to be repaid the charges of the war, and their damages, there is nothing more just, than that every one should vindicate and maintain their own. And if he should be permitted to reckon nothing for *Hay* which he returned, how much more unreasonable is it for any man to interpose his authority in account of war? Besides, he shewed that the town was only a burthen and charge to them that kept it, and would not be convenient for the Enemy, for that the River could be passed more commodiously in other places; which principally moved the United States, in a Council of the Provinces held to that purpose, to weigh the great distance of the place, the poverty of the *Souldiers*, and the extream labour in fortifying it: And although they discoursed no more of charges, yet it pleased them, being even out of hopes to keep it, to think that by the surrender of it they should get somewhat more than thanks: And therefore they answered, That they

had

had often found, that whatever they gratified their friends withall, had become a booty to the Enemy; Wherefore they hoped it would be no injury, if they did faithfully promise, that they would not in a hostile manner invade any part within the bounds of *Germany*, nor do any act to disturb the trade or passage of or upon the *Rhine*: And if any thing were done to the contrary, that the said Bishop of *Cölen*, and the other Electors about the *Rhine*, should appoint and order law, and what satisfaction should be made for the same: He on the other side requiring stricter conditions, when an Agreement was almost concluded, would proceed no further, knowing the *Spaniards* were preparing a revenge, whom he was suspected to have stirred up to deal in other matters controverted between himself and the Princes of *Germany*. By reason of this kind of treaty before mentioned, the *Hollanders* had scarcely any time to prepare for a defence of the town, before the danger was ready to fall upon it. Therefore the enemies army lying all about the *Rhine*, it was too late to think of fortifying, and besides the evils they were aware of, there was another happened whereof they never had a thought; for the Pestilence beginning within the small compass of the place, on a sudden, burst out more violently in a furious contagion and wonderful slaughter. The cause of this sorrow was believed to proceed at that time from the unusual dryness of the *Rhine*, for the very channel lying without water, had infected the Air with thick vapours, which also by the unseasonableness of the foregoing Autumn had been corrupted; from thence sprung so great an infection among the people, that whoever was touched therewith, was forthwith shut up from all humane society. And of the Soldiers left in the garrison, who had scarcely any victuals, nor a safe place to hide their heads in, scarce six hundred men remained alive of a far greater number: Nor were their bodies more wasted by the Plague, then their minds were afflicted with the misery of so sad a spectacle. The

Governour of the place; by name *Seafy*, lying also sick of this terrible disease, receiving Letters from *Mendesa*, only writ back this, *That the surrender of the Town was unseasonably mentioned, because the States had lately made Articles for the delivery thereof to the Archbishop of Colen.* By the modesty of this answer, the *Spaniards* presently conceived rash hopes of treachery; wherefore he sent other Messengers, and by them offered great rewards both to him and his wife. In this interim, the Prince suddenly commanded three Companies of Foot to march by Land, because the winds had taken away the use of the River, and their often being sent, and as frequent return, though still to no purpose, had made the Enemy negligent; these three Companies were to guard and keep the Island, that was hard by, but not to mingle with the infected multitude of the town, unless upon fatal necessity. The Fortifications of this Island were very weak, and the enemy prevented them in perfecting their design, penetrating on every side the thin rampire with the bullets of the Artillery which he had brought thither. And at the same time, some horse, where the River ran more slow, got over at a ford, so that now danger was come even to their posts, when by the command of the Governour, the new Souldiers being brought over (some great Guns and small shot being disposed about the rampire of the Town, by whose defence) the very last of them got safe into *Borgh*, leaving behind some fire secretly to burn their bars. And now *Mendesa*, that the Enemy might not be able to interrupt the siege, put garrisons into divers Towns of the Dutchy of *Cleves* lying below *Borgh*. Many submitted voluntarily; but the Inhabitants of *Burick*, daring at first to oppose the empty name of peace to the violence of war, he quickly made submit by setting fire to their gate; Souldiers also were thrust into *Alpen* and *Mers*, although this belonged to *Nienarius* his Widow, and that to the Widow of the Palatine, to both whom, *Albertus* had given his faith, That they should not be disturbed by the

War.

War: But the like happened to more besides themselves: Covenants and Promises being of no value, where all Laws are trodden under foot.

About this time, the Ayr was very Cloudy, which much forwarded the Besiegers, so that in short time, they approached near the Town in three places; yet for all that, were not come to the Trench. And now some Guns being planted, both in the Island and Continent, threatened from thence a continual Battery. At which time, *Alonso Avalos*, commanding the Horse, and Chief in managing the Siege, according to the Military Custom, sent a *Herald*. The Townsmen advised, that leave should be desired, of sending a *Messenger* to the *Bishop*, but the *Souldiers* disliked of that, it being a palpable confession of fear; but sent back a resolute answer, being angry also at this, that he should send to the *Governour*, as inferior to him, because in greater Command. Soon after this, an Assault was made by the *Spaniards*, upon the outward Bulwark; but they were beaten off valiantly, and that with so much the greater slaughter, by how much they came on rashly, without any Advice or Conduct. But when the Copping of the Wall began to be battered, (a strange thing to tell.) A Tower looking to the Water, (wherein was a great quantity of Gunpowder, sufficient to serve a long time) which taking fire on a sudden (like a Clap of Thunder and Lightning) it burst out with a horrible Crack, emitting fire and smoke, overthrew all before it: They that enquired into the cause thereof, report, that one of the Enemies Bullets striking either against a stone, or another piece of Iron, made fire fly out, the spark whereof, falling among the Gunpowder, caused that misfortune; By that violent combustion of the fire, the Ayr was wholly purified from its Pestilential Infection; but more grievous evils succeeded in the place: For by the blow, many of the adjoining Houses were overthrown several People killed in the ruins: part of the Bulwark utterly demolished, which the Battery of many Cannons could not have effected; and if a Half Moon standing

out beyond that place, had not hindered the Enemy from seeing them: so much had that unexpected Casualty taken away the use of their understanding, that the Town might have been taken by force, before they could have been provided, either to make resistance, or capitulate. For great quantities of Stones were suddenly hurled up into the Air, and fell down into the Enemy's Camp, killing and hurting divers therein: yea, and half an hour after the great blow, divers Ships in the Rhine were endangered by the furious concussion of the Waves, which made the River seem white, as if it had been covered with Snow. And within the Town, when as any one durst go into the vacuum, there they found, (what was enough to astonish mens Ears in the hearing, and to make their Eyes drop tears in the seeing) torn and dismembered Bodies, Heads, Arms, Legs, and other parts scattered over the whole place.

But as often as the ruined Bulwarks went to be repaired, and the dust and rubbish was carryed away, what ever remained, let the difference be what it would, every one thought it to be his own, if once it came to his hands: so now they would be governed, neither by Counsel nor Command: for *Luke Heddingus*, to whom the Government was devolved by the death of *Seafius*, lay among others, killed in the ruines of the collapsed Walls and Houses; by all which accidents, the People were so possessed with fear, that the Enemy perceiving it, offered them their lives, upon condition onely, that they should not fight against them within four moneths, although he was not ignorant, how little he wanted of the Victory. And he was so much more favourable to them, and more observient of his promise, having a just cause of War against them, than he was towards those whom he called friends: It was believed, that *Augustus* retained this kindness, in remembrance of the Battle of *Knodsenburg*, where he himself was taken prisoner by the *Hollanders*, and generously used.

The fifth day, the Siege was ended, and Prince *Maurice*, being

being deceived of his hope, for that he imagined, that Siege would have made the Enemy spend the greatest part of the Winter there, yet could not find justly any thing name-worthy, besides the multiplyed mischances of unkind fortune, and his own Forces, who would suffer him to attend nothing but the defence of the Borders.

While these things were transacting in these places, another part of the *Spanish* Army, passing over the *Rhine*, fate down against *Ursao*, and with an unprofitable pride, scorning the Redemption the Country offered for their Lands, made clandestine incursions, more like Thieves than Souldiers, into the furthest part of *Zurphen*, and some part of *Ober-Issel*, wasting those places, where although they committed no great Spoil, but among the *German*s, who lay mingled thereabouts, though they got not much plunder, yet they lost good store of blood, which made them rage without measure, or mercy, shewing many examples of their blood-thirstiness, against the Towns lying up the *Espe* and *Raer*: But all these promiscuous slaughters of the vulgar, and the infinite number of their horrid villanies, were all darkened, obscured, and seemed as nothing, to that one barbarous Murder committed upon a Person of Honour: It was *Vincius Falesteyne*, Count of *Brucke* (the name seems to hint to us the name of the *Bruckers*) who agreed with the *Hollanders* in point of Religion, and in the Counsel of their Nation constantly opposed all such as spoke any thing in the behalf of the *Spanish* faction. He had with him a hundred Souldiers, and as many *Boys*, or rather more, with whom he undertook the defence of a weak Castle, and many times drove away the *Spaniards* from their spoiling of the Country by the fear of him, and sometimes with slaughter: Therefore being commanded to yield up his Guard, when relying upon the validity of the *German* Laws he refused, and one *Lopez* being sent to the Siege, his Souldiers were so wearied with the length of their march, that they were unfit to fight,

which

Which he seeing, prevented Extremity, by Articling for the preservation and safety of the Lives and Fortunes of himself and all his, who had been Reported to have bin many more in number, which it was thought was one Motive causing his death; for contrary to the Covenants agreed, the Castle was demolish'd, his Wife taken from him, his Souldiers all kill'd, and himself kept prisoner; where, having bin detain'd some days, he was invited to go abroad and take the fresh Air. One *Peter Agay* had received the Command, to kill him; but to do it in such manner, as his Death might be imputed to accident. In his Walk he passed by the Ground, yet was with the Blood of his Souldiers, when they that guarded him, following behind as Waiters, the Executioners of Death first striking him with a Javelin, afterwards kill'd outright with their Swords, and they of his Familiars that were with him, underwent the same Fate: The Order of this Murder being publish'd abroad, the Friends and Kindred of the Count were all moved to Revenge; nay, and so bitter was the Peoples Indignation against it, that the Council of *Jaliers* could not, or would not, pass it by in Silence. Wherein *Mendoza* gave very careless Answers, as believing it enough to deny his Knowledge or Command of the Fact, though he suffer'd it to go unpunish'd; Adding moreover, That it had not hapned, but by the Divine Providence, that he fell by War, who ought long before to have suffer'd for his publick Crimes of Sedition and Impiety; and much upbraiding his Obstinacy, accounting this also among his Faults, That he had as it were in Contempt, answer'd his Latine Letters in the German Tongue, of which he knew less (*viz.* *Mendoza's*) Ignorance: And then if any more grievous Accident had hapned, he commended to them *Patience*; without which, he averred himself incapable of Ruling a Multitude enraged with Poverty and Injury. But these Flouts, in Words, were attended with seriousness of Action.

One of the Noblest Towns in those parts beyond the Rhine, is *Wesel*, famous among the *Dutch*, both for *Merchandise* and *Arts*, which were brought thither by the frequent resort of *Forerunners* from other Countries, flying for their difference in Religion: That City supposing her self more oppressed than the rest, by having a *Spanish* Judge, had determin'd, by an Honourable Legation, and some Gifts, to win upon the General's Mind; which beunderstanding, answer'd, *He was not such a one as could be induced or perswaded to do alone that, which was necessary to be done, or that knew not to do kindnesses to good People, unless mov'd thereto by the Allurements of Gifts; but indeed there was no other way to merit his favour, than by restoring the Publike Worship of God to its true and pristine condition, which would, in truth, be an act so lovely, and pleasing to him, that he would esteem it beyond many Gifts.* Which Things were so spoken by him, because they of *Wesel*, having been often commanded by the General's Council, to receive the *Roman Rites* within their Walls, had obstinately refused it. And therefore the *Spaniard*, soon after passing the Rhine with his whole Army, commanded them to receive a great Garrison both of Horse and Foot, as their Neighbour Town of *Burick* had done; and withall to beware, *That no thing were innovated in those Parts by the Enemy.* But the Difference was easily understood; for their Obedience drew along with it an alteration in the State; and if they denyed, the Licentious Souldier, greedy of Prey, would scarcely be contained from the Assault and Spoil of the City. Wherefore, seeking some means to appease the General, and avoid the Fury of his Anger, they sent him a great quantity of Corn, and, in Money, a Hundred Thousand Dollers; which Sum, was not raised out of the Tributes, but paid out of the Publike Treasury: Concerning the value of which, there grew a great Contention between the Souldiers and Citizens, which had almost renewed their Danger; unless the Governments, on both sides, had moderated their intaged Minds:

Minds: With this Money, and what was gather'd otherwise in the Neighbouring Towns, and came from *Bruxels*, *Mendosa* perswaded the Army, That though they had refused it hitherto, that leaving some Garrisons on the latter Bank of the Rhine, they would suffer themselves to be led beyond the Rhine: From thence they passed the River *Lappe*, by a firm and strong Bridge, which they commanded them of *Wesel* to make; for that which was formerly made, the Materials whereof being Bundles of Hay bound up with Clay, and by the Artificers bestirring themselves, placed upon New Boats, as many such seem'd to do well, yet would serve for no use, so though singly they were passable enough, yet by reason of their inequality of Burden, many of them together were troublesome and dangerous: There it was thought fit, by the Opinion of *Velasco*, rather to pass the *Issel*, than to go so far from the Borders, now at the beginning of *Winter*, where they were not certain of Provision, and to lye about the wet and marshy Soil of *Friseland*. In this March, they exacted from the People of *Munster*, both Money and Instruments of War, though the *United States* admonish'd them otherwise; assuring Them, That they should not expect any help or Peace from them, if the Enemy were augmented, either by their Assistance, or Sluggishness. From thence, *Rees* and *Emmeric*, two Towns lying close by the Rhine, for Fear, accepted Garrisons; to whom *Mendosa*, at first, did not assign any great Number; but afterwards, utterly regardless of his Reputation, he daily violated his Promise in sending in more; as if he had taken a delight not to perform, what was in his own Power not to have promised. And the Towns-men of *Rees* could not have Liberty granted them of departing, when they desir'd it. But a *Germane* Captain, whom *Mendosa* had bound with an Oath to go into the Town of *Emmeric* with 400 Souldiers; and sending *Barlatte* after him with a Regiment, because no more should come into his Quarters, he valiantly kept him out, openly protesting, That he would not

break his Faith and Paroll, by the unhandſome Example of
his faithleſs General.

This ſo great Contempt was very ill reſented by the Town,
which had always ſtuck cloſe to the *Roman Religion*; and at
the perſuaſions of the *Jefuits*, was, underhand, the main
Author of calling the *Spaniards* into thoſe Parts, as believing
they ſhould receive no damage by the War: And, as Wit-
neſſes of *Mendoſa's* Promise, when a *Prieſt* being ſent out of
the City, produced his *Letters* under his hand, reproving
him thereby for his breach of Promise, he could get no other
Answer, than that there was ſo much difference between the Af-
fairs of *Princes*, and thoſe of *Church-men*, that it was not poſſible
always to manage them by the ſame Counſels. To whom the
Triuſt replied, We ſhall not wonder hereafter why the *Hollan-
ders* Rebelled, and that they are ſo averſe to make any Conditions
with you, ſince meaſuring all Things for your own Advantage, you
violate that Juſtice and Right to your Friends, which ſhould be
preſerved unſpotted even to your Enemies: Certainly, at laſt, theſe
wicked Actions and Studies will not only make you hated by
Men, but draw up your Heads the Vengeance of Heaven. But
the *Spaniard* was ſo far from being moved with this free-
dom of ſpeech, that immediately he went and broke into *Iſel-
burg* by force, with a great ſlaughter of the Citizens: The
Town of *Iſelburg* is ſituate more inward upon the Old Ri-
ver *Iſel*.

Among theſe Paſſages, the Prince, that he might ſtop the
Enemy from coming to him, commanded ſome *Pioneers* to
go into a Ship, and by cutting through the Bank near *Emme-
ric*, ſhould let in the *Rhine* to overflow the whole Plain: And
now all the Country about began to become a great Pool,
when the *Spaniards* (on a ſudden) came upon them; and
fiſt aſſaulting the Guard left with Count *Hohenlo*, with their
ſhor, afterwards bringing their Artillery to the Bank, they
drove them from the place; Then making up the Breach, the
Waters alſo of their own accord abated. This Deſign thus
failing,

failing, Prince *Maurice* thought it necessary, to prevent
 the approaching Enemy, by seizing some places in the *Dutch*
 of *Cleves*, which he had hitherto forborn, before the Enemy
 should take them; (for he was now about the Mountain
Alten) and, to this purpose, he went to *Seveder*, a Town
 in that part, and commanded the same to be deliver'd to him,
 using great Threats to the Governour, *That he should do it*
him, what he would grant to the Enemy. In the same manner,
 were other Towns taken in the same Dominion, although
 they stood within the Isle of *Holland*; but, probably, the
 changing of the old course of the River, or mutual Agree-
 ments of Princes, might alter the Bounds: These Towns
 were *Huissen*, and the Castle of *Lobec*, where all the Tribes
 of *Cleves* is kept; which place, the Authors of that Age re-
 marked for the Name and impious Treachery of *Herfpoel*,
 by which *Charles le Gros* kill'd *Godfrey*, the *Norman* then
 Ruling the *Frizons*. But *Mendosa* fearing some *Maurine*
Stratagems from his Armies lying so near, kept his Souldiers
 under very strict Command: Ten whole Nights and Days
 did the Army continue in the open Field, without any other
Coverture than the Canopy of *Heaven*; and taking no rest,
 but in their Order in Arms, and upon the Naked Earth: So
 much, that what with Cold and want of rest; and, at last,
 for that all the Provision of the Country round about was
 spent, and they durst not range abroad for Booty, they were
 afflicted with most pinching Hunger. The Infantry was made
 up of good Souldiers out of several Nations, zealous among
 Themselves; but there was an Evil Custom grown in ve-
 rate by use among the Commanders, on the King's side, to
 put their main Confidence in the strength of their Horse;
 who, being at this time broken with Wants, and weakened
 with Fear, took away the Courage of others: So that often-
 times, a few of the *Nassanians* put to flight three times as
 many of their Enemies, getting very great Booties of Horses,
 yea, and the Common Souldiers were so ordinarily beaten,

not by reason of the Charge and Trouble of the great Number of Prisoners taken, (for many came willingly into Captivity, merely that they might be able to satisfy their Hunger, and would not be Ransom'd) it was at last Decreed, That from that time, should take any Prisoner alive: So that all the time that the War remained about the *Rhine*, when the Prince, with a small Party of Horse, had a mind to view the *States* Enemies, or else in some select place would draw up his Army into *Battalia*, or at other times sent out any of his Officers to allure Them to some light Skirmishes of Horse, the *Spaniard* never either disturb'd his Camp by Assaults, or suffer'd himself to be drawn in, or involved into the Offer of a Fight: For it was the General's Prudence not to put Confidence, either in their Courage or Resolution, which were less corrupted by Licentiousness than Poverty, and this Prudence of the General nursed up the Souldiers in Cowardise; and if the *Hollanders* had not in all their Affairs looked upon their Dangers as it were through a multiplying Glass, they had had a noble Opportunity of making Attempts upon those great Forces of the *Spaniards*: But now when they were observed to quit the Bank of the *Rhine*, and to march directly towards *Issel*, Prince *Matrice*, at the very beginning, leaving the Guard of *Holland*, hastened away with the Ships, to prevent suddain danger; and that he might the more easily straiten the Enemy of Provisions, strengthening all the weaker places thereabouts, brought to *Doersburg* Bridges, Guns, Engines, and all other necessary Furniture for War. This Town lies within the Jurisdiction of *Zutphen*, and hath the River *Issel* coming out of *Westfalia*, brought thither by Ditches begun at *Arnhem*, which was supposed to be the ancient Work of *Drusus*. In this place intending to stop the Enemies passage into the *Veluwe*, he pitch'd and fortified his Camp at the very meeting of the two Rivers. The Line that encompassed his Camp was 3 Foot high, near 40 Foot broad.

At the Top it bore 24 Foot, besides a Coping higher than the rest 6 Foot, and round about the whole was a deep Trench: Besides this, there was another Line more inward, but not erected according to the modern way of Fortification; which, for hastning the Work, was to be a Second to the adjoining Bulwark. While this was doing, *Mendelsbarter* d *Doetschen*, a Town also in *Zutphen* Jurisdiction, which is an hours Journey from *Doesburgh*, and the 3d day he came to the Trench, without sending any Summons, according to the Custom of War, choosing rather to terrifie the Besieged with Danger than Threats; as confident, by that Example, after the first blood drawn, it would not be refused: Yet it is believed, that the Interest of *Frederick Count Herringberg*, procur'd the Surrender of it: the Souldiers, upon delivery, being disarm'd; and commanded not to bear Arms, during the space of 6 Months, out of *Holland* or *Zeland*; and the Townsmen having free Pardon and Impunity, after 20 years continuing faithful to the *States*, were now first compell'd to change their Masters, with this one small Victory. After *Bergh*, the course of the King's Army was stopped, acknowledging their Error; That they had not at first, without Delay, fallen upon *Doesburg*, which they thought would have yielded presently, if *Prince Maurice*, taking time by the Fore-lock, had not come thither himself, and by his Policy prevented them. And this was all worthy of Note done by these great Forces, being hindred to proceed further, either by the Season of the Year, or Shortness of Time and Provisions; their Want being so great, that many Runaways from them affirm'd. They had not tasted a bit of Bread in five days; by which Extremity of Hunger, and feeding on unwholesom Victuals, Diseases did so increase, that in a short time above 7000 Men were lost and dead. The News whereof coming to the *Deputy Regent Cardinal Andrew of Austria*, and Commands from him received, They consult to go and Winter in *Germany* with the whole Army.

The

The *Spaniards* had oftentimes done many things impiously, and without shame or modesty; but they never before so highly contemned the Censures and Judgments of Men, as that they would not endeavour to palliate their Wickedness with some pretence: But this one Thing will excuse the Injury so openly done by publike Council, *viz.* They supposed no man so innocent, but that ought rather to perish, than suffer his Affairs to be brought into hazard: For this is evident, if so many Regiments of Foot, and Troops of Horse, or indeed more truly, so great a Company of Seditious Persons, pinched with Poverty, should remain in the *Netherlands*, it were much to be fear'd, that together with this New Empire, they would introduce Old Examples of Defection and Rebellion: Wherefore *Mendoza* leading back his Army, took the Castle of *Scutenberg*, which done, he took leave of the *States Borders*. The Prince follow'd his departure upon the Track, not so much glorying before in his Works, as he did then that he had defended his Country, which Honour great Captains used to seek, before they looked for Triumphs and Mural Crowns: It pleased him to view the Situation of their empty Camp, and the unperfect Works of the starved Enemy: But it was a sad Spectacle to behold in what Numbers the Sick and Wounded lay scatter'd every where, who being deserted by the Army, were left to the piteous Injuries of the Air and Weather, besides the want of all Things else.

These Enemies, of whom their own Friends took no pity, he caused to be refreshed with Victuals; for *Ottavola*, that was by *Mendoza* left at *Dortichem*, being summon'd by a Herald from the Prince, That he would assist those miserable Wretches, and take them into Coverture, returned an Answer, more like a Souldier than a Man, That within those Walls, there was room only for sound and healthful Bodies. Then after some small Horse Fights, and the taking of Count *Bucquoy*, in which Affairs, *Lewis* of *Nassau* principally had the Con-

duft, Prince *Maurice* came to *Arnhem*, laying up there all the Provisions of War for the Year following, which shew'd him very judicious in his foresight, because from thence he could easily supply all the Towns round about in time of Danger, both with Victuals and Arms. But before he dismissed his Forces, understanding that the City of *Emmerich* did very impatiently bear the Yoke of *Spanish Slavery*, sent Count *Hobnole* to regain the same by Force of Arms and Battery from *Mandisa*, who then Winter'd hard by in *Ros*, taking no Care to send any Relief to his men in distress, because the Bank of the *Rhine* being digg'd through, had so overflow'd the Ways, that he believ'd they could not have pass'd: *Emmerich* retaken, the Prince thought not fit to put a Garrison into it; but by the Advice of his Council it was left, that by the Example thereof, he might cause the Enemy to be more envied. With the same hope *Sevenaer*, in the Dutchy of *Cleves*, was quitted by the Prince: From thence going to the *Hague*, together with the *States*, according to Custom, he advis'd the *States* of each Province, that there was need of a greater Army; wherefore he hoped they would provide in greater measure Money for the Souldiers Pay, and other extraordinary Charges; for that the Enemy lay now more heavy upon one part, and that they should rescind all prejudicial Procrastinations: Accounting all other Necessaries as nothing, in regard of that one for their Defence.

At this time there were many famous Funerals celebrated in those Provinces: *Florence Palants* Count of *Culenburg*, formerly accounted among the chief Commanders of the Nobility; that conspired against the *Inquisition*; but afterwards being found unfit for that Charge, and of himself desirous to take his ease, grew old, and almost unknown to those Factions which he himself had been the first Author of. But *Philip Aldernude* led a more notable private Life, whom, whoever had seen inseparable from the Prince of *Orange*, and

and governing Cities and People, would have admired to find him afterwards retired to a studious Repose, even to his death. But certainly, *Elbertus Leoninus* at first brought under the shadow of Learning, and before the Peace made at *Gunt*, a publike Minister of the King's Party, then Chief Justice, and of the Publike Council of *Gelders*, in which Employment he dyed: A Man that attained by Nature, what the *Precepts* of the Old *Philosophers* dictated, and was so free from all passionate Fancy, that he follow'd Parties, nor out of Affection, because they were so, but because he found them so.

'Tis a strange Thing to relate, with what Flagitious Acts *Mendoſa's* Army filled *Germany*, the Towns being assauled and forced without any difference; their readiness to resist being so gotten, in the Confidence they had of their long-continued Peace. At the same time the Country People, in hope of getting to a place of Refuge fled; but their collected Wealth made them become both a more rich and easie Prey to those *Russianly Plunderers*. The Fields were wasted enough in their very Passage, so that in some places they proved barren the Year following, because they were worn out at that time, when they ought to have been sowed. No less uncivil and Treacherous was their seizure of several Castles held by the *Noble-men*, which till that time had been Favourites of the *Spaniards* in all their wicked Actions. The beginning of their Rapines was committed upon the People of *Munster*, and the Borders of *Brenthym*; which places not being sufficient for the Support and Maintenance of their Forces, *Reclinhusen*, a place belonging to the Bishop of *Colen*, situate between the Rivers *Luppe* and *Ruer*, was added, where *Velasco* took the City of *Dorſt*, by a violent Assault thereof, in a Warlike manner, with his Canon; which Contumacious Act the *Colonian Bishop* taking no Notice of, made all his Subjects imagine, that it was so done and suffer'd by private Agreement among Them. Hence, the Evil spread

further to the People of *Mons* and *Marchin*, until it reached both sides of the Dutchy of *Cleves*, and there oppressed many Cities, which at their first coming they had not medled with: Others were forced to purchase Freedom at a great Rate, among which the City of *Cleves* it self, the principall Seat of the infirm Duke: In which places, they got so great Booty, that the very Common Souldiers Treated with Merchants of *Coleu*, to return great Sums of Money for them to *Antwerp*.

This their Covetousness at first, sprung from Pride, and was afterwards increased by Cruelty; insomuch, that condemning the parsimonious living of the *Boors*, they commanded those ignorant People to provide for them dear, and far-fetched Dainties, and all other Provocatives of Luxury and Riot. And if any were backward, in performing their unreasonable Commands, or seemed either to hide or convey away their Wealth, they were beaten and tormented in that barbarous manner, that sometimes they were maimed in their Limbs; otherwhiles, Incisions made into their Flesh; nay, and some were scorched and half burned alive; not forbearing these frightful Terrours and Punishments to Women great with Child, and young Infants: Of which Barbarisms, and innumerable Murthers, the *Germans* publish'd divers Examples, attested by the Credit of many worthy and known Persons. And if the Villany of these Wretches had stopped here, there might yet have been some pretence made by them; but as if those forementioned Crimes, had been too little, they spared not the Houses of Noble Persons but violated also the Sacred Societies of Holy Virgins, who had wholly dedicated Themselves to the Service of God: Raging moreover, with such an ungestained Lust, that they spared not immanure and tender Virginity; and sif the Womens Chastity deluded their Hopes, their Husbands were produc'd and made a laughing stock, to command their own dishonour; yes, and Mothers compelled to bring forth and prostit-

finite their Daughters: These were the Deeds of a People professing Peace, which the most enraged Victor hardly at-tempted, I am sure never defended in the heat of War: And it is hardly to be believed, how negligently and remissly that Nation (which had been the Conquerour of others) and so earnest in the Defence of Liberty, took these Things: but besides a long Peace, which usually effeminates the most Manly Minds, here was discover'd the imperfection of that Government, that is divided into many Hands; not onely in the Difficulty of their Meetings in Council, but in their Difference of Affections, which is most frequent among Them, by reason of Emulation.

And this certainly was, that the *Spaniards* would have wished; nor was his Endeavour therein wanting, that Matters should not be ended at One, but deferred from Council to Council.

In the interim, not one scarcely daring to Repel an Injury done him, because the Publike Management of War, for the General Vindication, was delayed, onely Count *Oldenburg*, the Bishops of *Breme* and *Osnaburg*, and Count *John* of *Nassau*, being a little further distant, slighted the Threats of the Tumultuary Souldier, whereof they had Notice, whose Examples were afterwards safely follow'd by all those further Parts.

But for the Dutchy of *Cleves*, and their Neighbours of *Wessalia*, there was no other help, than those of Prayers and Letters: Which made *Charles Nusselius*, whom the Emperour had sent to settle and order the Affairs of *Cleves*, to detest the Perfidy and dishonourable Dealings of the *Austrians*, because he saw, that under the Protection and by the Connivence of King *Philip*, and the Arch-Duke *Albertus*, who pretended Themselves *Vindicators of the Romane Religion*, such abominable and unparallel'd Villanies were committed, against the Laws of Nature and Mankind, and against all Bonds and Covenants.

The Duke of *Lorain* said no less, whose Daughter was married to the Duke of *Cleves*, and his Son to the King of *France*; his Sister; protesting, *That he would not desert his Relations; nor would be deserted by them.*

But from *Rodolphus*, being by Nature given to delay, and now either for fear or grief hiding himself, that he could not be spoken with, other then by *Letters*; although the *Westphalians*, and other *Princes*, living about the *Rhine*, at their Request, daily solicited not onely himself, but his *Ministers of State* intrusted by him; yet could they obtain nothing but empty Words, and fruitless Embassies: Hereupon *Albertus* then being at *Millain*, and Cardinal *Andrew* at *Bruxels*, instead of answering, attributed the Causes of all these Evil, together with the beginnings of the War, and the denial of making Peace to that time, to the *Rebels*; and whensoever any *Exorbitancies* were objected against them, which they could not deny, they called it a short Extremity, whereto they were compelled by Necessity.

But *Mendosa* was more insolent; who, the more plausibly to shun Obedience to his Masters Command, denied, *That he Warred for the King*; and that he would neither be daunted with the Noise of great Names, or frightened with cruel Threats, or driven out by any other means than force of Arms: Adding moreover, *That if either Caesar or Germany durst have confided in his Men, they might have used them, when Bonne and Berek were held by the Hollanders.* He often boasted himself an Enemy to all *Lutherans*, and that he was sent into those Parts from *Heaven*, to revenge the Impieties there so often and so long perpetrated. And now had the *Germans* seen the *Spanish Ensigns* display'd in their Country little less then four Moneths, when, at the very end of the Year, one *Darm* was sent by the *Emperour* to *Mendosa*, another to the *States*. Against him were objected many and grievous Things: To Them that they had occuppyed some few places at the Division of the *Rhine*, and breaking into the Jurisdiction of *Munster*,

for, had led away certain Priests Captive: and therefore they were both commanded to depart out of the Jurisdiction of Germany, to make Reparation for the Rapings, and other Damages there done, to release all Prisoners, and, for the future, to abstain from oppressing others; and this under the Penalties therein contained, as if they still offended in the like.

The Eighth Book of the History of the Dutch AFFAIRES.

THE Spaniards Minds were so obdurate with daily Complaints, that at the same time that the Emperor's Herald, and the Lorrain Embassadors publickly accus'd them for their former Crimes, they afresh batter'd; and by the Ruine of the Gate, not without blood, took Calcar, a City of Claves, professing the Roman Religion, which had refused to admit Souldiers of its own Jurisdiction, but as a Winter Garrison; Goch also, a Town in the same Jurisdiction, was subdued by Force of Battery: But Gemey, and Santen, were permitted to redeem Themselves from their Fear with Money. He boasted with so much pertinacy his Hatred to Lutheranism, and Calvinism, That he commanded the Bishop of Paternborn, and others, to purge their Lands from such noxious Vermine; and if they neglected to do it, that his Souldiers should come thither, who would neither spare the Lives of the Guilty, nor the Estates and Fortunes of the rest.

This was terrible at first, to them of *Wesell*, who were commanded to readmit the *Roman Rites*, by the Counsel of the Duke of *Cleves* usurping the *Princes Right*; who by the *German Laws*, have free power and authority to settle Religion.

The United States had sent to the *Senators*, or *Burgomasters*, declaring, that it was an unworthy thing, at the back of a barbarous Nation, which had abjured from their actions, all sense of piety, to change that Religion which was settled by Law, and by them received from their Ancestors, admonishing the City, that in this Cause of God, they should not fear the power of man, but should courageously resolve against a storm that would continue but for a short space, and that they would not be unmindful of the common Religion, nor of any hospitable kindness; but their fear being at hand, and their hopes at a great distance, had so unsettled their minds, that they durst not stand the Contest: Whereupon, they prayed, that they might but enjoy the one half of the Churches, but that absolutely denied, their Ministers ejected, and both the Churches and Schools given to the *Jesuits*, a sort of men by that City generally hated; And for the more exact completion thereof, *Ceriblanus Garzafas*, the *Popes Nuncio* in *Lower Germany*, made solemn Processions, sprinkling the Ground with Holy Water, and cleansing the very Pulpits, as guilty of impiety, afterwards, the Commons of the City, for fifty years space, accustomed to more plain and simple Rites, were enforced to behold long Ceremonies of the Mass, and all other things fitted for States, which part of them beheld with rage, others with laughter and contempt: The *Priests* continued in the large recesses of their Temples, mutually hating and hated; for the People as violently required their own, as they detested that strange Religion, which enmity continued, all the time the *Spanish Forces* abode in those Quarters; but when once they were departed, and they also that acted by their Authority, the

City

City returned again to her old Liberty and Customs.

At this time, all the Consultations of *Germany*, inclining to revenge, *Mendoza*, although he had hitherto pretended, that it would be for the Kings profit, if they should begin a War which they could not maintain, and that he being ignorant of their Right, as *Romans* had rather deal with them, according to *Laws* of War, though in truth, he was conscious, that all in general were his Enemies; yet having by Spies, tryed the affections and Authority of the most eminent *Princes*, as what Alliances they had, what the manner of their Leagues, he neither spared Gifts, nor any kind of Policy, to breed a distraction and division among them at their meeting: And at last, it appeared worth his labour, to inquire, who supported that so deplorable, with Counsel and Advice: I know, some will admire, what they could at that time, offer as a pretence in their own justification: Wherefore, I will in as short a method as I can, relate those things which Cardinal *Andrews Envoy*, spoke at the Assembly of the Inhabitants about the *Rhine*, within the Jurisdiction of *Colem*.

These, after they had wasted much time, in the inquiring contrary to the Custom of *Embassadors*, of the Names and Instructions of those to whom they came, at last, as it were, enforced to make a sudden defence, they said; They were much grieved, that the enemies of the true Religion, and the favourers of Rebels, had so filled the Princes ears, and the publick Assemblies, with false and scandalous Reports, as if it was unjust in the common cause of *Christendom*, which the King of *Spain* defende^d, to remit a few discommodities against particular persons: For these Arms were not taken up for the Kings pleasure or ambition, but for the repressing of Thieves and Robbers, who slighting all power, both of God and Man, create and believe a right from their successful villany. Where were then those Assemblies, and raisings of Souldiers in *Germany*, and terrible decree, when the

the Prince of *Aurage* actually engaged in a trayterous War, but one, but by example, undermined all the Princes of the Empire. All Powers were Armed by God, that they might suppress growing evils, and have often been punished justly for the neglect of their duty therein, but they did not onely dissemble others injuries, but their own, when the *German* Fields were wasted, and their Castles and Cities held by Rebels, without any account demanded for the same. That they needed no detractors, so bitterly to incite them, if the *Germans*, mindful of their duty, (by whose advice the *Spaniard* would have been advised) had compelled those perpetual Enemies of peace at once to have laid down Arms, which are never used without the damage of the Neighbours. For what hath not been given by the Kings, either the Father or the Son, for the peace of *Christendom*, who for the avoiding of envy, having given the *Netherlands* from himself, and all the next Summer, a great Army at his Command, yet had worn it out in the onely hopes of Peace, until he oppressed his own Souldiers, as well with want, as with Winter; so his Treasury was most honestly employed in the freeing of *France* from War and Garrisons: Then also, how great care he used in the setting a strict Discipline, whoever comes to succeed *Mendoza* in that charge, will quickly be sensible how great a care, and how difficult a work it was: There was no right of Victory claimed in any of the places by them taken; they onely desired entertainment therein, and the Custody thereof, for a short time, with select and choyce Garrisons, that the Countries round about might be guarded from the excursions of the *Hollanders*: As to those faults objected against the Souldiers, which escaped either the providence, or punishment of the General, notwithstanding the great noyse, yet in themselves were but small, if compared with the benefits heretofore done by the Emperour *Charles*, and King *Philip*: Let them also call to mind, the Leagues; for how should the Princes, Bishops
Cities,

Cities say, that it was free for them to follow neither party in this War, who had been antient Allies and Companions of the *Burgundians*, and whom *Charles* had obliged to himself, for a general assistance, in defence, and support of the *Roman* Religion? How often, by that name, have the Kings Deputies interposed denuntiatiions? how often have the People of *Clèves* been commanded, that they should not give passage to the Enemy, contrary to the Articles made at *Wahl*? and yet by their Cities, Arms and Traffick, the Enemies effrontery hath been increased, when at the same time, the Duke of *Parma* must restore *Baricks*, throw down the Fort against *Ros*, and suffer them to be quiet in the midst of War, so that the Isle of *Gravenaert* might be taken from the *Hollander*. And yet that was not performed, which cost the King the loss of his possession beyond the *Rhine*, so that he was fain afterwards to take a longer Journey, to require his own, and if it were with the damage of those by whose fault is happened, it was no great matter: And certainly, the Bishop of *Colen* would be much to blame, if he be too much moved at the complaints of the People of *Munster*, or any others; but rather He, and every Bishop else, that yet enjoy their Ecclesiastical Dignities, should give thanks to *Philip*, who (when *Truximus* made an impious War against the *German* Decrees, not one *German* resisting him, from whence some took occasion to assault the Priesthood) neglected all his Affairs at the Bishops Request, and restored first *Nuys*, then *Bonn*, onely desiring that his might be reimbursed to him. The like he did by *Berke* also, being taken from the Rebels, and while *Albertus* was busied elsewhere, lost again: yet lately, while there was any hopes of restoring the City to its right Lord, without force, he gave them a long time to treat thereof, in point of honour. If they would rightly consider these things, they would be better advised, than by an improvident commiseration of small inconveniences to stir up greater mischiefs, of which perhaps,

haps, they would too late repent. And if the peace should be disturbed, they who infringed the same, ought to make satisfaction with their heads; but the King, the Arch-dukes, and *Adelasa* ought to be blameless.

The like defence was made by those that were sent to the *Emperour*, and particular *Princes* to mollify them, with promise also, that the Souldiers should depart before *April*. The *United States*, having so often in vain made tryal of Embassies, had hitherto abstained from any in this case, as supposing, that it was permitted to the *Spaniards*, that he might with freedom do what he list, and harass *Germany* at his pleasure; yet they make some defences for themselves, being angry that they, who came to rip up matters, should compare them in the ballance with Enemies: calling to mind all the places they had restored, and such as the *Spaniard* retained, that the offences of the borders were sought by those, by them tolerated, repeating all from the beginning of the Commotions in *Cleves*, to *Truxim* his War. That their Justice was testified by many who admired it, when not long since, they quitted *Embsden*, and of later time *Emmeric*: That it many times happened, that one place or other lying fit for the Enemy, was to be first taken, which they esteemed no oppression, for that it is absolutely necessary for the preservation of Subjects, against the *Spanish* Insolencies, not otherwise to be avoided, which also was done by a modest Souldier, whose pay was certain, and Discipline strict. It might be probable, some faults of a few out-runners, might be committed, and yet escape both knowledge and punishment: But they never lead an Army into the Territories of others, by publick Conduct and Authority, they never made Seditions on purpose to rob the Country, nor did they ever enforce a Form of Religion upon People, with whom they had nothing to do; That they promised to take care of *Gravemaert*, lest the *Geldrians* should refuse any arbiters. That there were many other things, which either made their

cause

quite plausible; or detect the *Spaniard* of covetousness under the false name of pretended piety; but having been spoken of before, needed not to be here repeated; In brief, That they would no longer suffer such a slavish sort of men, to insult over free Nations.

While these things were arguing *pro* and *con*, before the *Deputies* of the five Countries, at the meeting of the *Rhine* and *Moselle*, the Counsels relating to War, went but slowly on; nor were some wanting, that esteemed it convenient at that time, to joyn their Forces with the *Hollanders*, being men well experienced in Military Affairs. But the greater part thinking it sufficient to receive back their own, refusing to engage *Germany* into a long War, many of whom so leading either the hatred or displeasure of the *Emperour*, and the great mens power, that when there was any debate concerning the fore-mentioned injuries received, they solicitously avoyded to mention the name of the *Spanish King*, or People: But the States laboured most earnestly, to gain to themselves Associates, from whose dissentions, as they reaped disadvantage, so from their good successes, they might gain the power of making peace at pleasure. The principal Authours for bringing this Expedition to maturity, were, the *Count Palatine*, one of the severe *Electors*, the *Landgrave* of *Hessen*, and the *Duke* of *Brunswicke*, who undertaking the Affairs in their own Names, and with their own Forces, which they had raised to a great number the last Winter; but a contention arising between *Hessen* and *Brunswicke*; concerning the chief Command in the War, hindered it, the *Palatine* also desirous of rest and peace, received for himself the defence of the inner parts, and the charge of all publick Assemblies.

The *Westfalian Romanists*, making use of this division, nothing being more hateful to them, then to see the *Protestant Princes* in Arms, by offering a three months Tribute, equal to that given to the *Turks*, that their *Government* might be made

General

General of the War, they obtained their aim, averting it to be just and consonant to the *German* Customs, that whosoever any injury is suffered, in whatever Country a War is to be maintained for obtaining satisfaction, the Command was always given to them for their ayd.

The *States* passed this Winter in great care and fear, in regard the Rivers were twice shut up with Frost, but yet, without loss or damage; for Prince *Maurice*, and Count *William*, dividing their Forces, He took care of all on this side *Iffel* from *Arnhem*, and this resided at *Meppel*, for the Guard of the further parts, continual Messengers with Intelligence passing between them; At this time, several plots were detected against *Breda*, *Nimwegen*, and *Deventer*, which did but increase the care and cost in the defence thereof; Now also were the *Mauritian* Souldiers more then once Conquerours over their Enemies, and by the slaughter and plunder of a certain Garrison, recompensed the honour of those Soldiers that were hang'd in the *Territory* of *Juliers*, or *Gulick*; though it is confessed, to be the worst Custom of all Martial Discipline, that for neglect of the publick execution of the Law, permits Captains to take their own private revenge.

The Town of *Emmeric*, which we mentioned to be freed by Prince *Maurice*, was now again surprized by the *Spaniards*, who under pretence of their marching away in *February*, had brought thither Cannon, to the great terror of the Magistrates, though both the Souldiery and the Citizens were courageous enough, and the passage besides so difficult, by the increase of the Waters, that they were forced to come in with Boats.

In the same place, soon after, the falling of the *Jesuites* House by the decay of a Pillar, was by many looked upon as prodigiously ominous to them: And Count *Bucquoy*, the *Governour* of the Garrison there, was taken prisoner, while he followed a small party cunningly sent out to get booty.

until

until he fell into the Ambush, which *Lewis* of *Nassau* had prepared for him; And the truth is, about this time, the Kings Affairs suffered many and frequent damages, but none of any great concernment; for at the approach of the Spring, the Horse being Quartered in divers places; *Paulus Emilius* *Marsinengo* became a Prisoner; *Frederick* Count *Herumburge* also narrowly escaping the danger, all his Friends and Companions being taken: likewise the Guard of the Port at *Antwerp* was forced, and great spoyl carryed away: and a Sea Ship carrying Arms from *Hamburgh* into *Spain*, was taken. As yet they had no money, but at last, three hundred thousand Ducats, was taken up with the Merchants at excessive Usury, meerly to stop their mouths for the present. By which means, *Antwerp* and *Lieris*, by the change of their Garrisons, were quitted of fear; from whence the said Souldiers departing fearfully, they that remained were afterwards thrust out of the Borders by Edict, and every where fell into the hands of the *Germans*, where they suffered as victims to the publick hatred; for all the faults had been committed by others. At *Gant*, the Souldiers having behaved themselves with more moderation, stayed; but a mutiny began in *Bercke* for the same cause, which continued all the year: These things, together with their want of money, and scarcity of all things else, made the supplies which had been raised in *Italy* and *Germany*, to delay their march towards them, and besides daily some or other ran over to the *Hollanders*, who had newly advanced their pay.

Cardinal *Andrew* and *Mendoza*, that they might the better remedy these evils, and also mollifie the *Germans*, with a kind of a promise, in the beginning of *April*, the Spring being dry, and more early than is usual for that Clymate, so that Cattel were put out into the Pastures, they command their Army out of their Winter Quarters, to descend on both sides the *Rhine*: which Army, consisted of fifteen thou-

thousand men. But the Garrisons of *Emiric* and *Ress*, by reason of the Commodity of the place, were left there; as also in *Gennep* by the *Mars*, the rest of the Cities were compelled to give the Souldiers a testimonial of their just and modest behaviour, during the last Winter.

Mendoza in the mean while, not neglecting as a Gratiuity for so long Entertainment, to deduct a part of the Souldiers pay. A whole moneth was almost spent in the march; but at last, the Army sat down on both sides the River against *Gravenhart*; And this had been advised by *Mendoza*, not without hopes of winning it, which, if it had happened, had been of great advantage to them. But *Richardot* was of Opinion, that it could not be done, because the Duke of *Turn* had formerly attempted it in vain; The Cardinal *Andre*, preferred an Assault upon the Isle of *Bommell*. And the chief labour was, to obscure and keep from the Enemy this their design: But Prince *Maurice* was so much perplexed, as he could neither rest by day, nor sleep by night; being distracted with innumerable cares, because he wanted his well-known Companions in Arms, and was destitute of a sufficient Army; for the chief of all his Captains, Count *William* was forced to stay in *Friesland*; to have an Eye to the Affairs of *Emblen*.

Vire was detained in *England*, others were in *Germany*, the rayfers of the War were scattered here and there, and they who were to serve therein, were absent; besides, the foreign Regiments were not arrived, which the *States* had commanded to be listed in several parts, that they might be the better able to defend themselves against the greatest strength the Enemy should bring upon him. He had onely with him, Four Thousand men, wherewith he was to defend the passage of *Iffel*, the right and left side of the *Rhine*, and the superiour and inferiour parts of the *Country*.

Therefore

Therefore having received the Castle of *Lovic*, and other places, which he had late before rendered to the people of *Cleves*, he once again pitched his station in the Island of *Gelder*, where he found all the fortifications he had erected there the last year, standing intire, and not at all defaced or demolished by the Enemy. Part of the forces held the Isle of *Holland* it self: with these orders, that what City or Fort soever *Mendoza* should assail, he would defend the contrary side, and by Arms and Valor strengthen the weakness of the Bulwarks, and for the more easy accomplishing his purpose, upon the banks he placed Watch-Towers, and on the Rivers Bridges, that his Scouts and aids might with the less difficulty come at one another. When this was done, he made a defence about *Grauwert*, which he had before strengthened with a garrison, that was too slender against the darts and shot of the Enemy on every side; and into the River he put two rows of stakes, for the stopping of those Vessels, that by the command of *Mendoza* were said to be preparing at *Coten*: His Cannon shot were aimed with that skill from a little rising, whose sight they had tryed, that many of the Enemy being cut off therewith, they were forced to remove part of their Camp to another place. In this interim, the horse from *Nimwegen* tyred them with frequent incursions, nor did there want the opportunity of obtaining a small Victory upon the one part of their divided Army: but his number was too small to put it in execution, as the Prince did afterwards confess, not without a deep sense of grief.

At this time the Prince received intelligence, both from his Scouts, and some Prisoners, but he feared, lest if he should go away, the enemy would make his entrance other-where, for he had indeavoured by various and false reports to make all things dubious, using to advantage their fires in stead of a direction. Among all these ambiguities, nothing seemed more safe, then to stand still, and to have all things

in readiness for a march, to load the Waggon, and keep the horses harnessed together both night and day. The *Spaniards* did not without cause hope for many and great opportunities from the Isle of *Bommel*, as from the inclosure thereof by the chief rivers, and that it hath not one passage into the bowels of the *Enemies Country*: That the *Rhine* which is now called *Waal*, mingling itself also with the *Maas*, do run into the Sea, is every where declared in *Roman* writers. But it cannot be said, how great mutations have happened in later times by frequent inundations, when as yet there had not been sufficient care taken for banks as at present, and when the *Maas* ran formerly another way, as is set forth in the antiquities of our fathers, the name of the old channel beyond *Hesle* sufficiently testifies: but now it runs thus, That part of *Gelderland* which runs forth by *Cher* between both the Rivers, is by the Inhabitants properly called *Maasland*, and by little and little growing narrower, ends at the conflux of the Rivers, which by their doubly mixed waters in a short space, make the Island of *Worm*, from whence again dividing and growing distinct Rivers, each follows his own course, keeping their names till they meet again, making a fair Island, belonging to the Jurisdiction of *Gildres*, whose chief place is the Village *Harwarden*, and its utmost bounds, the Castle of *Levesteijn*, which is the name of a Town hard by the Isle of *Bommel*, encompassed almost round about with the *Waal*. This City in the Duke of *Alva's* time, was one of the first that threw off servitude, and from that instant hath held a firm Alliance with the *Hollanders*, each to be a mutual defence to the other. Not far from *Harwarden* and the bendings of the River, and then the Isle is discovered again at the Village of *Rossum* famous for the birth of *Martin of Rossum*, who at the command of the Emperor *Charles* first came into the *Netherlands* with a band of spoilers, and afterwards changing his quarters, entered *France*, from whence

the Rivers run separate and divided a great space, but the *Meuse* took a greater circuit, more largely sporting it self in the fields of *Brabant*, tending Southerly, where in a strait it looketh upon *Boisleduc*, and so passeth in the middle between the fort of *Crevecoeur*, and the Castle *Hely* within the Island, afterwards falls into *Holland*, and in a small division of it self surrounding the Isle *Hemert*, and washing the hills of *Huysden*, finisheth his course in an entire body.

The *Spaniards* hopes and resolutions concerning the invasion of these places, was heightened by several guides sent to the tops of the *Alps*, who upon their return, with one consent did declare, That the snows there being less than usual, did promise small increase of the waters and Rivers. And it was thought fit, not to go in a great body, but in several parties, that by the shew of keeping their Camp at *Grenoble*, they might as long as possible make the Enemy linger and delay to give timely assistance. Therefore they that hitherto staid at *Grenoble*, now removed to *Sapin*, as if they intended it only for securing their provisions; soon afterwards were added *Barlet* and *Stanley* with their Regiments of *Spaniards*, *Walloons*, and *Irish*, four hundred horse under the conduct of *Henry Count Hertenberg* first descending, suddenly to assault *Voorne* Island, if it were slackly guarded. But perceiving it to be in vain, they stayed hard by, until the boats that were to be brought in Carts from *Boisleduc* arrived to their help, yet with their great Guns, for they had brought some thither, they shot at a Ship of the *Hollanders*, which lay there to guard the River, and passing the *Mae* not far from *Rossem*, drove the Enemyes horse from off the banks, while the Foot durst not venture to resist, and so entered the Isle of *Dammert*, wandering sometimes here, sometimes there, waiting either for orders, or more additional forces, and the commanders themselves being equal in power, fall at variance among themselves, losing thereby that fair opportunity,

nity, the Cardinal *Andrey* fearing reproof and excommunication more than was requisite in Martial Discipline: And as at other times, so here the goodness of God was manifest towards the *Hollanders*, when for the most part all humane counsells were deficient for the managing of these great and apparent hopes against them: For the City of *Romell*, a place of great esteem in the war, lay almost open to any assault, the old Fortifications thereof being narrow and weak, and the new begun three years before not perfect, while the State, being drawn to mind other Affairs, spared to lay out any money about this place, and the rather, because the water on the one side, and the marshy wetness of the earth on the other, seemed to be a defence to it against the Enemy. The Prince hearing of these things, hastened speedily to march thither, yet did not arrive till the second day after the Enemies passage: yet before they had attained the bank of the *Wall*, he came into the City and restored courage to the Citizens that were surpris'd with fear of the danger, and preparing to fly. For although he confirm'd as well the Isle of *Hematt*, as any other places he doubted, both by his care and Souldiers; yet he was most intent for *Romell*, where he himself was for the most part present, to increase their garrison, and to help forward their works. And at this time there was manifested excellent wayes of defending Towns, made use of frequently by the Prince afterwards, and no less used by the *Spaniards*, and the use thereof is likely to continue to perpetuity, as oft as any are in fear to be besieged, by meeting the Enemy with far extended fortifications, which yield a great space to the Defendances, and keep off danger a longer time from the inner parts of a place; for to the Forts which were joyned to the Breast-work, more and more great Rampire were added, which being themselves ironed with water, did contain whatever was necessary for defence in their outermost line, having many strong defences.

While

While these things were speeding forward, the *Spanish* forces, and they who marched away from *Emmeric*, with other their associates, who then by chance had begun to besiege *Orgerius* Fort, met all together, to whom the Fort was easily rendered, as also what was opposite to the Fort in *Hely Castle*: There *Mendoza* made a bridge of boats over the *Maes*, for the transporting of his Souldiers and provisions, where-with he was abundantly supplied from *Beissaduc*. That City rejoicing that the Enemy was driven from being their neighbours, and being very diligent and careful in the rest, that they might with the less offence refuse a garrison, they would admit Cardinal *Andron* but with a certain number of men to come within their walls. These strong attempts of the Enemy did not terrify the *Hollanders*, but made them rather be more ingent then before, with courage to employ both their Wealth and Forces, for they were about for the increasing their treasury, to set a tax or impost upon all sales, conventions and Inheritances, which was taken very hardly: but the two hundredth penny was more burthensome, and therefore continued but a short while, although the custome thereof was of old much commended among free people for the equality thereof. But the Riches of many were unknown, well by reason of traffiquing uncertain, and the suspected faith of Professors hindered the same: And this highly offended the common people, that the most wealthy men, if they gave two thousand *Florens* for their two hundredth part, they were eased for any further burthen by reason of their Trade or Profession, which was given, partly for the avoing of envy, and partly for the ease of the Nobility, as the poorer sort did not stick to cry out: as if the equality of the tax had been laid aside in favour of some few. Besides the Fleet sent into *Spain*, whereof we shall speak in its proper place, then first of all began new *German* levyes, and *Switzer* Footmen to be first used. Then also were Laws of

Arms written: And *Lamont* raised a Regiment of two thousand *Brach* that could not endure to live in peace: for which cause, when the *Spaniards* complained of violation of the League, King *Henry* answered, That nothing was done by his command; yet he would not hinder the carrying out of France to either party such as were willing to go to war, that thereby the old manners of gallies might the sooner wear out. And the States forces so pleased them, that part of their men, animated by youthfull vigor, and others weary of tedious expences, desired a Battle. But Prince *Maurice* shewed them, That the Enemy might more safely be studied otherwise, and the matter coming to be disposed by a fight, would do no great damage to the Spanish Soldiers, but among the people, the least wounds were great causes of terror. Count *William* being present, applauded this prudence, being always averse to rash and hot-headed Counsels. Afterwards therefore, *Alonso* a bigzell came to *Bommel* with all his strength, and then it was furiously contested both by strength of Works, and shot of the Cannon, yet with no great damage as to the main, only some loose straglers were sometimes killed. But above two thousand men were in a short time lost in the Spanish Camp, among which were two brothers, a long time absent from each other, and so unknown to one another, especially the one of them going by his Mothers name, these meeting accidentally, and by discourse knowing each other, while they were embracing, both their heads were struck off with a great shot, by which means they obtained this good, That after that joy, they should never have more cause of grief. The like chance happened in Prince *Maurice's* Camp to a Man and his Wife, lying together, their sleep being by a like shot, turned into a sudden death.

There fell out sometimes light skirmishes between the Horse as they met abroad in parties, but all more like the contests between two adverse Camps, then the bickering

garbidge. At last *Mendosa* returning back to *Reſem*, Prince *Maurice* alſo, having ſufficiently ſtrengthened the Town, both above and below, which he had made two Bridges for paſſing the *Waſſel*, he quartered his Souldiers in the Ile of *Vorne*, (which he had fortified with new Works according to the manner of that excellent platform) and all about the outer bank of the *Waſſel*.

The *Spaniards* with continual ſhooting (as much as ever uſed againſt Walls) endeavoured to force his paſſage in the County of *Tilen*, which is from thence beyond the *Waſſel*, but by the ſtrong oppoſition of Count *Erneſt*, to whom that Region belonged, and a ſmall Iſland in the *Waſſel* near *Reſem*, he was hindred. Nor was that Prince ſatisfied in having defended his own, but he proceeded further, and voluntarily undertook to oppoſe and aſſail all that pretended to be of their party; and fiſt of all beyond the *Maaſ*, in the next part of *Brabant* which looks back upon *Vorne*, he commanded his men to make light and ſudden incuſions, on purpoſe thereby to weary out the Enemyes Horſe that lay thereabouts to guard and overſee the Paſtures and Proviſions. And ſhortly after being encouraged by ſucceſs to attempt greater things, eaſy in the morning he commanded ſome well experienced in ſuch matters, with three hundred Souldiers, to go into the Ile of *Bommel*, in that part, where we ſaid *Horwart* ſtands, and there to ſet up Palliſades or Saker, in form of an Half-Moon, and then haſting forward as faſt as they could, to cover them with Earth. This ſpace of ground would have contained about fix thouſand men. And at once, both the Work, and Forces, unwitting a fiſt to the Enemy, encreaſed; from whence aroſe ſo great a confidence, that the Prince himſelf publickly came thither to view it.

This daring *Attempt* was much further'd by the long Consultations of *Mendoza*, while his Advisers differ'd in Opinion: For now the Work was rais'd twice the height of a Man, when the Enemy drawing on, some chosen *Spaniards* and *Italian* Souldiers led by *Sapena*, to the Number of Two Thousand, incens'd with Fury and Religion, gave a sharp Assault; but the Monks that carry'd before them *Crucifixes*, were slain or taken among the first. Some there were, whose Ardor of Spirit was such, that having carry'd them beyond the Trench, they were forced to come to Hand-strokes: Nor did the *Defendants* want equal Valour, besides the goodness of their Council and Conduct, which keeping them in a true Estate, made both their Blows and Shot certain. *Lanero* commanded the *French*, *Horatio Vere* the *English*, and one *Edmunds* the *Scots*; each of them encouraging their Men both by Words and Example: But Prince *Maurice's* Artillery, from the Isle of *Venus*, and the Bank of the *Wash*, Levell'd against Them on every side, chiefly tyred out the Enemy, who at length was glad to go away, carrying with them many of their dead Bodies.

Some Reported, That in this Action there were Seven Hundred Men slain: Surely, then the Match was very unequal, when not many above Ten were slain on the *Defendants* side. Among the slain Captains was found *Pacinto*, who having been lately taken Prisoner, was not to be dined in this fair Affay, for Reparation of his lost Honour.

After this, the Fort went on, together with some smaller beyond the *Moss*, although the forcible *Attempts* upon that the Enemy had made at *Latten* proved in vain: Without doubt, these Camps were an excellent Pattern for the future Times, where an Army was divided by so many Islands and Brinks, yet by Ships possessing the River, and the Artificial Workmanship of five Bridges, moveable whither soever they list'd, they could by alternate Courses come one to another

ther as they pleased: Nor durst *Mendoza* offer any Assault to Prince *Maurice's* Works; but a *Fugitive* shewing a place he had taken above *Rossum*, where (as is formerly related) the bending of the Rivers meet nearest; there following the Counsel, that formerly *Charles Mansfeldt* had taken, and then revived by Colonel *Charles Colonna*, (the same who had with very great Judgment and Fidelity deliver'd these Things to Posterity) himself, with no small part of his men, Erected a strong Fort from the Ground, which, from the Cardinal *Andren*, was named *Fort Andren*, lying on this land upon the *Waal*, on that upon the *Adams*, stopped up all Passage, as well by Water as by Land. This was the Summer spent, and leaving here a Garrison, this was the only Issue remaining of all their Labour: The rest of the Soldiers being dispersed in *Brabant*, returned to their old Licentiousness.

After this *Barlote* had very near taken *Worcum*, a Town of *Holland*, by a *Night Stratagem*; and while he protracted time, in advising upon the very place of Action, a Citizen being advertized thereof by a Sentinel, had scarce time enough to get the Port before him.

While these Things were transacting with all earnestness among the *Hollanders*, the *Germans* and *Spaniards* used on the one side Sloth, on the other ridiculous Bolly; for the *Spaniards* were not secured by their own Valour or Vertue, which was of no esteem with their other Enemies, but the *Germans* Discords among themselves, which made them so confident, as to despise a Nation long unconquer'd, and feared on every side openly. For the *Emperour*, *Bishops*, and others of the *Roman Religion*, were against the War. These Princes by themselves, to wit, the Duke of *Brunswic*, the Landgrave of *Hessen*, and Marquess of *Brandenburg*, (for the Count *Palatine* had withdrawn himself from the Quarrel, pretending the Examples of the Bishops of *Mentz* and *Triers*) long esteem'd

esteem'd all kind of Military Men unprofitable to the Com-
monwealth, until in the middle of Summer, they met about
Breck, to the number of 1000 Horse, and 12000 Foot;
the chief Command whereof was intrusted in *Simon Count*
of *Juppen*, at the desire of the *Westphalians*, as is before relat-
ed; but having obtain'd their desire, they never sent the Aid
they so strongly promised, but rather on the contrary, the
Spaniards receiv'd from the very City of *Coleu* both Souldi-
ers and other Instruments of War: The General, not dis-
sembling his small Experience in Matters of War, did give
all his Authority over the inferiour *Saxons* to Count *Hol-
bach*, and of those about the *Rhine* to Count *Selm*; who, un-
der pretence of the *Confederate States*, had associated Them-
selves by Oath: Neither did these Two want any Valour or
Daring, but acted as if They could not have been pired with
Labour. But both were better Souldiers than Counsellors,
and so distracted the Affair by continual Contentions; the Souldi-
er also, ignorant of his Duty, gave himself over to Sloth
and Drunkenness, and if their Pay was not ready for them as
soon as it was due, they were apt to Mutiny, and fall into Se-
dition; yet they took a Fort of the *Spaniards* at *Breck*, and
came forward in the Cause with great Slaughter and Cruel-
ty.

At the same time they Garrison'd *Visto* and *Emmer*; but
when they came to *Breck*, they were neither prepar'd for
the Assault or Siege thereof with any thing, saving a few
Canon, and other Things sent to Them under-hand by the
States, lest they should seem to own either Party, which the
Emperour had strictly forbidden. Moreover, the Army was
not supplied with Provisions, because the Neighbors refused
rather by force than willingly, the *Spaniard* sending to them
continual Embassies, excusing thereby former Miscarriages,
and, for the future, promising better Things; whereby they
grew so confident, that when *Breck* was beleaguerr'd round,

Alcudoja.

Mendosa, as in Contempt, refused either to augment the Garrison, or send the Souldiers (muniting therein) their Pay. Wherefore the *Germans* thought fit rather to reduce *Rees*, than to they might have Supplies of Victuals from the *Hollanders* nearer hand, or any thing else that they stood in need of. Thither was come *Herman Count Herenberge*, by Command of Cardinal *Andrew*, he might lay the blame of his own men with the *Hollanders*, spun out much time, with the hope of restoring cert. in places; and thereupon resolutely answer'd, That the States had rendred up many Towns, and more Forts, without any Conditions, and that they should not, by an unequal Comparison, seek to hide their Crimes: And being asked, If he had brought Money wherewith to satisfy so many People of the Damage done to them; and what Caution should be given, that the same Evils should not afterwards be re-acted, when the taking so many Towns, and the wasting so many Fields, made manifest, that the King's Promise and Seal were but Feeble Pillars for them to trust to, or rely on. But Deeds differ'd from Words; and therefore the Commanders, by wasting Time in Disputes, and the Souldier growing effeminate more and more by Idleness, began to commit Rapines, and other wicked Acts, doing nothing against the Enemy, but daring to set over again those Villanies, which They were come thither to punish and revenge.

At the very Siege of *Rees* there was no Hostility; but, as in Derision, the *Germans* were invited to Drinking; and some there were that went, shook Hands with them, and returned safe; until this private Collusion of the Souldiers, was at last changed into a Truce for certain Days. Without all doubt, the *Confederate States* expected many and great Things from this *German Commotion* which produced them no other benefit, unless that while so great an Army grew stupid through Idleness, Count *William* being sent from *Bonnus* with seven Troops of Horse, and fifty Companies of Foot to *Donichem*, taken by *Mendosa* the Year before, and re-took it

from

from the Enemy within three days, although the Season were very wet, and the Besieged made strong Defence by shooting, and otherwise.

About the same time *Louis* of *Nassau*, being sent towards *Grave* with some Troops, though the Enemy over-marched him in Number, yet he pursued their Party and by provident Conduct, through the narrow Passages of the Journey, and by the side of the *Moss*, brought back the Booty, which the Enemy had taken in the Country. And by this time the Truce was ended at *Ratis*, yet was no progress made in the Siege; for the truth is, the Commanders were not skill'd in those Affairs. And the *Pioneers* of *Holland* that came thither, chose rather continuance of small Wages, and long Work with Safety, than great Wages, and short Work with Danger. There were scarce any shew of Guards or Sentinels throughout the Camp, so that their fresh Souldiers came into the Town with Relief: And now Winter drawing on, when, according to the Custom of War, a Herald being sent too inconsiderately by the *Besiegers* with a Summons, the *Besieged* retaining the *Messenger*, suddenly sallied out upon the unprovided and unwary Enemy, of whom they slew near 200, and carryed off with them some of their Guns, which strook so great a Terror into their weak and Cowardly Hearts, that they not onely raised the Siege, but deserted their Camp, in an unworthy and almost unparallel'd flight, leaving behind them both their Boats, and all sorts of Provisions; part of which the *Spaniards* carryed away; other part, the *German* themselves, who were on the *Spaniard's* Party. Thus, in a short time, this Army mouldred to nothing, while some mounyed for their Pay; and others averred, *they were entertain'd only for three Months Service*. The Duke of *Brunswick* punish'd many of his People with Death, for their vicious Behaviour and Negligence: The Souldiers alio in the Fort near *Brock* fled, and so did they that under *Habens* had besieged *Gamer*, as soon as the *Spaniards* had but drawn out their Garrison for

for the Relief of *Ros*: Scarcely were *Orfeo* and *Emmerie* preserved by a mean Party of *Souleiers*, before this shameful failing of *Germany*, it had often been in Agitation; that throwing aside all dissembling Vizors, they should publicly make a *League* with the *States*, and receive Aid from them; or that the Charge and Command of the War should be given to Prince *Maurice*, who was very expert and knowing in Warlike Affairs. But it was not fit to send to the *States*, because their Care was taken up in the Defence of their own Borders: Besides, the Terrour of the *Spanish Fleet*, made them strengthen their Sea-Coasts; and the *English*, possessed with the same Fear, required their Men, in the *States* Pay, for their own Guard. Nor was the Prince, finding by Count *William*, who was sent before, to see how the *German Affairs* stood, over-hasty to thrust himself into Dangers, and to take Souldiers under him, that would neither learn Obedience, nor any other good *Arts*.

As long as the Enemy continued in the Field about *Bemmel*, the Prince durst not draw his Souldiers into *Winter-quarters*, although the *States* were almost tyred out with the vastness of the Charge, notwithstanding the help they had by the Money which the King of *France* sent to them under-hand: But when *Mendoza*, *Autumn* now wasting apace, compell'd thereto by nothing more than the Hunger and Diseases of his men, sending his Souldiers into several Quarters, the better to keep them from Sedition and Mutinies, himself went to the Borders of *Germany*; Then did he also dissolve his Camp, first placing Forts and Guards along the River, to keep in and repress any Excursions from Fort *Andrew*. He fortified *Emmerie* also against *Mendoza*, and freed the Citizens from the fear of a hated Garrison, by sending Souldiers thither in the Night. These Things being all acted by *Land*, I have continued in an uninterrupted Order and Series, now Time calls us to take a view of *Naval Affairs*.

We have elsewhere related, that while *Philip* the Second Reigned, he permitted the *Hollanders* to Trade freely into *Spain*, even in the heat of the War, but under the names of other People, yet so, as that it was apparent, to be a piece of great prudence, to be willing to be deceived, whether the hopes of their returning to their obedience, made him transfer that Benefit to other Nations, or that he had found by the event. It was not safe to civil with People prevalent in Sea, lest they should keep all that Commerce from *Spain*, which they would maintain free to all the rest of the World. But as for the most part; those Counsels are irksome to a Successor, wherein before he was unconcerned, so here, the Son of *Philip* disliked his Fathers notions, and as if despairing of peace, turned all things to a pitch of severity. It was evident enough to the whole World, that all the *Hollandish* Wealth, was drawn out of the Sea, and raised by *Mercantilisme*, and that the greatest profit by them gotten, was from the *Spanish Trade*, because they carried thither, not only their own *Wares* and *Commodities*; but also *Sarmatian* fruits, and other things, and bringing from thence Gold and Silver, whereof as there is plenty with them, being Lords of the *Indies*: so there is great use among *Merchants*, and dealers in Trading and Traffick; and therefore the Nerves and Sinews of the War, being taken away, it was hoped, that the War it self would cease of its own accord: To this purpose, all *Hollandish* *Ships* found in *Spain*, were taken up, and apprehended; part of them being put to great torments; and punishments, and others either thrown into prison, or condemned to the Gallies.

In the *Netherlands* also, an Edict was set out in the Name of the New Princess *Isabella*, stuffed with many railing Speeches against the *Governours* of *Holland*, who, as ever before, so now, changing their *Government*, and being separated from *Spain*, refused peace, when offered to them, and stirred up others to War, their so great pride and arrogance pro-

proceeding from no other Fountain, then that Trade and Merchandising, which her Fishers too much indulgence, had hitherto allowed them.

Many of the *Brabanders*, and *Flamians*, withstood this *Decree*, and would not have the *Netherlandish Exportations, Importations, or Transportations*, taken away, because of the great want they had of the *Holland Commodities*: But wrath and spleen prevailed, and hopes of supplying their necessities out of *France*, so that by the said *Decree*, all security was taken away, even from *Fishermen*, whom they had till that time, spared in the heat of *War*: This matter did not a little trouble the *States*, because hereby, two of the Peoples chief Supports were taken away, from whence it was feared that the *Sea-men* would have ruined, and the *Merchants* have left them to have found out places of a better, and more free Trade. Yet they did not degenerate from their *Pristine Counsels*; They had learned from Society and Alliance of the *English*, that there was nothing in all the *Spanish Dominions*, less to be feared than *Spain* itself; all its *Kings* putting their chief confidence in this: that no peace should be left to any other Nations within themselves; and they conceived it necessary for themselves, to have some *War* at Sea, for the keeping at home their *Marriners*, and that it would be very glorious, if they should bring upon *Spain*, denying Traffick, that penury wherewith the *Spaniards* threatened them. Therefore by a contrary *Decree*, repealing all the facinorous acts which formerly the *Spaniards* committed in the *Netherlands*, and now of late in *Germany*, and all other things that might make them be envied and hated; they forbid all their People to carry into *Spain* any Provisions or Merchandise; and if any should be found doing to the contrary, they should be looked on as Enemies, and Factors, and Abettors of their Enemies: the *Fishermen* also were prohibited, to purchase impunity, or License, from the Enemy, adding, that they would take care to keep the Sea free

free for them; and if any one suffered any damage, it should be lawful to them, to take satisfaction by the war and spoil of the Enemy's Country. A Copy of this Decree was sent to several Kings and People, that none might pretend ignorance thereof. Of which, the King of *France* took particular Cognizance, protesting, That if any of his Subjects should within six months sail into Spain, the State should incur no danger by their wilful breach, but it should wholly lye upon themselves, but all the rest passed it over in silence.

This done, they prepared a Fleet, raking together, whatever publick money could be raised by Tributes, or otherwise, undertaking a great hazardous Affair, and scarce ever accomplished with any indifferent success, as is manifest by divers Examples of Antiquity; for when *Hannibal* was drawn out of *Italy*, *Scipio* became Conquerour of *Carthage*, and *Alexander* having wasted *Africa* a long time, yet at last the *Athenian* Wealth was overthrown by the *Scythian* Arms. And there was a fresh Example of the like nature, eleven years before this time, in the great Fleet of King *Philip*, when it was plainly, as it were, set out by fate, that the *Hollanders* and *Spaniards* should by turns find, how uncertain the hopes of those things were, which are committed to the Winds and Waves. At the beginning of *Summer*, they set out a Fleet of threescore and thirteen Ships, carrying eight thousand *Sailors* and *Soldiers*, under the Command of *Pierre Douse* the *Admirall*, who was a Noble man; but as if he had had no Honour from his Birth, attained to this height of Command, by long Service, and many gradations: they received Command to destroy the Fleet, which the King of *Spain* had been a great while in building, for want of Timber, Cordage, and Mariners; and this was one cause that induced the *States* to make so much hast, that done, to spoil the *American* Ships, and wast all the Coasts of the said Enemy's Dominion.

This unuſual and daring attempt, carryed with it, great
terrous

mour, so that the Shores were left desolate, all flying from
force; for there were *Letters* sent before out of *Holland*,
mentioned the coming of the *Fleet* into these parts, as
it had been learned from some Captives.

The *Fleet* begun by King *Philip*, lay at *Cornuna*: At first,
the *Hollanders* came and lay by them, but they not daring to
trust the naked *Fleet* to their Enemies mercy, got under the
protection of a strong Castle; and then the Cannon thun-
dering from the Ships, Castle, and Fort, which was hard by,
took away all their hopes of assaulting, either at distance, or
at hand: Wherefore, having seen enough here, that
the *Nation* which boasted it self Lady of the Ocean, had
with their *Fleet*, sought a hole, and hid themselves in their
Docks, rather then to fight at Sea with Honour. When they
came to the mouth of the River *Tagus*, some were greedy
and violent, for the taking of *Lisbon*, either for Honours
sake, or in hope of a prey, urging, the ancient discords of
their Neighbour-hood, the hated Dominion of the *Castilians*.
And lastly, the City it self, which in the Expedition of the
English for *Don Antonio*, was found to be but weak, though
it were very large; and if that *Nation* took it then, that
went to manage a *War*, not to seek for Booty, without
doubt, it will be as easily done now. On the other side,
many were of Opinion, that in so long a Peace, the King
had repaired and made good all defects, and that it was now
to be expected, that a *Fleet* so long looked for, should do any
good against such great Cities, wherein, as well the care, as
the fear of the *Governours*, makes them diligent. It would
be a safer course, to steer to the Islands in the *Atlantick*
Ocean, bordering upon the Coast of *Barbary*, which the *An-
cients*, either for the Fecundity of the Soyl, or because they
so called and esteemed all unknown things, named the *For-
tunate Islands*; from whence the People came, that first in-
habited them, by reason of their far distance and Antiquity,
is very uncertain.

Of old, when they were yet unknown to *Europe*, they had several sorts of Language; That of *Tamariff* came next to *Africa*, and the People thereof, called themselves *Guanchus*. Many of their Customs were common to them with the *Barbarians*, particularly, like the *Scythians*, they used to expose, and give their Wives to prostitution; with the *Indians*, they esteem their Sisters Sons, as their Heirs, as being related to them by the surer tie of consanguinity. Rapes violently committed, they punish with death, they account Divorces infamous. It is lawful onely for their Kings to marry their Sisters, as an ong the *Inchas* of *Peru*. Private men may, if they will, have more Wives than one. This also is a *Scythian* Custom, that the King, or chief Lord, should have the Virginity of every new married Bride. The Gods they worship, are the *Sun*, *Moon*, and *Stars*, about whom there is one Judge, they say, of good and evil actions; and therefore, that there is another life after death. Infants are with solemn Rites, purified with water. They give no publick demonstrations of *Christianity*, or *Mahometanism*, yet they live simply, unanimously, and innocently, far beyond them that are called *Christians*, and practise nothing but force, fraud, and other Vices, not of Religion, but the Age; The first that came thither, were the *Gambists*, in the Year, One Thousand Three Hundred: Almost a hundred years after that, *Balimurt*, a Noble-man of *Peru*, came and Inhabited there, teaching them good manners and Piety, affirming himself also to be a King: But when his Fortune would not answer to so high a Title, the right of the same was transferred to the Kings of *Castile*, whose Potency destroyed their ancient Rites, Language and Orders, and made these Island one step to his further greatness.

One of these, named *Ganaria* (though now it is a common name to them all) but to this, the head of the rest, it belongs pecuially: the Castle wherein, being excellently seated, the *Hollanders* Fleet subdued, and one *Spanish* Ship, in the

sharp

sharp fight sunk, and two others taken. The Horse and Foot of the Island gathering together upon the shore, with some small Guns, hoped to hinder their landing, for that the place itself was not very fit for that purpose. But the Admiral *Dase*, commanded his Cannon to be shot off, and his long Boats to be hastened, Himself first going off, when the Boats would not suffer him to come close to the shore, he leaped into the water, but the Enemy run to meet him, himself received three wounds, and others of his Company many, by the casting of Darts and Shot, being unexperienced, both in that old and new sort of Arms. But the *Barbarians* being beaten into the Town of *Allegre*, the Castle was presently surrendered, with the Guns and Garrison: they that entered, wondered as they set their *Mauritian* Ensigns up in a place so far distant, to see the excellent Fortifications of the place, and all other things necessary for defence, unless that in all that Age, the seldom happening of mischances had now in this suffering, so converted all into fear, that they had no use of their Arms.

The Army being led to the Town, some dayes were spent by the Besiegers, in drawing thither their Cannon. In which time, the Besieged did convey whatsoever was dear and precious to them among the Rocks, which were in a manner, unpassable; and shortly after, themselves followed, either into the same, or other narrow places, that were easy to be defended, many of them being so ignorant, who the Enemy was, that a runaway *Negro* offered to sell himself to the *Hollanders*, and abjure Christian Religion. Besides this, two other smaller Castles were deserted: Some that were sent out to find their lurking holes, and to strike a sally into them, going further than was convenient, in places known to the Enemies, but to them altogether unknown; and besides, being wearied with labour and heat, were surrounded by the *Barbarians*, and slain. Wherewith the Island: being overjoyed, refused to redeem themselves, or their goods;

but making an excuse of poverty; whereupon, the *Hallabos*, setting fire both upon the Town and Castles, departed, their revenge being to them instead of prey.

The success at *Cumana* was not much unlike; for there an empty Town lay open to them; the Guns and other things which the People could not carry away with them in their flight, being buried under ground; and some who for hope of prey, wen up into the Mountains, were slain to the number of fourcore, which was a great Victory to the weak multitude; and according to the Custom of *Barbarians*, they shewed great cruelty upon the dead and conquered Bodies; which when they had regained, they set all the Buildings they came to on fire. *Dase* seeing these his first hopes fail, and knowing there would be no need of to great an Army to wall the Coasts, he sent one part of the Fleet home with what prey was gotten; who happily escaping the *Enemies Fleet* (for at the same time that had set Sail from *Coruma*, and by and by separated by the boisterousness of the Weather: yet at last, in the middle of *Autumn*, they surpris'd the Harbour. Himself, with the rest of the Fleet, appointed to go to *Brasil*, a noble part of *America*, in possession of the *Portugals*, and abounding with a rich sort of Wood and Sugar. But chancing the *Hesperides*, and all *Africa* joining upon the Ocean, in a safer Voyage, when he saw there many Novelties; particularly, money made of Shell, he wandred from thence, increasing his number, with some *Marchants Ships*, which he had taken coming from *Spain*; by some fatal Counsel, he chooses the Island of *St. Thomas*, a Colony of the *Portugals*, for the refreshing his Men. They were invited to that place by the fresh waters, and shell-fish, called a *Foraise*, which is no unfavoury meat; and besides, many times full of Eggs, which have so hard a Shell, as is not easily broken: There is also, an infinite store of Fish, which either for fear of other devourers, or through ignorance of humane covetousness, because no Fishermen come

thither,

higher, stick to the sides of the Ships. There were moreover some fowls, which being weary of flying, sit down of their own accords. This Island of Ethiopia, which is called *Gana*, lies in such a Climate, that the nights and dayes are equal, and temper the heat of the Sun, that is alwayes perpendicular to them, and never so declining as to make any Winter; which part of this wide World, Antiquity ascribed to be a Corn, Fruits, or Men, because these ages were ignorant of the Art of Navigation. But as experience teacheth, there is no part of Nature that is usefull some way or other, nor is the modesty of men such, as that they will leave the most barren and unhealthful soil unsearched for.

The Circuit of the Island is almost round, where it is broadest, they reckon it but twelve leagues, the middle part incircumplex, over which clouds continually hanging with their dew, make abundance of Reeds or Canes to grow, out of which Sugar is taken; the profit arising whereof is so great as maintains the *Portugueses*, and employes for each of them a hundred or more servants. Here likewise groweth Ginger, and Trees whose use exceeds the use of Wine, both for pleasantness of taste, and quenching the thirst. Here no man resisted them at their landing, the Town of *Panama* after a light skirmishing was taken. *Doria* then gave notice to *Francisco Alencar* that kept the Castle. That he was no more to Sea like a Pirate, but that he was sent with a well furnished Fleet, by the most noble Captain Prince Maurice and the States, to punish both old and new injuries with a publick War, That he would do well therefore, not to make him (who had greater matters to look after) to stay there for one Garrison, assuring mercy and clemency to such as yielded, but punishment or death to such as continued stubborn; and so bringing thither some Artillery, the surrender of the place quickly followed. But the Islanders who were fled, making a great eruption, set fire on the Town, whose flames were suffered to expiate to the

the great ruine of others: for the *Hollanders* moved at the damage, as if it had been their own, scattered the fire up and down the fields and Villages. But Heaven it self sought most sharply for the Inhabitants, for an incurable and violent disease seized the *Hollanders* in their Tents, and punished them with that malevolence and destruction as is hardly imaginable. Nor indeed shall I excuse them, as being ignorant in things of nature, that they did not then placing directly under the stroke of the Suns heat and pestilential Ayres, which though it find fir bodies naturalized there from their very parents there, yet is not to be born by a people not used thereto, and coming from parts much more North: for the Ayre there is neither cleansed, cooled, or refreshed with any Winds, and so by means of the untemperateness, grows foul and corrupted with a dusky vapour, and damages the earth, and this makes the countenances of the *Portugueses* that dwell there, to be of a pale wan colour, and the continual recourse of Fevers doth sufficiently argue, That even they that were born in a warmer Climate, do drink in a more dangerous Ayre. At first the Judges sent to inhabit this Island, only such as were condemned persons in *Portugall*, but now covetousness doth bring others thither voluntarily: Although it hath seldome been found, that any *European* born, ever attained there to his middle age. But the Seamen, besides the heat of the Ayre, being wearied with labour, were driven to remedies equal to the evils they suffered, for a deadly sleepiness, very noxious to such as were to take the cool Ayre at the rising of the Moon, and Sugar, and Indian Nuts, and other things causing a flux, they eat unmeasurably. And now the drinking of water too greedily, brought the disease full out among them, but whether it were corrupted by the fraud of men, I may worthily doubt, since it agrees with the malice of that Nation, and that not differing from reason. Another cause of their ruine was, their use of Venereal sports with some of the Women Na-

tives

ives (the most of which are so libidinous, that they will endeavour to allure men into their embraces) in such diversity, that Nature was not able to bear such a traffique of bodies; that they brought upon themselves several causes of death on every hand. This Pestilential mortality was made more notable by the death of *Douse* the Admiral, who being of a very gross corpulent body, was not capable of much motion in his natural climate, being, for two dayes rather languishing than sick, he dyed, not by any disease, but only by the melting of his fat, as was supposed. By whose death, all the common people were so troubled, that their hopes began utterly to droop, and soon after, the cry of all was, to leave that infectious place; and when consultation was had concerning revenge, it was thought sufficient that they intermingled their Enemies deaths with their own dangers. The body of their Admiral *Douse*, that it might not after their departure be made a laughing stock, they buried very deep under ground, all the ruines of the whole Town lying over him, they brought away their guns, and some Merchandise, and presently went to Sea; but yet they had not lost the infection, though they had left the place, for the Ayre changed very slowly, and by degrees; and the poison of a disease, being once imbibed, will for a long time follow the infected; nay, the contagion and pestilent stench of the sick within the narrow compass of ships, made the disease more and more spread, insomuch that in fifteen dayes they lost above a thousand men. After this, they began to hasten their return, having got but small boory at *Brasile*, their number decreasing daily by several kinds of death, for upon whomsoever this evil fell, if it once touched their Midriff or Diaphragma, they were dead even before they were sensible of the disease. Others were burnt up with continual Feavers, wherewith if the head were once touched, presently they threw themselves for madnes headlong into the Sea. But now, as the Ayre grew more temperate, and fresh hopes began to appear to these

these broken and sick men, another contagion, nothing better then the other, seized them, before the former was cured, by which the joints of their knees, and their teeth were loosed, but it was not dreadful, because in long Navigations it is an usual disease, yet to them it proved mortal at that time, because the joynts being yet very feeble, and then coming into more cold Climates of the Sea, where there was winter according to the Season of the year, were contrarily as much pinched with the Cold. Nor certainly of a long time had there been so sharp a frost, as was evident by the Rivers among us, which were wholly congealed, although the Sea flowed in o them, and by the violence of it, some men were killed with cold. They were perplexed also with Tempests, which brought them into more then ordinary danger, in regard all the persons belonging to the Fleet were by reason of their weakness, unable to govern or manage them. Of all the number of Captains, only two survived, and some Ships did not bring home above six sound men apiece in them; not that there were so many sick, but that the rest were either consumed with diseases, or thrown overboard into the Sea. Part of the Ships came and gathered new forces in *England*, others being dispersed, according as they were furnished with Sails, Tackle, and Mariners, returned home almost at the end of Winter: one Ship was utterly deserted for want of men, another being brought to *Selays*, was taken by the Enemies. And this was the event and Success of the *Hollanders* Fleet, that had been so great a Charge to the Commonwealth for so long time, and at its return, filled whole Families with lamentations. But King *Philip* first sent his Fleet to the *Fortunate Islands*, for he had heard of the havock the *Hollanders* had made there, and commanded that they should not be suffered to continue their possessions there; but when it was known, that they left them voluntarily, it was ordered to go to *Tercera*, and there to be a Convoy for the *American* Plate-Fleet; where

arriving, they were quickly driven thence by the raging of the winds, and not without some damage.

The *Dunkirkers* with great audacity robbing in our Sea, caused many complaints, some accusing the unskilfulness of those that were to preside the Naval Affairs, others the sloth and negligence of the Captains, and the unprofitable Tribute that was raised on pretence for clearing and purging the sea; but at last, five of the Rovers Ships being taken, it was a comfort and satisfaction to the people to see Execution done upon the Pyrats. And many, either by force, vertue, or policy, getting safe out of *Spain*, when they came, filled all places with the terror and haired of the *Spanish* name. Others returning happily and with good success from the *Indies*, brought more gainful Commodities then were usual. By the same and report of which things, the peoples hopes increasing, the loss of the *Spanish* Trade was not so much missed as for Salt began to be fetched from the Islands bordering upon *America*.

About this time, *Frederick Spinola* brought some new aid to King *Philip*, consisting of six great Ships, which were to be used against the *Hollanders*, Covenanting to have all the Spoil he could take from them to his own use: for he was a man, Ambitious to equal in Warlike glory, his Name, and House, which was famous among the *Genoveses*, and wealthy among his Countreymen of *Orens*, who had increased both their Wealth and Honour by Arms. This part of the *Spaniards* Fleet was to come against the *Hollanders*, if the *English* with great care and high threats, which carryed much of terror, had not diverted them otherwhere; Therefore they came spurr, after a short stay in *Pontosse*, a Port in *France*, the weather exceedingly favouring them, for the *Hollanders* were forewarned of them, and had sent some Ships into the *British* Narrow Sea towards *Calais* to intercept them; but they passing by the shore, came safe to *Flanders*, being favoured both by the Winds, and their own Fortune; yet they were

were forbidden to go into *Dunkirk*, and therefore they went to *Schuyt*, having in them one thousand six hundred Souldiers from thence they threatened the Merchants and Coasts of *Zeland*; and these new kind of Vessels, that in these countreyes had never been seen before, did no small damage; first in their charge about stopping up all passages, afterwards by small losses striking so great a terror far and near, that many fled out of *Zeland*, and sought new places to dwell in. But the event abated the fear; for although soon after *Spinda's* Ships, making use of a serene calm, and great silence, had taken one Ship of War belonging to *Zeland*, they being fitted both with Native and hired Souldiers, that carrying scarcely threescore Marriners, yet did for the space of two hours defend it self on every side with that courage, that for twenty or thereabouts that were killed or wounded, there were two hundred and fifty slain on the other side, which cast a great fear on the Assailants part. And again setting upon some other Ship of War, mistaking them for Merchants Ships, with continual shot for six hours together, they were spoiled, and almost torn in pieces. which was a joyful sight to *Flushing* (so near was the contest to them).

But *Albertus* the Archduke having finished his Nuptial Ceremonies in *Spain*, as he returned through *Italy*, the Pope Presented to him a Consecrated Sword, by virtue whereof he might the more boldly proceed against his Enemies on all hands. Not long after entering his new Dominion which he had so lately received as a Portion with his now Spouse *Isabella*, coming over the *Alps*, and through *Burgundy*, while the War was in its heat, and his Affairs in no thriving condition; in the beginning of *Autumn* he came and found Cardinal *Andrew* and *Mendoza* at variance, and attributing each of the prosperous successes of that year to himself, or the failing therein to the other; of whom, the Cardinal was dismissed to his Ecclesiastical business, but *Mendoza* still remained in favour, and continued in his command; besides,

he

he saw *Germany* offended, and the Souldiers ready to mutiny for want of their pay, which there was no visible means at present to raise for them; for the *Netherlanders* were poor, and a great Army together, with a prepared Fleet against the *Hollanders* and *Germans*, out of a dubious fear of them, as Enemies, had pressed upon *Philip*, and drained all his garrisons both in *Spain*, and the Islands. At *Antwerp* the Souldiers in the Castle required money. At *Hamm* (a free Town in the Bishoprick of *Lois*) and the places about, some Troops of Horse, and Regiments of Foot gathered Tribute both out of the Towns and Countrey, which was exacted from them with the threats and terror of Fire and Sword. The Garrison of *Fort-Andrew* having privately obtained a truce with *Court-Ernest* of *Nassau*, who kept the opposite bank, sent great threats to *Boisleduc* and the adjacent places, unless they would pay them the Arrears of what was due to them for many years service. All these mischiefs the Princes found afoot when they came into the Countrey, and by their presence were so far from settling them, that new evils rather sprung up. The Nobility being enraged, that both in countenance and habit, the Princes were so *Hispaniolized*, and would be saluted by the *Netherlanders* with bending of the knee. And now as the Court grew burthensome even in time of Peace by Princely Revellings, and imperious Luxury; so its great expences added much to the increase of their penury, for remedy whereof the Deputies required great Tributes of every Province (which was alwayes very displeasing, but now first of all grew odious) adding, That it was unjust that they should bear greater burdens for their fidelity and reverence to their Princes, than the Rebels did for maintenance of their injury. Nor would any thing else be hearkened to, untill the Solemnities of installing the Princes were over, though the *Brabanters* urged *Albertus* his promise, That the Castles should be demolished, and the Foreign Souldiers sent away.

But

But *Isabella* firming, That she was wholly ignorant of any such Agreement, was besides very angry: as if in those Demands, Liberty were sought against her Self: Moreover, she *Wallous* pray'd, That the Edicts might be taken away, whereby the *Hollanders Merchandises*, so necessary for them, were forbidden: But these Things were onely spoken of, and so forgotten, with the Sense of their imposed Servitude, and the Rites of State being performed, the married Princess were received as Dukes and Counts; and, by chance, while according to ancient Custom, the Oath for the Government of *Brabant* was administered without the Walls of *Leuven*, two Villages, in sight of them, were set on fire, by some Horsemen of *Holland*, which was look'd upon as an evil Omen, as beginning their Rule among Slaughters and Blood. And the *United States* were no less rejoiced at the Evil Fortune of their Enemies, than they were troubled at their own, and being debarr'd of Trade with *Spain*, and also the Hostile part of the *Netherlands* by the Edicts, and the French Peasants thereupon the flight of the *Artificers* diminish'd the *Revenues* growing both by Sea and Land: Nor did the *Tributes* of that Year suffice for the Expence, although they were very high; and hereupon Moneys were forced to be taken upon Usury, sometimes equalling the Principal, nor were the growing Burdens less, so that the whole Charge of the War was turned against them: *England* also, that had been wont to help them, recalling their Souldiers, had summon'd their Ships also: but by and by, the Fear vanishing, Thanks were returned, and nothing else.

At this time a potent Army, commanded by the Earl of *Essex*, harass'd the Marshes and Boggs of *Ireland*, that were the last Subiuges of their Liberty, with a Success in all his Publike Archievements fortunate enough, but in his private Undertakings not so happy: For being rather a fierce than prudent Young-man and politickely sent into a Rugged Country among Enemies, having (through ignorance of the places)

places) received many losses; at last making a Truce with
 Tyrus, and returning Home without leave, found the Queen
 (from whom, before his departure, in a Contest, he had re-
 ceiv'd a Blow with her Hand, which he took with that Im-
 pudence, as if she had not sat in a Throne) during his Ab-
 sence, by the Insinuations of his Emulous Adversaries, and
 the unwary Praises of his Friends, hardned against him with
 Suspitions and Fear; so that he was immediately taken as a
 guilty person, and committed to Custody. Thus the pretended
 Faints of Peace, prevail'd against the afflicted young Noble-
 man, who had gotten Honour by War: That which shew'd
 the Queen's Inclination thereto was, That the Spaniard was
 removed at Sea, and that the Trade of other Nations coming
 thither were hindred: But the Queen pressed on that Coun-
 sel, as long as she had any fear of the Enemies Fleet; al-
 though an Embassador sent to her from *Bruxels*, assur'd her
 of safety, though all was in vain with a suspicious and incre-
 dulous Woman: Nor did, in a secret manner, give Notice
 of this to the States, That both her Self, and the English her
 Subjects, had need of Peace to advance their Trading, and that
 she might establish her Kingdom, against the impious Hopes of such;
 as laid Snarcs for her Old Age; yet, that they should not fail in
 their Courage, but as they equally shunn'd the Domination of the
 Austrian and French, if they desired to keep her Friendship, they
 should retain their Liberty, or else give the Government of the
 Commonwealth to a Prince of their own; and that if she enjoyed
 Peace, she could easily supply them with many things, which now
 she was compell'd to require of them. It is not hard to conje-
 cture, how much many Mens Minds were moved at this
 decaying Alliance; and there were some Temptations used
 by the Emperor, who once again intended to send some to
 them to perswade to Peace. But They, by Resolute Advice,
 before the Embassadors were come to the Borders, wrote
 Letters, wherein They admonish'd Them to spare their un-
 profitable Labour. Why They could not hope for a safe or
 durable

durable *Peace*, They had often declared, and they had no present no Reason to recede from their former Councils or Resolutions, unless perhaps the wickedness committed in *Germany*, and the Right of Trading broken off by Treachery, and the *Spaniards* holding the *Netherlands*, under the pretended Names of the Arch-Dukes, should be taken as Arguments to *Peace*. Thus wisely were all vain Discourses avoided, by the principal Authors of such daring Attempts to the *Hollanders*, who the Year following, in the doubling of their Pole-money out of their own Wealth, outwent their Companions, who either partly refused, or at best were very slow in following the Example. The *Zelanders* chiefly refused to advance their proper Charge, by reason of some new or late Losses; and among those beyond the *Rhine* there were used many *Evasive Circumlocutions*, while part study rather the Peoples Favour than the Publike Good, and applaud those *Impositions*, which they hoped would be ease for themselves, though they fell heavy upon their Neighbors. Others there were, who would not be silent, when others being quiet, they had all the Care of the *Commonwealth*, although the *Hollanders* winked at it, except it were seriously debated in *Christian-Council*, they would leave the Care of the out-lying Parts, looking onely to their own nearer Necessities, and the possession of the Sea. Some Comfort was received from the *German Princes*, who as yet having a Suspicion and Jealousy of the *Spaniard*, offer'd them continual Aid and Money. The Count *Palatine* excited the rest of his Allies of the same Religion, both by Words and Example: Shewing to every one of them, what *Alva* had done of old, and what *Alonso* now; and that the *Hollanders* could not be overruled without the destruction of their Neighbors; but if they flourished, they would be a great help to many; to this, for the Defence of *Prussia*; to this, of the Possession of the *Dutchy of Cleves*; and to all against the *Bishop of Rome* and his Followers; by whose cruel Hatred and Faction all are oppressed. But all this was little hearkned

for the Duke of *Brunswic* converted his Arms against a
 King that had assumed too great a Liberty, the rest acknow-
 ledging themselves unable to maintain the War: But *Charles*
 Duke of *Sodermannia*, Uncle of *Sigismund* King of *Poland*,
 not taking little Care of his Ancient People of *Sweden*, and
 by his earnest Affection against the *Roman Religion*, su-
 seduced of *Innovation*, first opposed him in Arms, and after-
 wards in a Publike Assembly, when the Kingdom was taken
 away from him; a long time shunning the Name of a King,
 yet usurping the Authority by other Titles, when he volun-
 tarily desired the Alliance of the *States*, because he desired
 some present help, and that his hopes were uncertain, his
 Kingdom poor, and Forces far distant, he was for a time put
 off with Delays; yet because it was an offer'd Friendship, it
 was accepted, because he seem'd as it were to fight for Reli-
 gion, making an Excuse, *That some Holland Ships, without*
any Publike Command, had given Aid to Sigismund.

The Ninth Book of the History of the Dutch AFFAIRES.

1600. **T**HE New Year which closed up a Century, as
 it produced immediately great Events, so it did
 seem to portend great Changes of Affairs for a long time:
 The Affairs of the *Netherlanders*, under the Princes, were in
 a bad Condition, and full of Trouble, and so wasted, as was
 hardly to be seen in other places: But the Goodness of the
 Princes as New, They in Authority being present, and the
 very greatness of the Distemper hastned to apply Remedies.
 The United States, to whom but newly redeem'd from Servi-
 tude,

tide, was accrewed an Ample Dominion, made all their Dan-
 gers to be but stricter Bonds to connect them, being over-
 whel'd by successful Arms; although they had, since that, been
 reduc'd to so small Necessity, out of their Old Discipline
 retain'd their Courage against their Enemy, but more equally
 their Concord and Modesty. On both Sides there were great
 and strong Endeavours, while, for above the space of Thirty
 Years, they contended to put an end to their Labour; with
 which hope they have profusely wasted their Forces even to
 Extremity; as if Victory had stood before their Eyes, pro-
 mising Reward to them that could hold out longest. And
 first of all, the *Winter* being Frosty, the *Hollanders* escap'd
 great danger, by reason the Rivers were all passable upon the
 Ice, from the Enemies seditious Mutinies, which they turn'd
 to their Advantage: For *Lewis* of *Nassau*, marching with
 great privacy out, with a select Party of Horse and Foot,
 broke into *Wachtendonck*, a Town not far from the Borders of
 the Dutchy of *Cleves*, formerly taken by Count *Mansfeldt*,
 after a Two Months Siege, when the Duke of *Parma* had
 drawn the *States* Forces another way: The Horse, which
 had lately been added to that Garrison, for the preserving
 thereof, were then, by chance, absent, foraging about the
 Borders of the Bishoprick of *Colen*; yet there were the en-
 800 Souldiers; but the Ice of the Trenches was not broke,
 and the Situation of the Town far from an Enemy, and
 among Cities associated in Friendship, made them more se-
 cure than usual: Therefore a few seizing the Rampire, with a
 small slaughter, they open'd the Gates to the rest: Then
Gelen, both Lord and Governour of the Town, fled with
 some few into the Castle, in hope of Aid, which he had sent
 to intreat, and there endur'd the Terror both of *Grenada*
 and *Bullis*, shundred upon him; until *Lewis* his whole Party
 approached and brought Scaling Ladders to the Works; and
 yet some resisted, and among them a Woman well grown in
 Years, not without the hazard and Wounds of those that op-
 posed

posed them: But, at last, overcome by Multitude, they yielded this place, which was not of a contemptible Situation among the Marishes, and then was full of good Booty, because many of the *Boers* had betook hither Themselves and their Wealth, because the War raged all about those parts: After a few days the Souldiers brought in sufficient of all Things, both as to Victuals and Defence.

Among the *French*, that fought for the *Hollanders*, was one *Breantee*, a Gentleman of good Birth and Bloud in *Normandy*, who, vaunting in his Youth, had challeng'd to fight 30 of *Grobenloncks* Troop; the chief of whom were infamous, for the Treacherous Delivery of *Gertruydenberg*; and therefore certainly, this was an unbecoming Contest for a Person of Honour: Each of them, with an equal Number, came out into a Field not far from *Sbertogenbosch*, the *Grobenlonckians* being better Armed, but *Breantee*, more exact in his place and order: At the first Charge, *Breantee* kill'd the Enemies Leader, who was named *Abraham*, but was known in the Camp by the Nick-name of *Cook*; and so sharp was the Fight, and the Shot directed so rightly oppositely, that in the first Conflict, on both Sides, the one half of the *Commanders* fell; but, by the flight of the *French*, whose Courage began to fail, in the continuance of the Danger, *Breantee* being left alone, having oftentimes changed his Horse, and afterwards fighting on foot: at last overpressed with a multitude of Enemies, yielded himself: The *French* affirm he agreed for his Life; against which the *Brabander* say, That by Agreement, the Conquered were to expect nothing but Death: But, certainly, being Prisoner, he had prevail'd much, when some, sent out of the City, kill'd him with 30 Wounds, while he onely begg'd they would let him dye Armed, and like a Man. A Wickedness fit onely to be committed by such ignominious Persons, and yet a good Lesson for magnanimous Youth; That they should not, under the false Title of Honour, affect those kind of Conflicts, from whence can

arise neither a profitable Victory to the Publick, and among Wise-men Death, in such a *Quarrel*, doth hardly deserve a Pardon.

The *Winter* yet continuing, lest any occasion given by the Enemies Troubles among Themselves might slip, Prince *Maurice*, suddenly providing a *Fleet*, and dispersing otherwise several Rumours of War, within 3 days forced the Castle or Fort of *Crevueur*, adjoining to the *Maes* and *Dils*, to surrender. The Enemies Host, that came thither to late to strengthen the Garrison, and were denyed Entrance at *Sbertogenbosch*, that City always fearing Souldiers, were ill almost to the Number of 500. The Works about the Fort, augmented by *Maudesa*, were now finish'd by Prince *Maurice*: From thence he went to the Fort *Andrew*, where the *German* and *Walloon* Souldiers, thrusting out their Captains, openly acknowledged a Sedition; and sending *Balotte*, who, under pretence of an Expedition, should assure them out, they escap'd the Fraud, yet they held that strong Fort, not without hope of pardon, as a Pledge for the Arrear of Three Years Pay due to them; and for this they were more obstinate against the Enemy, because a less price was offer'd them for their coming over, than they hoped to get, and yet saved both their Oath and Honour. There were some great Guns left there for resistance; the Rampire it self was like a Castle, wherein were two Fortresses or Batteries upon the *Mass*, and two upon the *Wael*; the fifth looking toward *Harwarden*: About the Trench, and beyond it, were continual Galleries, and then again a Trench, within which the Rive's were contained: In the strength of these Works, the *Spaniards* had so great Confidence, that *Albertus*, in his Letters and Discourse, boasted, That he possessed the Mouth of the River, and that he had put a Yoke upon the Necks of the *Hollanders*. As long as the Soil overflowed by the Rivers, this *Winter* would not bear digging, being solicited to come to Articles, they resolutely denyed, and a Captive Souldier being

being dismissed by Prince *Maurice*, to perswade them to a Surrender, was kill'd, in detestation of the Treachery, nor would seem to send the Body into the Camp. Whereupon, minding Counsel and Advice into Force, Prince *Maurice* thought nothing so fit, as to begin the Besieged with a Camp, and to fortifie himself against Enemies from abroad: Whereof dismissing the Horse, whereof there was no use in those moist and wet Grounds, he placeth part of his Forces in Ships, and upon Bridges, in the Fields of *Tiel* and *Bunnik*, and other small Islands in the *Waal*: The main of his strength he settled on the Edge of *Brabant*, and breaking the Bank, lets in thither the *Maas*, that he might have the more free space for Erecting his Works, and also stop the Enemies passage that Way: Besides, in six places he built Forts, with other lesser Bulwarks intermixt, whereby all passage to him was utterly cut off; and for increasing their Terror, the Castle of *Batenburg*, situate at the *Maas*, and yet carrying some glimmering of the Old Name of the *Hollanders* in its own, formerly as far as the *French Borders*, was brought into subjection, by the Battery of great Guns, whose Noise and Thunder the Besieged heard: And they were grievously wounded with Darts, yet unevenly thrown, and at uncertainty, which the others returned to them again; and many of them being consumed, they were forced to seek lurking places under the Rampire: But the want of Wood and Medicines most afflicted them, the moisture of the overflowed Ground being very prejudicial to the Health of their Bodies.

The Souldiers in the Town of *Sheritogenbosch* kept up their hopes, by giving frequent Signs by Fire, and endeavouring to carry in Ships, but in vain. The Army also came under the Command of *Velasco*, threatening great Things; but they could find no way to their Companions, the Fields being cover'd with Water, and the Forts opposing them. And now much of the Mountain Snow being melted, by the approach

of the Spring, and after their Rivers returned to their bounds, the Pioneers began to fall to work, especially, in the night, and when the Moon grew old: At length, they came to the Gallery, which we mentioned to be encompassed with a Rampire. When the Souldiers, though they had not suffered the utmost extremity, yet being out of all hope of Relief, and Prince *Maurice* hasting to redeem the time, they came to Conditions, and one hundred twenty five thousand *Flarins* were payd part of their pay due from the Enemy, which they divided man by man; For this price was that famous and well-built Fort, bought, standing most conveniently for the defence of *Holland*, then the Cannon, and whatever else was therein, and one thousand two hundred Souldiers coming over to the *Hollanders*, who performing (according to Custom) all the Sign of joy, even They Themselves, triumphed over Themselves: These men afterwards, did very good service, when giving over their licentiousness, they returned to the Discipline of War; yet they were for this thing proscribed as *Traitors* by the Enemy, which together, with hatred, and fear of punishment, put them in an excessive rage. If these things were not to be approved, before rigid Judges, certainly, these are more excusable then the *Germydenburgers*; for they, though defrauded of all their pay, for a long season, yet had stood out against a Camp, and a two months Siege, they do not complain upon just Causes, since they alter their obedience to good advantage.

About this time, the *States* set out an Edict, that no one should reproach these new Souldiers for their transiſion, or coming over, as well understanding, that even for smaller causes, an Army hath sometimes fallen to intestine discord, as of late during this Siege, two Souldiers, the one a *German*, the other a *Frenchman*, quarrelling at Dice, fell to fight, when of a sudden, each of their Country-men coming in to take parts, had like to have been the cause of great slaughter and blood.

blood-shed; for scarcely could the contest be ended, even by the interposition of the *States*. About this time, the long pertinacy of the City of *Groningen*, having justly enraged those that emulated it, made the rest of the *States* fall upon sharp resolves, such as is scarcely usual among free people: the common people being in their own nature fierce, and having gotten *Governours*, that were exiles, during the rule of the *Spaniards*, and therefore behaving themselves with the greater confidence towards the people, disdained to live under severer Laws now, than those that oppressed them under the King, by whose connivence, they had obtained to have their Houses Tax-free, and some other things beneficial indeed to themselves, but prejudicial to the Inhabitants: who remembering these things, by the Decree of the *United States*, to whom they had subjected themselves, they would not agree, that many of the Privileges they had nominally used, should be taken away from them: Besides, they had neglected for three years together, to bring their *Tributes* into the *Treasury*; and since, they could not without a most pernicious example, suffer their Judgments to be condemned, and their undertaken care to be depraved. Count *William*, though prone to mercy, is commanded with a party of *Souldiers*, by force, to reduce the Townsmen to their duty; but be moderated with prudence; the sharpness of this Command, by restraining the *Souldiers* from doing injuries, and taking no notice of the words of the incensed vulgar. Yet warning the *Citizens*, lest while they remained in their fury, they should as formerly, fall to acts of Hostility, that he might not diminish his Forces, by leaving a great Garrison among them, he bridled them with a Castle, wherewith their courages were quite lost, (so that from a City that had ever been free, they were now glad to receive a token of extreme servitude. 'Tis true, these things are usual with such as rule by force, nor could any thing more have been done to Enemies: It was time certainly, to lay down the Arms which they

they had taken up against Castles, if the Authours of liberty would rather chuse to imitate, than revenge such things: And they also desired, that part of the rest might be remitted to them; but the remembrance of old faulcs, had banished their long offered Clemency, especially considering at present, their contempt and disobedience: yet the event mollified, and abated the envy of this action; for the movers of these troubles, were afterwards carryed onely to the *Hague*, without any other punishment; and the *Magistrats* being translated to People of more peaceable temper, their right of suffrage in the Council, was restored to them, and all things afterwards transacted with equity.

In *Friesland* also, a great contention arose concerning Taxes laid upon *Cattell* and *Pastures*, the Townsmen urging it, and the *Country People* that lived all over *Extergo*, and *Westergo*, gainstaying it, so that soon after, out of an ambition of eminent Offices, which as is usual, nourished the differences, came to that height, that part went to *Famker*, while other part of them remain at *Lievert*, and both under presence of publike Counsel, distracted the *Common wealth*, and drained the Treasury: in which Affairs, Count *William* interposing himself, and first calling the Authority of the Judges, and then taking Arms against those that were departed, did not escape the envy of having affected the Government, beyond the allowance of the Laws: At last, when the Associated *Provinces* all interposed themselves, the matter by the appointment of the *Dputies*, was re-settled in peace, according to the old form: as an addition to those evils, a sorrowful *Messenger* arrived, bringing tidings of a Treaty of Peace between the *Arch Duke*, (to whom the *Spaniards* had left the managery of the Affair) and the Queen of *England*, whose *Embassadors* were then met together at *Bulloyn*. The truth is, both of them had cause enough to desire peace: the great unde takings, and bold attempts of the *English*, both in *Spain* and *America*, terrifying King

Philip

Philip, so that he was forced to the vast expence of great *sums*, to defend those far distant *Navigations*; and besides, it was hoped, the *Hollanders* would be more ready to hearken to peace, when their hopes of Aid from *England*, was utterly quashed; But the *English* were fore-warned of their danger, by the successes of *Irish*, and new Rebellions and Commotions in *Ireland*; springing from a late Edict of the *Pope*; and the *Forts* of *Ulster* and *Admister*, being difficultly regained, and with much labour, there yet remained several lurking places in the Rebels hands.

After three moneths, it was perceived that the *Embassadors* could not be drawn to agree, the *English* refusing to be preceded, and the *Spaniards* hating to have any equals; Nor was there any better progress by intercurrent *Messengers*, while those as much fear a peace, as these desire it. Thus they parted at that time, and the Affair was left to be treated of in Writing, untill the *Queens* Death and Successor, as we shall shew in its proper place, put an end thereto. In the interim, *Embassadors* came to the *Hollanders*, from the *Emperors*, because the *States* had sent *Letters* to meet them by the way, as to their Resolve concerning peace. These *Embassadors*, being *Herman Count Mansfeldt*, and *Charles Nussell*, came notwithstanding, pretending they had other things in Command. Their words seemed more to advance the Dignity of the Ancient Empire, then the fortune of the former year merited: Namely, That they should restore all places they held in *Germany*, and give satisfaction for the damages done by the *Souldiers*. That they should not defend themselves like their *Enemies* otherwise, as they were equally guilty of the fault, so they should equally suffer punishment with their adversaries. That they would treat nothing of Peace, yet they should know, that *Treaties* could not be always varied, without great suspicion, and that they would no longer bear the *Taxes* laid upon *Commerces*, which by pretence of the War should be continued; Hereto it was afterwards answered, and

not without desert, *That the losses should be imputed, and the places taken for defence, be laid to the fault of them that first brought an Army into a peaceable Country*; and if this were to be pardoned in the *Spaniard*, they hoped it would not make them more guilty, having been necessitated to do the like. As to the *Islands of Gravewart*, and concerning Peace, they gave the same answer, which they had often before done; But because the *Spaniard* had relinquished *Ros*, it seemed convenient to them, that *Emmeric* also should be delivered, that so the Enemy might the more justly be blamed for the retaining of *Borck*; Some Discourse there was at this time, of matters of less moment, a mention of a Truce being thrown in by the by, which the *States* gently denied, as not suitable to the times. And a *Trumpeter* desiring a safe Conduct for *Deputies*, which were sent by the *States* under *Albertus* his obedience to the *United States* concerning a Peace, being for some dayes retained, that they might not discover the great preparations for *War*, that were then on foot, was commanded soon after to carry back *Letters*, wherein, before they would speak of Peace, they admonished them, first to free their *Country* from foreign force; For after it was determined with the *Souldiers* in *Fort-Andrew*, it fell out, that the rest in those parts, moved with no less madness, acted things no less disadvantageous, so that the *States* of the *United Provinces*, supposing it necessary to make use of the *Enemies* discord, bent their studies to greater undertakings. The *War* now being transmitted into *Flanders*, was attended with very great want, and scarcity of all things, which was both the cause and nourishment of *Seditions*; for they knew nothing could more straiten the *Treasury*, nor put their troublesome Affairs into a greater confusion, then to possess that *Country*, which was most abundant in all products of the Field, and in a manner, wholly belonged to the Enemy; it was also full of *Ports* and *Harbours*, from whence the Sea might either be infested, or guarded, and commerce, for the

support of daily charges, secured; The *Zelanders* before all the rest required, that they might not be left open to the dangerous Neighbourhood of the Enemy, more then they beyond the *Rhine*, and in *Holland* it self; That *Ostend* might be freed, and those of Thieves, *Newport*, *Dunkirk*, and *Scheldt* taken: If they did but surprize one Town, while the Enemy was gathering together his Forces, and while he could entreat them to action, they should easily bring it to pass, that for the future, they might make the Enemies Country the Seat of the War. And to this purpose, they hastened their preparations with a great confidence, to be ready as soon as the Wind should favour them; and while it continued North, which is directly against them, the Forces from all parts, and the Provisions, did but slowly meet together, the General Assembly being appointed at *Ziburge*, a Castle in *Walcheren*: There were 127 Companies of Foot, and 25 Troops of Horse, with a Train of Artillery, and all other Warlike Furniture, together, with a Fleet of 800 Vessels: Here it was debated between the *Prince*, and the *Deputies* of the *Provinces*, who being the main motives of this Expedition, offered themselves to him, as Companions, and Assistants of his Counsels and dangers, whether they should expect a prosperous time to set Sail in, or while the Enemy was unprovided, lay hold on occasion: which later opinion prevailed: But the Carriages, and other Provisions going by Sea, onely the Souldiers, with four great Guns, were wisted beyond *Hute*, the furthest part of the *Scheldt*, from whence they marched by Land, to *Ostend*, a Town situate upon the Sea-coast, and in the *States* power, but inclosed by the Enemies, with even Forts, to prevent excursions, where with the *Garrisons* therein had vexed the Country, in the exacting Tributes from them: nor were the Souldiers by all those Forts so restrained, but that yet sometimes they would break out.

Hitherto,

Hither, that they might the more safely come, Count *Ernst* of *Nassau* was sent before with some part of the *Fleet*, to assault the *Philippines*, a Fort in that part, the Garrison where of being forced to surrender, and marching out, when *Assens* also was departed, the Prince so disposed his Army, that *George Count Salms*, *Erasmus* of *Nassau*, with part of the *Fleet*, and *Fort General* of the *English*, all had distinct Forces, and Govern'd the Army by a *Tripartite Command*, the Horse being distributed into 7 Bands, over which *Louis* of *Nassau* had the Chief Command; for he being design'd to the chief Managery of the Affair, had none to partake with him in his Authority. But the Country-men, being terrified with the Fame of the approaching Army, fled on all hands from the scatter'd Villages, leaving them desolate; and so far were they forgetful both of taking part, as formerly, in *Defense of Liberty*, that they took prisoners all Soldiers they could meet with, at unawares, or by Treachery; and upon such as were thus taken exercised all Acts of Barbarism: Whereby, the Fury of the Army became so incensed, hat they burn'd the Dorps and Villages, far and wide, in their Passage and progress: Their Course was steer'd directly to *Bruges*, by *Eikele*, *Maldegem*, and *Malca*, Villages of Note: *Letters* from the *States* were sent to *Bruges*, and also to *Gans*, to put them in mind of their *Antient League and Friendship*, whereby they had jointly Covenanted against *Foreign Dominion and Tyranny*: And unless they were willing to submit to their present Slavery, They doubr'd not but They would assist them both with Forces and Money. These *Letters* they receiv'd, but with so much disdain and rancour of Mind, that, as it were in despite, they of *Bruges* accepted a Garrison from *Albani* at that time, which till then they had constantly refused; and with their Cannon infested the Army as it pass'd by, though not to any great damage, yet not daring with any Parties to come near to skirmish.

Prince

Prince *Maurice* passing thence to *Jabec*, was told that the Port of *Oldenburg* was deserted by *Albertus* his men; the like was reported of *Plaffandale*, *Snaskerk*, and *Bredene*: in these places, as also in all other convenient for passage, the Prince left Garrisons, such as should suffice to Repulse the small Parties of the Enemy; and that the Enemies Councils might be the more diligently inquired into, and Intelligence received, being uncertain what to prepare, since none could expect a well-order'd Army, among turbulent and disagreeing persons.

Count *Solmes* with one third part of the Army, was commanded to go before to *Ostend*, and conduct in o that Town the States Deputies, that they might with the more safety consult of the further manage of the War; which done, he besieged Fort *Albertus*, which was distant from *Ostend* about an hours journey towards *Newport*, among the Sand-hills upon the Sea shore. Passing hence to *Newport*, he prepared all things for a Siege, having taken the Works at the Port, which falls down to the Sea a great distance from the Town. In a short time the Prince came thither with the rest of the Forces, intending to encompass the Town as much as the nature of the place would bear. In all this Journey the Souldiers had enough of all things but only drink, for the Cattle where ever they were met with being taken away, was the cause that both Wine and Beer was very sparingly brought to the Army; nor could they alwayes get water, in so much that some not only looked for, but greedily drank foul and dirty water; yet the damage of the Slaves and Servants waiting on the Army, somewhat mitigated this penury, for *Spinola's* Ships had taken upon the Sea twenty Vessels loaded with that sort of people, and by their own sloath and negligence, while they might have waited for the Fleet that was to conduct them, whereby to prevent being made a prey to others: but this proved no great damage to the Publick, nor did the Enemy long keep the glory thereof, for the whole

whole Fleet afterwards being assembled under Admiral *Warmond*, the Wind immediately rising, those Ships being utterly useless, but in calm Weather, were shattered with great loss and damage. At which time happened a new thing, for one of the men that rowed, being a *Turk* by Nation, by the shot of a bullet, was freed from his Chains without any hurt to his person, so that leaping into the Sea, and swimming over to the *Hollanders*, by a happy temerity escaped a perpetual misery. Among all these things, *Albion* perceiving that this was no tumultuary Band that came to Forage, but an orderly Army under command, and that the whole burden and force of this War was now going into *Flanders*, and there to devour the very bowels of the Government; casting away all other hopes, he gathers together his Forces from all parts, as resolving to meet so great a hazard of War with his whole Forces. Nor doth he leave any thing undone that might hasten forward his design, for first he called back the Regiments he had sent into *Gelderland*, then gathered together all that lay about *Antwerp* in a running Band, and all that were quartered in that part of *Flanders* and *Brabant*, where the *Scheldt* divides them. Care also was taken for appeasing those seditious *Spaniards* in *Flamant*, who being transfared thence to *Diest* under hopes of money to be there paid them, and having other provision made for them, at length by little and little returned to their old obedience. And though there was a necessity of associating as many as possible, for that otherwise the number of the forces would be too small, yet still there remained a fear of their seditious humours, but at last being won by prayers and promises (which is often seen in War), that they would lend their helping hand to the repelling this common danger, they yet retained their discords, yet so as that the Enemy should not rob them of their reward. But the *Italians* who succeeded the *Spaniards*, both in *Flamant*, and the cruelty of their sedition, would not stir thence, as suspecting that

if they got the Victory, yet they should be little advanced thereby, but that by their deaths the Princes would be great gainers.

The number of all they could gather into a body was but an thousand Foot, and sixteen hundred Horse; with these as fast as so great and heavy a Body could be moved; the Arch-Duke himself went, not relying on the Care or Fortunes of others herein: In their Journey, they made a Halt at *Gant*, where the Arch-Dutchess *Isabella* came to them; not affrighted with the Noise of War; and beseeched them; *That they would not leave her in this extremity of danger, and frustrate her in the top of her hopes.* But turning particularly to them of *Diest*, she said many Things, both concerning the time and matter in hand; and that she might raise in them the greater Confidence, laying her Hands upon her Earrings and Jewels, she protested, *She would first part with all these principal Ornaments of her Fortune and Honour, than that the well-deserving Soldier should want a Reward, much less go without his Pay.*

At once the News of the Enemies approach, and the danger growing to them in the next Forts thereby, arrived at Prince *Maurice's* Army; so that some strikers with the force and Terrour of this so suddain coming of the Enemy, fled from the said Fort: For they that were to defend *Plasendale* and *Bradenes*, being but few in number, would not so much assist the Enemy: But they that held *Oldenburg*, part of them being gone out to Forage; and so the Garrison weakened, yielded up their Charge: The same did they that were left at *Snakerk*, surrendering the place, upon Articles for Life: But the Fury of the Rout, thinking it long till they embued their hands in the Enemies blood, contemning the Laws of Arms, and the Religion of their Chieftain, who had signed the Articles, fell upon them, and kill'd them all.

The blame of this wicked Cruelty he cast off from himself upon the Seditious Soldiers; and this was done, either

to make them hated and odious, or else these disobedient men really thought to make amends to their Prince, for their dubious Fidelity, by their perfidious Treachery upon their Enemies: It was Night, when the Report of this matter came to the Prince's Ears, and the *Terrors* thereof frightened the rest, who had foreseen nothing less: Nor do I suppose them dis-ingenuous, who believe that the *Hollanders* Affairs, had not for many years, been in the like danger: 'Tis true, there were Forces, which were, without doubt, considerable to their Party; yet the gallantry of the Captain was more than the greatness of the Forces: All the Country round about was hostile; and now the Enemy was at hand, it was too late to fortifie the Camp; nor indeed would it avail them, who were ready daily to be surpris'd with Hunger: For Provisions could not be expected from *Ossend*, when the Enemy would lye between it and them: To fly into *France*, would be no less base and cowardly, than doubtful and dangerous: And if they should stay for the Enemy drawing nearer and nearer to them every minute, the Souldiers being dispersed in the Siege, so that the very Port might be taken from them, it would rather seem to be a Slaughter, than a Battail: Yet for all this, the Prince laid hold on one hope, which onely remained, by the Opinion of all the Commanders in Chief, and other Officers, (the great and famous Day for Battel being not yet come) sent Count *Ernest* with 16 Companies of Foot, 4 Troops of Horse, and 3 great Guns, that by taking the Bridge at *Lessingen*, which one single Passage was still open, the Enemies passage might be stopped towards them: but if that could not be effected, they should yet make them for a while delay their progress, until he prepared his Army, and took Counsel further what to do.

But Count *Ernest*, though speeding all he could, found the Enemy passed those Streights, and out of hope onely to wear out some time, with the two great Guns he had brought with him, commodiously planted to that purpose, he assailed the Enemy;

Army; who at first, doubting lest all Prince *Maurice* his Army were come to give him Battle, but finding it otherwise, moving his men into a more compact Order, and considering how far his Forces excelled the Enemy in number, grew very fierce and ardent to fight: Nor was the like Courage and Resolution wanting in them on the other side; but by the inequality of Men, they seemed rather to have taken Counsel to fight, than by fighting to have conceived an hope of Victory: For, at first, with singular Testimonies of Brave Valour, they were compelled to Retreat, and soon after to fly; so that there were slain 800 Men, part of them dying, part after they had Quarter given them, the Victory growing to that height of Fury, that they would spare none.

This Slaughter (as it often happens) was the means that the rest of the Army were saved: For while the Enemy was busie in following the Chace, and pillaging the Field; Prince *Maurice* got time, first to transpose his Horsemen, and afterwards his Carriages, into that part of the Sea-Coast, which looks towards *Ostend*: During whose passage, if the Enemy had come upon them, there must needs have follow'd a very great slaughter: But he being grown more slow by his Security, and measuring the whole Event by the former fight, sent *Messengers* into the Neighbouring Cities, that a great part of Prince *Maurice's* Army was slain in the Fight, and himself, with the rest, inclosed by Them. Which Letter being read, many of the same Cities, applauding their Fortune, with an over-hasty Joy, posted to make *Solemn Orations* in their Praise, and to declare their *Exaltations*, by all expressive Signs of rejoycing: In the interim, the Foot, and the Remainder of the Horse, some Boats shewing them a Ford not far from the Sea, in two Bodies passed over a Bridge made some what nearer the Town, where the Haven is more narrow.

The Prince, as he carryed any over, still placed them in Order of Battel, yet hiding from the Souldiers the loss of the former Fight.

In the Van-Guard was Sir *Francis Vere*, with a double Band of *English* and *Frisians*, and two Ensigns more, the one belonging to the Prince, the other to Count *Holstein*, who was absent, being to guard *Holland*; the Middle Ward, or Battel, was made up of *French*, *Switzers*, and the New Souldiers from Port *Andrew*; and of this Count *Solmes* had the Leading. The Reteward consisted of *Hollanders* and *Germanes*; the last of which, was all that remained of Count *Ernstus* his Forces: There was also a Band of *Murichers*, Commanded by Collonel *Vlaembrouck*. The Horse were partly in the Front, other part attended the Battel, and some waited upon the Rear-Guard. Thus the Prince order'd his Army, according to the Ancient Policy of famous Captains, and then commanded the Ships to depart, which by this time were in great Number come to him, and to fleeer their Course to *Offend*; That the danger being equal to all, to all hopes or causes of flight should be utterly taken away; but they which had settled themselves in the Haven before, could not presently obey that Order, until they were assisted by the Tide: Besides, some Companies were left about *Newport*, to keep in the Souldiers there, that they might not break out on the Bank of the Prince's Men, when they were engaged to fight. And now the Morning being half pased, and Noon approaching, the Enemies Horsemen, going a great distance before their Battel, came in sight; and after some short Skirmishes with Pistols, being driven from the Shore, retreated to the Hills, where a Band of Foot-men tarried for them; against whom, moving in a slow pace towards the Sea, the Cannon on both sides plaid very fiercely. Some there were with Prince *Maurice*, who advised, at that time, to meet the Enemy, for that would inflame the Souldiers Valour, and increase their Courage and Alacrity. But
others;

others, with more Wisdom, that it was more fit to abide in the same place, whereby they might repel the more easily the Enemies Fury, after their long March over the difficulties of the Sands; which when they had concluded, and the Horse dispersed, which had taken away the Prospect, Prince Maurice, from the Tops of the Hills, which he had possessed for his Advantage in the *Battel*, spied the Enemy drawing nearer, and in this manner ordered: There were Three *Battels*, according to Custom, of which the Middleward being double fill'd the whole breadth of the Shore, wherein were four great Bodies of Pikes; to each of which were added as Wings both greater and lesser Shot, which we call *Musketeers* and *Bow-men*: They of *Diest*, under many Captains, having but one Standard, made the first *Battel*, wherein *Montesa* was present: The Right Wing of the second *Battel*, which consisted all of *Spaniards*, was commanded by *Montesa* and *Villars*; The Left, made up partly of *Italians*, was order'd by *Sapena* and *Avilos*: Between these Two Bodies, was a select Number of Horse, which were the Arch-Duke's Life-Guard, appointed to stand: In the last place were the *Netherlanders* led by *Barlotta* and *Bucquoy*, with *Auxiliaries* out of *Ireland*, whose Captain was *Bastuck*. The General of the Horse, by reason of *Landriano's* infirmity, was *Peter Galen*; onely they of *Diest* had their own Officers, whose power was no more over them than at pleasure: And as they differ'd in Language, or their Arms, being either Lances, Guns, and Breast-Plates, so were they drawn out and disposed into Troops. The Day decaying, as the *Battels* grew nearer each to other, the wiser *Spaniards* thought fit to take Advice, *Whether they should engage in a general Battel, and try the doubtful Chance of War*: For they did not find (as was believed) the Enemy hastning his flight into the Ships, or moving away, but standing with Resolution, to sell their Lives, and revenge their Deaths.

Thus the *Battals* being prepar'd, and all the *Souldiers* on both sides, encouraged to fight; That whoever was the *Conqueror*, could not but expect great effusion of blood: They were to take care, that they did not drive him to hope, who being unwares fallen into so great Dangers, was brought to such a condition, that he could not fear or decline fighting: That they had better beseege him, since all the *Countrey* was theirs, and the *Enemy* had no place of Retreat: In the mean while, the *Souldiers* should rest themselves, being wearied with long Journeys, and not only Fight. But there were others of Opinion, That they should make it their first care and business, to recover the *Fort Albritus*, before spoken of. And besides, the Minds of the *Souldiers* were so elated with the success of the former *Battal*, that they believed they were come thither rather to take Prey, than to fight; that old saying of the *Spaniards* being frequent in the Mouths of most, *The more are the Moors, the more glorious the Victory*: Nay, it was almost come to that, That they would not go off without *Battel*, though the *Enemy* seemed to decline the same. And many of the *Commanders* thought that Alacrity of the *Army*, and vehemency of their Minds, was to be encouraged; wherefore, laying aside all further delay, which was look'd upon rather as specious, than advantageous, They thought fit, by *Exhortations*, to raise the *Souldiers* Courage already inflamed, That they would perfect the *Victory* already begun, increase the *Spoils* already gotten, and not only slay the main Body, but the very *Remains* of that *Army*, begun to be Conquer'd by them: That they themselves were men practised in Fights, those ignorant, and Rebels to God and their Prince till this time, having received so great presumption as to pitch their Colours against Us, on purpose only to be destroy'd, and are at this time ready to fight, because they can find no means ready to fly: Here are no *Ditches* to pass, no *Ramparts* to scale, nor any *Defences* for *Slack* or *Conwardise*; but as *On-casts* they come out of their lurking places, having nothing but *Arms*, and those depraved and made of no force by the guilt of their

their Consciences : That it now lay in their (viz. the Spanish Armies) hands, to make their Prince as great as they would have him, for this one day would fully restore his Dominion to him, if they would strive for the Victory ; nor should there be any further occasion of War, for this would be the first and last Battel : Thus indeed at Turnholt, they kill'd some of the Spanish Army ; but, what were they ? such as chose rather to run away, than to meet the Enemy ; neither, at that place, was there either a Battel, or an Army, or a Prince ; whereas, at this time, he, for whom they fought, should be a Witness of their Valour, whose great Victories at Calais, Hulst, and Amiens, they should call to Mind, and each of them take Example from his Valour, Constancy, and Industry.

These were the general Exhortations used by the Nobles as well ; but to the Spaniards they were more particular, repeating to them many famous Acts, both of ancient and later Times ; inciting them, by the Honour of their Ancestors, who were not content with European Victories, but proceeded in their Conquests to unknown Worlds, and made another part of Nature by their Arms, whereby their Empire might become immense and boundless, by their Duty to their King, whom they should believe present in person with all his Soldiers, to attest their Deeds, and desire them not to relinquish his Sister, nor his Kinsman poor and contemptible ; but that they should go on cheerful, and fill'd with hopes ; that it might be made manifest, that there wanted not Courage, but Enemies, which had caused the protracting of so long a War, against one single Province. Some also there were that vowed, That they would not spare one Enemy his Life ; besides Prince Maurice and his Brother, whom they thought worthy only to be kept for a Triumph.

Not less did Prince Maurices Commanders, with various speeches, as seemed to each most convenient to encourage their men. To the English, was set forth the common dan-

ger, and their constant alliance both in Arms and Religion; the *French* were provoked by their natural hatred of the *Spaniards*, and the fresh memory of the troubles wherewith their Country had by those been embroyled: to the *Switzers* and *Germans*, the name and honour of their Nations, was a sufficient incentive, that they would transmit to their Posterity, the same Nobility for Valour and Vertue, which they received from their Ancestors, and to remember, that in defending the liberty of others, they strengthened and maintained their own; Here the Soldiers of *Fort Andrew*, were admonished to give an experiment of their fidelity, there they stirred them up, by the injurious Language of the *Spaniards*, calling them Renegadoes, and affirming them unworthy of any benefit from the Law of Arms: The Prince himself did not refrain speaking to his Brother, (for he would always be inseparably with Him, and at this time, could not be wrought upon by any Intreaties to retire to the Ships) to whom he said, *For you truly Brother, I grieve and grieve, since the event of War is uncertain, and this thy Age ought not to be more safe for its own sake, than for thy Countries: I know not by what fate, you are engaged with me in this danger, where the Commonwealth, which we equally defend with our Arms, is at once endangered to be deprived of all her hope: But since it is come to that, that there is no place for us to fly, if we be vanquished, and that we see the Eyes of all those bent upon us, as expecting from our actions, some remarkable evidence of Honour and Vertue, Let us go on to the Battel with such a Courage, as may give us hope of Victory, but not to fear death in the attaining thereof; This will become you and me, and all that belong to the Noble Family of Nassau. A proof whereof, you see, is now required from your self. Surely I rejoyce, and so will your Country, to see the Courage and Resolution, which makes you rather to cast your self upon your Fortune and Valour, then the safe retirement of the Fleet: Here he ended, and then riding up and down to all that were near him, and calling them by the sweet and blandient*

Tithé

Title of Sons, he beseeched God to be present, to take a just revenge upon those who had by perjuries, so often contemned his Majesty. The Authour of the War, having with him the same Enemies, which destroyed the same Cause, Religion, Laws and Faith, which they pretend to maintain; That, whatever the Enemies Forces had, either of Valour or Discipline, they had it from him; for they were generally without order, without experience in War, and no less hated by their Friends, than their Enemies: at variance among themselves, mutually suspecting each other, lest either of them should gain by the Conquest of another. Nor are they at this time, brought ready to fight by any thing more than an overhasty rashness, which being once spent, and repressed, continually languisheth, till at last, it becomes nothing: Have we not found the very people, in the ambiguity of Affairs, wavering, in adversity fearful, and in prosperity neither to be kept in awe by Law or Justice. Wherefore now, let us revenge our selves, if not for revenge sake, yet because there is a necessity that exacts it; On this hand is the Ocean, whose Waves are merciless, and will spare none: On the other, stands the Enemy, breathing forth cruelty and perfidiousness; and therefore you must either overcome that Foe, or resolve to perish: Lastly, coming to the *Frizons* and *Hollanders*, he exhorted them to remember the *Common-wealth*, which had been built and cemented with the blood of their Fathers and Kinred, and of late increased by so many great Victories: And as the proud domineering of the *Spaniards* was obvious to their Eys; how much more intolerable would the slavery be to them, when conquered, than of old, when they were yet unbridled. The Contest was not at this time for their own; or their Ancestors glory (though there may be a Reason why valiant men should set a light esteem thereon) but for safety; nay what was to be preferred before safety or liberty; for now they fought for their Wives, their Parents, their Children, their Country, their

their All ; For at this time, were all these to be vindicated Having thus spoken to the Souldiers on every part, he immediately prepared to begin the Battel ; and to that purpose, commanded two of his six Cannon to be carryed and planted upon a hilly Ground, which the Seamen, a People used to labour, presently with great force applying themselves to, brought to pass, notwithstanding their great weight, the troublefomness of the Sea, and steepness of the Cliff, lay for a platform under them Hardles and Planks : No less skill, did the Enemy make to bring his Cannon which were eight in number, and to plant them upon the shore : which done, at the Thunder of their discharge on both sides, the Waves of the Sea danced, and the Neighbour-shore trembled with the horrour of the noyse ; The Bullets, which could fall in no empty place, glutted themselves with a plentiful slaughter ; yet Prince *Maurices* Men suffered the least loss for the Enemies Artillery stood upon plain ground, and had little benefit by their Carriages : The *Holland Fleet* also offended the Enemy with their shot from the Sea, which when he perceived, the shore now growing narrower, because the Tyde of Flood came in, he drew his Battel more inwards towards the Downs ; all the whole Coast and Fields, are full of little Sandhills, for a long space of Ground, which make the place uneven ; to which part, the heat of the Fight was transferred, which for a great while, continued bloody and dubious, as either the advantage, or disadvantage of the place, helped or hindered ; but afterwards, the Captains on both sides opened their Battels as much as the ground would give leave : the Vallies and tops of the Hills, were possessed by the Infantry, in the plainer part of the ground, being somewhat more distant, was the Cavallery ranged : But *Albertus* that he might extend his Forces, the middle Battel being commanded to march forward, what before was the Vanguard, became now the Right Wing, and the Retre-ward the left-Wing ; For putting his greatest confidence chiefly in the

the Spaniards, and next them the *Italians*, hoped the Enemy would not be able to sustain the Force of that double Band; but the Prince opposed against the Enemy towards the Sea; Sir *Francis Vere* men, and next to the Fields, the *French*, the rest he placed behind as Reserves: And now the Enemy sent out from both Bands some small shot, which as soon as it was perceived, four Companies of *French* were drawn forth, three of which were to fall on the Enemies left Wing; for General *Vere* with some Select men of his own, was set forward against the Right: protesting to the Prince, either by life or death, to merit thanks that day: Nor was he deceived; for he fighting among the thickest, and having beaten back the Musketiers, and assailing a great stand of Pike, he received two wounds, had his Horse killed under him, and was mounted on another; and upon the Arrivall of his Brother, Sir *Horace Vere* with fresh Forces, magnanimously brought his men safe off. At this time, the Enemies Horse (which had been placed as Wings for strengthening the Foot) violently falling into the Flank of the *Statesmen*, made a great slaughter: whereby it happened, that the *Spaniards* Courages were increased, and the *Nassavians* began to faint; upon which sight, the Enemy falling on more violently, suddenly a Panick fear and flight, surpris'd all on that part of the Army, with so inconsiderate trepidation, that many of them for fear of the Enemies Sword, ran into the Sea, and there met a shameful and certain death; But the constancy of the rest, and the Prince himself, who was careful of all things, quickly restored that want of Courage. The *French* came in opportunely, to supply those that were in distress; and for the better doing thereof, were divided into two Bands, by the care of the Count *Solmes*, and the Captains *Ommervills* and *Sant*. And these falling on at first, at the push of Pike, had good success by the help of the Musketiers, who standing in the higher places, powred their Bullets incessantly upon the Enemies Pikes standing below,

which wounded and galled them infinitely. And when an intire Body of *Netherlanders* and *Irish Souldiers* advanced against them, Count *Solmes* commanded the *Switzers*, and *Souldiers of Fort-Andrew*, to give on upon them, which they did with great Courage, and while they were in the heat of Fight, he sent both the *Batavian Regiments*, to wit, one of *Utrecht*, the other of *Holland*, to their assistance, and last of all, the *German Souldiers* put themselves into the Fight. For Prince *Maurice* thought it convenient to assault the Enemy with shor, and to renew the Fight in as many places as they could, so as they that were tyred in the Fight, might have time and place to retreat, and fresh men still come to supply their places, and this very thing broke the Enemies strength, and made the other not to be Conquered; for there was room reserved for recruiting the Forces in Fight, so that the Enemy still encountered with fresh men, as often as he offered unwarily to pursue any that fled; But among the Hills, there was one continued Fight, especially where they grew less; and also beyond, by intervals, the Fight was renewed: When the Foot met at first, *Lewis* of *Nassau*, with six Troops, which were followed by three others, fell in, and routed the Enemies Horse. At which time, one Gentleman, who Commanded the *Princes Guards*, pursuing those that were routed, had passed all the Enemies Forces; And three other Horse Commanders, led their Troops against the *Spaniards*: Nor did Count *Lewis*, who was diligent to lay hold upon all occasions to get advantage, neglect to take six Troops of Cuirassiers, and with them, to charge the Enemy afresh.

In many Conflicts this day, did that great Commander shew his Valour, until the *Spanish Horse* Rallying, and coming in on all sides, had almost inclosed him, being followed at that time, by not above ten men of all his Company, but the constancy of his own Resolution, and the Captain of a Troop (named *Cloer*) came in season, and saved him from
that

that imminent danger. In the mean time, they who had formerly gone out of the Battel, to be refreshed and comforted, came in again, and began the Fight anew, whose both appearance and Fortune, (the Battel being in many places) was various and different. Sir *Horace Vere* in the Playn, at the end of the Hills, with six Companies fighting the Spaniards, and others in other places, as every one found, or could get an advantage; so that it seemed, as if the Fight had been every where scattered, and as fresh Forces, or a new Enemy, met on either side; so did the Victory as yet continue uncertain, now inclining to one party, anon to the other.

But among the Horse, the quarrel was sooner decided, it easily appearing, that the *Mauritians* would be Victors, even from the Courage of the Commanders, for the Enemies best Souldiers were absent, as *Contrera* in Spain, *Landriano* by reason of sickness; And now the *Spanish Lancers*, turning head, fled to *Nempont*, the *Nassavians* pursuing them in the Rear: yet for all this, the Foot kept their ground, and fought successfully enough, even among the little Hills, from whose tops they beat the Princes Men, coming even to their Cannon, which were placed upon a little Hill not far off, as is before related: Three hours did the Battell continue with equall Courage on both sides, during all which time, there was nothing seen but death, represented in the most hideous shapes of horror, great effusion of blood, and both near at hand, and far off, nothing but terrible spectacles of horror and dying: And then at length, the fury began to abate; and because at the beginning of the Fight, most of the Souldiery was fighting, through ex remity of labours their Bodies began to grow faint, onely the *PRINCE* infused Courage into his men, from the hopes of Victory.

Here

Here he busied himself in rallying such as were out of order there, as often as any Enemy appeared to be made ready, fresh Bands to encounter him; and in another place, he was not wanting to incite all, undauntedly to go through the residue of the fight. At last, towards evening, he resolved to conclude the Battel with the Horse, in that part of his Army being irresistible: to this purpose, he sent two Troops, to stand upon the Sea-shore, near the great Guns; one of these belonging to Sir *Francis Vere*, the other to Captain *Bale*: These he directed to charge the Enemy, not did his hopes fail him, because from hence, according as he fore-judged, began the first appearance of Victory; for the Enemy willing and earnestly desiring to put an end to the Fight, came directly against them. But the great Guns thundered upon them with that fury, that they were forced to retreat, with a great slaughter both of Horses and Men; yet fetching a compass about the next Hills, and running further, returned to the Sea-shore, until the *Mauritians* attending the *Artillery* with great fury again, poured shot upon them as they advanced. By which means, the Enemies Horse being utterly beaten off, presently the Foot-Regiments were set upon, and routed, and their Colonels *Sapina* and *Villars*, taken alive.

On the other side, the unwearied Valour and Virtue of the *Prince*, his present Counsel; yea and his very countenance, made his Souldiers *Conquerours*, while he would not suffer them to be overcome: which when the *Spaniards* saw, who fought in the middle Battel, although they were yet equall, or rather more strong than the other, being terrified with the fortune of their friends, stood very tremblingly: nor were they wearied out onely with the common troubles of a Fight; but by the provident care of Prince *Maurice*, had more than they could bear. Their eagerness of spirit by the abating of Courage, being wholly eaten up by fear. For the Sun which was opposite to their faces, was made use of

to blind them; so was the Wind, which was higher than ordinary in Summer, to drive into their faces, the smoak and the Sand: 'tis true, they endeavoured to have gotten that benefit of the Heavens to themselves; but Prince *Maurice* being every where ready to prevent them, hindered their design, and by this means also, their Guns were useless to them.

The *Mauritians* during the time of the Battel, had so bestirred themselves, and lost so little time, that each of them had made thirty shots; and they which were at the Planked Battery, did as much harm as those that were upon the firm ground: The Enemy had not the same advantage, and their Cannon being neither raised nor well planted, by their own weight and force were fixed, until at last the Sands giving way, they were removed. Besides Counsel and Policy, Fortune also assisted the *Nassavians*, the Enemies Powder being blown up, wherewith they should have charged their Guns: And Victory being cryed out, though before the time, yet was a good Omen to foretell a true one.

The Arch-Duke *Albertus*, while any hope remained, riding through the whole Army, was reported to advance with those of *Duff*, against the Enemy, with his Face uncovered, that so his example might be the more famed; in which action, 'tis said, that his Ear was struck by the top of a *German* Souldiers Lance: There was one who had laid hold of his Horse Bridle; but was immediately killed by the diligent fidelity of those that guarded his Person. At length, doubting the Fortune of the Field, he departed out of the Battel: It is believed he might have been taken, if the Souldiers at *Ostend* had sallied out upon them as they fled; or they which were sent to *Lessingen-Bridge*, had durst to have remained there; but part of them being such as escaped the mornings slaughter, being mindful of what was past, and dreading what might happen in the future, were timorous; but the Horse, whereupon the *Arch-Duke* rid, being eminent

for

for his Color, (but changed, for that he was tyred) became afterwards a Prey.

The General being fled, they which till now had fought with equal Valour, betook themselves to their Heels, yielding their Backs to be harryed by their Persuers, till by little and little all had left the Field, but Four Thousand *Germans*, who keeping their Orders, fairly Retreated with Honour: Nor did the Victors delay to follow their flying Enemies, as they were scatter'd over the Marishy and unpassable parts of the Country.

But the Prince, after Thanks given to God, the greatest part of the Day being spent, he withdrew some choice Regiments and Troops from the *Battel*, to be a Safeguard and Reserve against any suddain Chances of War; which done, in the very place of the Fight, with the chief of the Captive Lords, he took his Supper and Repose that Night, as the sole Support of the Victory.

All round about were scatter'd Arms, and dismembred Limbs, both the Hills and Valleys were cover'd with blood, and the place a Recepracle of Dead Bodies: Some found fault, that while the Victory was yet warm, they did not presently prosecute the Reliques of the Enemy. But the Slaughter before received, the Souldiers being pinched with want, after so long a Fight, and a great many of them wounded, the Multitude of Prisoners, the Darkness of the present Night, the uncertainty of the Ways through Ditches and Boggs, and the Forts and Castles lying in the Way, deterr'd that Resolution. However, there was great Honour gotten thereby; nor shall you easily find a famouser Action of many years past. Some curious in *Antiquity* did observe, that almost Three Ages before, *Albertus* or *Austria* met *Adolphus* of *Nassau*, and took from him both his Life and Government; and now the same day, being the 2d of *August*, the Fate of the same Families is changed.

There

There were slain in the very *Battel* near 3000 of the Enemies, the greatest slaughter falling upon them of *Disst*, and where they fled; all the Ways, Fields, and Marishes, were strowed with their dead Bodies. There were almost 1000 kill'd in the Victorious Army, besides those lost with *Erasmus*; the greatest part of the *English*, whose Valour was most active, with 8 of their Captains, were slain in the Fight; the rest all but two, were wounded: All the Artillery, and above one hundred Colours were taken, many Prisoners, of whom several were Noble-men.

Mendoza himself, while yet the *Battel* was uncertain, when he was beaten from his Horse, and led aside as a Prisoner, Prince *Maurice* took great care for him, in commiseration of the common Fortune, and remembrance of Affinity; for *Henry of Nassau*, being of Old very powerful in *Spain*, married a Wife out of that Family. *Sapena* dyed of his Wounds, but giving infinite Applauses to Prince *Maurice's* Providence. The Noble Young-men, that belonged to the Arch-Duke's House, were presently, and without Ransome, set at Liberty: But the *Legats* of the *States*, who were inclosed in *Ostend*, never passed any day with so much Care and Sollicitude; for they which came out of the Forts, deliver'd to *Albertus*, as also, they that fled from the slaughter in the Morning, brought with them into that Town very great Terrour: And after, when both Armies were in fight fighting, as *Fortune* inclined, either this way, or that way; so to them it seem'd that the *Commonwealth* reeled: Now falling to their Prayers, anon to the consideration of the Fortune of War; and, as any one had been the Mover of more venturous Counsels, so he seem'd to be chiefly concern'd in the danger: But after the Event had freed them from their fear, and that early the next day, the Prince himself came with his Prisoners, and all other Ensigns of Victory, then might you have seen the Joy of their Countenances, and superabundant and festitious Gratulations. They had seen him
often

often Victorious, often deserving the highest Applauses; but more especially, famous was the Action of this Day, wherein the safety of so many men, and in them of their Country, and the Honours of so great a Triumph, they acknowledged onely to be received from the Goodness of Almighty God. But the *Courtiers*, who are a crafty sort of Men in sowing Discord, chiefly from this very time began, as envying the Great Mens Authority, to object the Prince's Anger, and some Speeches of the Vulgar; as if they, being valiant enough among safe Counsels, had, for their own sakes, onely engaged so many Armed Men, and the Prince himself in so great Dangers.

The three first days, after the Fight, were spent in deliberating concerning Things of greatest moment on both Sides, while the Prince advises part of his men to go and receive *Oldenburg*, that so a Passage might be opened into the very Heart of *Flanders*, and other parts to return to the Siege of *Newport*. Now began the Weather to grow Turbulent, both with great Winds and Rain, which caused a procrastinating Delay in the Transacting of many Affairs; besides, the Souldiers began to be refractory to Command, either grown timorous, by the Review of the great Dangers they had lately passed through, or else embolden'd by Victory; for they quarrel'd, and sometimes fought about the Prisoners, whom some, out of Respect to the Law of Arms, or that they might not lose their Ransome, endeavour'd to preserve: Others, especially the *Scots*, offended for the loss of their Companions, or pretending the like Wickedness from the Enemy in some Cases, without any Respect to their Officers commanding the contrary, openly slew them. But, in the interim, *Albertus* having recollected his Courage to bear his Loss, re-inforcing with strong Garrisons *Oldenburg*, and other Forts thereabouts; and, not far off, at *Bruges*, prepar'd to raise a new Army, out of those that survived the Fight, or could be sent for from all parts of the *Borders*. Some also fled

to *Newport*, whither afterwards Prince *Maurice* came, but could not perfect his Siege, by reason of the unseasonableness of the Weather. At which time, first five hundred, then two thousand men, conducted by *Barlotti*, got into the Town; by which means, they were so well able to defend their Walls, that they could make frequent Sallies, and many times successfully enough. Which Prince *Maurice* perceiving, the Twelfth Day after he came thither, he led away his Army; and, with like difficulty, attempted to besiege one of the Forts about *Ostend*, situate among the Meadows, and call'd by the Name of *Isabella*. Hither also *Claudio Barlotti* came; and did his best and last Endeavour, being there slain with a Bullet. He was a Man of a noble Courage, a *Lorrainer* by Birth, and skill'd in the Art of *Chyrurgery*; by which he got his Living; but afterwards, by some unworthy Act, reconciled to Count *Mansfeldt*, whose Wife he was said to have attempted: But arising to Honour, he so behaved himself, that he was esteem'd worthy of greater Honour every Day; by which means, his Death was much lamented by his Generals, and as much rejoyced at by those who envied his new and upstart Rising.

Prince *Maurice* being out of all hope of making War in *Flanders*, by reason of the difficulty of the places, and the recruited strength of the Enemy, at length hoysted Sayl to *Ostend*, carrying no other benefit with him of his hard-gained Victory, besides the Glory thereof: Before his departure, he commanded Fort *Albertus* to be demolish'd, but the Enemy quickly repaired it. And as the Fleet went away, the Weather, by chance, being Calm, *Spinola's* Ships ventur'd to set upon some stragglers thereof, as they lagged behind: But the Winds on a suddain rising, they could scarce get safe away with all their Oars, the Fleet pursuing them, until they were hindred by the Shallows: Some Attempts of Count *Lein* of *Nassau* into *Brabant*, about this time, came to nothing:

thing: The rest of the Year, being almost the half thereof, was spent in quiet, as if equally divided between these two great Enemies; the one, contenting himself in the happy Event of his successful *Battel*; the other, in the deserved Honour of saving *Flanders* from Ruine.

While *Flanders* was thus involved in War, an Assembly of the *States* was summon'd at *Bruxels*, according to the old Custom, but of late omitted; being perswaded hereto, because they understood the Disposition of the *Netherlanders*; and he was advised also, to put on a moderate Carriage, and to use perswasive Language; and, under pretence of asking Counsel, to require Money. [He said, he was very much grieved for the Evils, wherewith the People were oppress'd, nor would he augment them by Dissimulation; And if any Remedy for the same could be obtained by Peace, he would be ready to further the same: But if the Enemies Obstinacy gain'd a Settlement, yet they should not despair, for that their Cause was better: For their Benefit, the Spanish Wealth was consumed, from whence had been drained, for many Months, to maintain their War, Two Hundred and Fifty Thousand Scutes Monthly: But that Discipline might be restored, the Souldiers employed without injurious Actions, it was just, that the *Netherlanders* themselves should give their Assistance, that Pay might be rais'd for the Souldiers, and for discharge and maintainance of the Garrison. And when the Revenues of the Prince's Patrimony was in the French Troubles laid to Pledge, they ought now to be given to him and his Princely Spouse, for the better Support of their Grandeur and Government.] While the rest of the Things were in Debate, the business of Money was laid aside; by which means, Mutinies and Seditions began every day more and more to spread; so that a new Design was laid between the Remains of those of *Dies* that escaped from the late *Battel*, and the Souldiers of *Hannant*.

But the *Netherlandish States*, by this occasion, interesting themselves more nearly in the *Common-wealths Affairs*, fell to Inquiry, *What was the Advantage they received from the Spanish Aids, and what was fit to supply the Garrisons, and maintain the War both at Sea and Land: But the main Thing they insisted upon was Peace.* But the *Hollanders* suspected many Things, and not without Reason; as, *That all the Castles in the Netherlands, and the chief Offices, were in the Hands of Forayers, contrary to the Laws; and that which is set down in these very Instruments made of late, by which the Netherlands were transferred to the Arch-Dukes: For there was a Necessity imposed upon Religion, the Indies shut up from them, and the Princes themselves obliged to the King of Spain as Pensioners and Clients; which things they found fault with, partly as grievous, partly as mischievous: But if King Philip would take away these things, and, by the Princes leave, it might be lawful for them to make a League with the Hollanders, that so there may the greater Credit be given to their Covenants, they hoped, in short time, to submit all the Provinces under one Government.*

The Arch-Duke consented, that Deputies should be sent, in the Name of the several *States* under his Command, to the *United States*, to try their Intentions: And to this purpose came *Gerard Horn*, Count *Blessigny*, *Philip Bentingen*, and *Henry Code*, a Burgo-Master of *Ippe*, to *Berghen-op-Zume*, after *Newport Fight*, at the same time when the *United States* Deputies went out of *Flanders* and were arrived there; They desired that a Meeting might be appointed in that place, that so they might Treat of the Means conducing to Concord: Many Things were spoken on both Sides, in detestation of War, and in commendation of Peace, and for the general safety of the *Netherlands*. On the behalf of the *United States* it was urged, *That nothing could be more acceptable to them than to purge the Netherlands from Foreign Slavery; for which whereof, they promised their best Assistance; And if they would resume their Ancient Liberty, there should be no difference*

between them in point of Religion; but if they did not think fit of this Proposition, they could not imagine what success they could hope from this Treaty; for what Peace could they expect from the Spaniards, who broke Peace with them about had no thoughts of War? But the Archdukes are bound to the Spaniards by Conditions dishonourable to the repute and fame of the Netherlands. And the Brabanters, Flandrians, and other States are in like manner obliged to them; of what validity therefore will any Agreement be that is made with them, who live under Lords, commanded by Castles, and kept in awe by Souldiers, so that they are not Masters of themselves. The Archdukes people answered, That they came to Treat of Peace, not to make a defection, nor would it be just that themselves should lay aside their Arms, while others kept armed; but whatever was agreed between the States, the Princes would ratify.

These things being heard and spoken by the Archdukes people, and imagining that they must utterly throw away all hopes of Peace with the Hollander so late a Conquerour, fall to examine the Charge of the War, and after a long debate what every Province should pay, because the old form appointed in the French Wars, by reason the Forces of the Provinces were altered, and Arms inferred on other places, could not be observed; at last they agreed to lay certain Taxes upon all Chimneyes and other things, and thereupon promised, thirty thousand Florens Monthly for the next year, but it continued for the future. That every of the Garrisons should pay their own Souldiers, and that no Citizen should be compelled after that to give any Souldier a gratuity: That part of the Forces should be commanded, and part of the places governed by *Netherlanders*, and that the Treasury should be ordered by the States; part of which the Archduke denied absolutely, other part he never performed, though he gave hopes thereof by promise. Many also were much offended at certain Letters brought by *Henrico Gusman* out of Spain, wherein the King called these
 Squares,

years, His. The same endeavoured to make an inquiry in
 the Merchants Accounts, if there had been any dealing with
 the *Hollanders*, (for this is usual in *Spain*) or if any money
 could be spared from the *India Companies*, but by the de-
 cay of *Antwerp*, this project came to nothing. The *Dan-*
ishers raged no less against the *Hollanders* at Sea. And
Albertus himself commanded, That the *Hollanders* should
 be debarred as well of their Fishing Trade, as their Traf-
 fics and Merchandising otherwise, on purpose to drive
 them to penury, and consequently to sedition. And the
Dutchers being exasperated with the punishment of many
 of their complices, added their own malicious fury to this
 command of the Archduke. And therefore they punished
 this simple sort of men (for such generally is the Religion
 of Fishermen, that they think it very unjust to repel force
 by force), sometimes by burning, other times boring holes in
 the bottoms of their boats, now by driving nails through se-
 veral parts of the mens bodies, and so putting them to a long
 torment under both the sense and fear of death, and other-
 wise infested the Sea with such cruelty, that sometimes the
 Ships of War that were to guard the Fishermen, were assailed
 and taken. But when the *Hollanders* brought out against
 them a considerable strength, divers of these Pirats were ta-
 ken, and expiated their inhumane Villanies with their heads,
 and the rest were glad to retire into their old dens and lur-
 king holes. Their Chieftain himself, named *Wakeney*, with
 some Ships escaped his pursuing Enemy through the Narrow
 Seas by *Bulloin*, and got to *Biscay* in *Spain*, and afterwards
 having committed several Pyracies upon the Coast of *Bre-*
tagne in *France*, at length hated by the *Spaniards*, and the
 greatest part of his Seamen consumed with want, himself dy-
 ed miserably. Against *Spinola's* Galleyes, that they might
 be able to fight them in any weather, at *Dort* was built a
 great Ship (such as the *Hollanders* had none before) and was

furnished both with Men and Guns: the first men put into it were hired with wages, afterwards Malefactors were condemned to row therein, because Christian piety would not suffer such as were Prisoners of War to be put to that slavery. And the device very happily succeeded, for that alone being put to Sea, made many of the Enemies fly, carrying only with it a smaller boat. And in a short time, so great was their confidence, that adding only a few Cockboats, and choosing a peculiar night, the *Holland Galleyes* silently rowed up the *Schelde*, between the Forts of *Brabant* and *Flanders*, whence passing to the very walls of *Antwerp*, at first unawares they took a ship with three tyre of Guns, and seven lesser Vessels, and afterwards by force and slaughter of the Defendants, carried them away. The City raised with the outcry, and running to the Walls, looked upon their own loss, and to their high disgrace, suffered it to be carried away unrevenge'd, for the Conquerors went away safe, and loaden with spoil, after they had sounded a well known tune in praise of *William Prince of Aurange*, not without some affection of the Citizens, remembering former occurrences.

Towards the end of this year, the *Hollanders* were filled with the hopes of a *French War* to be made by King *Henry* against the Duke of *Savoy*, who being allyed to the *Spaniards*, as having Children by his Sister to whom he was married, was believed would undertake nothing without his knowledge. The cause of the quarrel was the *Marquisate of Saluzza*, which the *Savoyard* had taken from *France* while it languished under intestine troubles. And the Pope, who by the Peace of *Verbin* was appointed Arbitrer in these and like cases, undertook the hearing of the business, but delayed his Judgment, untill the *Savoyard* at the instance of the *French King* came personally to *Paris*, and having underhand bribed the chief Ministers of State, appeased him also with fair promises and obsequiousness; but the non-perfor-

mance

mance at the day appointed, made *Henry* proclaim War, and by force to assault several Cities and Castles of *Savoy*. In the mean time *Fontaine* (who had sometime ruled in the *Netherlands*, and then governed *Milwan*) gathering very great Forces, wherewith all the people round about suspected the *Spaniard* would make War in *Italy*, because also from hence sometimes designs were laid against several *Venetian* Castles, otherwhile new plots were discovered upon some Cities of *Low Germany*. But a sudden peace put a stop to all the *Alpine* troubles, it being agreed, That for the Marquisate of *Savoy*, the Countrey of *Brescia* in the borders of *Lions*, in which is the bridge of *Rona*, should be delivered to the *French*, adding an exception, That it should be lawful to the *Spaniard* to lead over the said Bridge his Forces, either into the *Netherlands*, or *Burgundy*.

And now King *Henry*, that after Peace abroad, and dissensions in Religion settled at home, and ordered by good Laws, he might establish his Kingdome in a right Heir, desires that the Pope would suffer him to be Divorced from *Margaret Valois*, long since disaffected by him, having been of no good fame; and besides that, for many years barren: which was soon granted, and he Married to *Mary* the daughter of *Francis* late Prince of *Escuria*, a Lady of excellent disposition, and which by her more mild temper should purge out of *France* all envy against the Name of *Medices*. And the same Prince confirmed a League of Amity with *England* by new Conditions, wherein was concluded, That the boldness of *Pyrats* should be restrained by severe Judgments and Pledges.

The Tenth Book of the History of the Dutch AFFAIRES.

IN this year one thousand six hundred and one, The Armies being recruited and augmented, did threaten grievous and terrible things : for the great Captains lay as it were at watch, and fixed in expectancy of the manifestation of each others counsels. The whole Winter and Spring was spent in Stratagems and Foraging, before the restrained violence of War burst out with greater Force. And first of all a Soldier born in *Brabant*, urged by the persuasions of the Jesuits and hired with money, that under the pretence of bringing in several prisoners to *Gertruydenbergh*, he should open the Town to the Enemy, was apprehended before his design could take effect. Soon after some *Mauritian* Horsemen, suddenly forcing a certain Castle in *Limburg*, brought thence a great prey, and many Prisoners. About the same time one Captain *Cloet* was sent to take the Castle of *Craeyn*, which is in the Jurisdiction of *Mours*, and together with the City and Country by gift of the last Earl came to Prince *Maurice*, but had been held by grant from the Duke of *Parma* to *Salentine* Count *Isenburg*, by the said Count until that time ; the same *Cloet* took beyond *Wachtendonck* three hundred Horse, and some Foot : which being understood, one *Dulquin* Governour of *Straten* a Town hard by, marching out by the Archdukes command with above four hundred Foot, and a few Horse, in the darkness of the night, fell upon the Enemy ere they were aware of him. And now he

had

had taken about thirty, and killed some before the rest awaked with the noise could make themselves ready; but as he retreated through the narrow passages, *Cloet* going another way through the open fields, met him, who being inferiour to *Cloet* in Horse, the Village being seized, he was forced to surrender. Thus being Conqueror, and hastning about what he was sent, he found the trench of the Castle full of Ice, and not broken, as his spies had brought him intelligence, so that easily coming to the Gate, which he forced open with Gunpowder, he drove out the Garrison.

Albertus hitherto had Covenanted with the Souldiers in *Hamont*, that leaving that more inferiour fear, they should have the Town and Castle of *Waert*, from whence both the Countreyes of *Leige* and *Gulick* were exposed to their plunder, whereat the neighbours were grievously troubled. But all their frequent Messages and Complaints were slightly passed over, because it was known of old to be a kind of gain, under the pretence of sedition to maintain War at the charge of others. So also were the people of *Cleves* vexed with the Garrisons of *Berck* and *Geldre*, and the misery of that people who had deserved better, was increased, in that the *Hollander* assessed as much money upon them as had been withdrawn by others, saying, *That it mattered not whether by force, or voluntarily, they increased the Enemies Wealth, since they could not defend themselves from it.* And because they heard of a Fleet preparing in *Spain*, and that the *Duikerers* infested the Sea with more then ordinary boldness, a greater Navy of Ships was sent to Sea, yet for all that some Pyrats appeared still, who in the sight of *Schvelling*, (which is a Village upon the Sea-Coast of *Holland* near the *Hague*) they exposed their Captives, and received their Ransome. But soon after being circumvented by some Fisherboats, wherein some Souldiers were put, they gave satisfaction for their audacious attempt, by their usual and deserved punishment.

Some old Ships also were sent to *Dunkirk* Haven, where being full of stones, they were sunk, on purpose to choke it up: But as oft as the Sea ebbed, the wood being cut away with Axes by the Towns-men, at the flood by the violent beating of the Waves, the place was again cleared of all. And some Merchants Ships going into *England*, were taken and made Prize by *Spinola's* Gallies, the Ship of Warr which was to be their Convoy, after a long fight with the Enemy, a great number of whom was slain, by some fire thrown into it, utterly perished. The same also thought to have set upon *Flushing*, some within the Town being corrupted to have set fire thereon: but one of the Conspirators falling by chance sick, and by the terrour of approaching death, repenting, and making confession thereof to his ghostly Father, the whole Plot was detected and punished.

In the interim, new Mutinies and Seditions arose among *Albertus* his Men: And the *Antwerpers* pacified a Man of Warr that lay in the *Schelde* and made a Mutiny, by giving them part of their pay. And the *Wallons*, that kept the Forts about *Ostend*, raged even to the wounding and killing of their Officers, yet were largely indulged, because by the *Hollanders* Promises they were like to be drawn off from their Obedience: and being perswaded to go from their Garrison, they passed to *Monte*.

1. After these things, the United States, setting an Assesment upon all Chimneys, and being assisted with Souldiers out of *England*, and Moneys out of *France*, again fell in Debate upon another Expedition into *Flanders*; but for that, all the hopes of that Design lay in the speedy execution thereof, and therefore that it was necessary first to divert the Enemy to some other part, it was thought fit to make a shew of Warr in the furthest off Borders: To which purpose, Prince *Maurice* sending before some Souldiers under pre-
tence

rence of a Marriage between Count *Lewis* of *Nassau*, and Count *Broakens* Widow, himself came to *Arnhem*, and then making no delay, he speeded to *Berck* with above a hundred Companies of Foot, and Thirty Troops of Horse, of which Place *Jeronimo Lopez* had the Government by the Arch-Duke's Commission: wherein were of *Walcons*, *Italians*, *Germans*, and *Mariners*, almost to the number of Three Thousand Men, sufficient Provisions, Six and Thirty great Guns, and the Works well augmented, over what they were, when *Mendoza*, assisted by the Plague, had taken the Town. And while Prince *Maurice* with his wonted Prudence fortified himself against Force from abroad, *Lewis Bernardo Avila*, not ignorant otherwise, but grown more expert by late practice at *Bommell*, raised a Work without the Trench, and comprehended therein a place for Pasture to feed Cattel, because Salt was wanting for the preserving and powdering of Flesh, besides, he spoyled his own Ships lest the Enemy should get them: But the Prince disposed the Fleet which he brought, partly in the *Rhine* as far as *Colen*, and part of them he kept near himself, The Island, which lay near the Town in the River, being strengthened with a mean Fort, yet quitted at the first battery, was strengthened with more Works, and joyned by Bridges to both Bank:: Then appointing several Quarters or Leaguers, in every place where there was any likelihood of passage, pitched his Camp in three parts, one of which himself was resident in, being situate in the higher places next the Town: The Charge of the superiour Bank he committed to Count *Ernest* of *Nassau*: And the middle Camp to Colonel *Gistell*: Commanding in two places Trenches to be made against the prominent Works without the Town, with strong Guards all about, because the Works were often hindred by Sallyes. The first of which was of about a Thousand or more Men, by the way that leads to *Cassels*, this brunt was sustained

sustained and repelled by the *French*, whose Commander in Chief, *Cassilion*, a young man, valiantly fighting, brought back an honourable wound. And yet the besieged not terrified herewith, made frequent Intrusions on the same side, and also in the way towards *Santem*, not without some loss, as they unwarily issued out, and presently beaten back to their next places of refuge.

While these things were doing, News was brought, That *Albertus* had besieged *Ostend*, which drove the *States* into no small difficulty: for it was dishonourable to leave the undertaking they had begun; and on the other side to maintain Works against so strong a Garrison as was within the Town, and to keep the Passages in all the Marishes and fallacious Fields, could not be done without great Forces. And besides, General *Vere*, whom they had appointed to the Government of *Ostende*, refused the Burden, unless he might have Twenty *English* Companies (which would be a great weakening of the Army) to go along with him, which was granted, and the Prince expecting Supplies, continued his Design. In the Interim, the Besieged began to come to an allowance of Victualls, and they requested Relief both by Messengers and Signs: the Messengers were intercepted; but some hopes was given them by fires from the Town of *Geldre*: And it's true, the Arch-Duke had sent Count *Herzbergs* to raise the Siege, with no small Forces, and to this purpose were the Carriages of the Neighbourhood retained: But this Resolve was altered, either because the Camp was impenetrable, by the ingenious art of the General, or else because they would keep the Enemies Army there, that it might be the longer before they should come to *Ostende*: When the Mines were fired, the Prince shewing his Army, and making a Battery as if he intended a Storm, allured out the besieged, whom the violence of the Gun-powder buried beneath, threw up into the Air in heaps: and some being
ready,

ready, entered the ruines and possessed the place, though the Enemy not long after valiantly assaulted them. In short, all the rest of the Works being by the like art or force taken, and part by fear deserted, they presently and directly by means of Galleries, got beyond the Trench under the very Bull-work of the Town, which the besieged fearing, and because they wanted Chyrurgions to dress many of their wounded men, they came to conditions, and that the sooner, that they might article for the safety and honourable marching away as well of the Renegado's, whereof many were in the Town, as the rest: This accession was at first very acceptable to the people of *Over-Issell*, who presently refused to pay Tribute, which for fear of plunder they had hitherto done, the very Boors being commanded to go to Arms and run to their Colours. This Siege was begun in the middle of *June*, and finished towards the end of *July*, when at the same time *Ostend* had been begirt by the Enemy Five and Twenty dayes: But before the Prince would come from those parts with his whole Army, he reduced *Movers*, a Town, as we have said, given to him into his own power, the weak Garrison being ejected, which the Duke of *Cleves* had put therein, clayming the said dominion in Fee, as returning unto him by the death of the right Heir. But he was accused on the other hand, by Patronizing many Wickednesses, to have violated the Laws.

Ostend, (whose Siege for many Ages will be famous, and which I shall Commemorate as a peculiar Warr) is a chosen Seat for Fisher-men, and situate between *Sclays* and *Newport*, but possessing a small tract of Land on the Sea-Coast of *Flanders*; yet begun to be strengthened with a Port and Palizadoes, so that at the very beginning of the Civil War, it became an habitation for Pyrats, who had filled all places with great fear of them. And afterwards when the

States

States Wealth began to increase, by the *Peace* made at *Gran*, this Town joyn'd it self to the *League*, to which it hath constantly adhered ever since : But soon after, the Duke of *Parma* having taken *Newport* and *Dunkirk*, was disappointed here of the *Terrible Siege* he threatned ; and afterwards *La* not having gotten into the Town, but beat out again, not onely added to their Fame, but increased their Care of fortifying themselves, which was augmented, for that *Schuy* was lost, and nothing more remained on all the Coast of *Flanders* besides *Ostend*.

The Front of the Town looking towards the *North*, was washed by the open Sea : On the left hand, which is towards the *East*, runs the River *Iperlede* into the Sea, which makes the Port or Haven, which is such (as the rest of *Flanders*) not able to receive any Ships but at the Tide of Flood : Now they have, by great Labour, cut off the River, yet the Haven remains incire : The *East* part of the Town is full of Sand-hills, and uneven ; but of later time made much more even, least those Neighbouring Heights should advantage the Enemy.

Thus all things being removed, that might hinder or dam-nifie them, and the Sea, of its own accord, making a great Estuary of an hundred Foot wide, in the Plain next to the Walls, whose deepness was daily increased, by the Recess of the Sands, which, at the coming in of the Tide, was a vast Lake ; but, when the Water was at lowest, it exceeded two Pikes length in deepness, and being somewhat more fordable at the very Entrance, and beginning thereof : All the Ground that lyes backward towards the *South*, being full of Ditches, is overflowed by the Sea, which at the Tide of Flood covers the whole Surface of the Land for a Thousand Paces, and sometimes more : With so great strengths of Nature, were the Artificial Fortifications helped : Of old, indeed, there were Formless Heaps ; but now, by Art, were reduced into

into as much perfection, as the Nature of the place would bear; which Refinement began, when *Albertus*, returning Conquerour from *Calais*, and *Hulst* threatned a Siege here, which had been deferred till this time. That which is call'd the Old Town, was now nothing, but a great Abyss of Waters, and empty Ground, looking toward the Sea; but without the Line of *Ostend*, they had fill'd the Sea-shore with five convenient Forts: From hence began a Trench compassing the New Town, into which the Water could be let in or out at pleasure by Sluces: This place was divided with two Walls, the inner of which had Eight Bulwarks, to which the outer answer'd with as many: Where the Stream pass'd by, there was a more slight Work; but at the Back thereof a strong Rampire, and, as it were, a Threesfold Line, with a New Trench intervening.

This is the Circuit of the Towns, of about half an hours Journey: Beyond, were several distinct and separable Forts, and which, if Necessity requir'd, could be deserted without damage or prejudice to the Town: One compass'd about with Palizadoes, beyond the Estuary, at the end of the right side; and others in the Fields, close to the backside of the Walls; or else not far divided from them, by the interposition of some Marshes and Lakes.

The *Flandrians* growing weary of the Excursions of this Town whereby the whole Country was wasted; and finding by Experience, that the Charges of Seventeen Forts, where-with *Ostend* was then inclosed, would be without end; that the Licentiousness of the Souldiers waxed more grievous, and almost equal to the damage received by the Enemy; and of late a new Mutiny bringing their Fidelity in question, urg'd the Arch-Duke, That he would no longer suffer this most excellent Province of all his Dominions to be made unprofitable by one small part thereof: Although there wanted not some Dis-suaders, who, from the strong Fortifications about the Town,
and

and the Sea being always open to it, said, it would not be a Siege, but an unprofitable and long abode of the Army in one place. But Hope overcame all these Difficulties, which also was much advanced by the *Flandrians* Promises of large Sums of Money; and the Enemies Residence at *Berck* made the occasion seem more fit to be embraced, especially since new Forces were arriv'd both from *Italy* and *Spain*, under the several Commands of Collonel *Triumlio*, and Collonel *Braccamonte*.

Therefore, the fifth day of *July*, *Frederick* Count *Herenberg* sat down on the right side of the Town, and soon after *Fernando Montenegro* on the Left, at first approaching very near; but the Cannon quickly commanded him to a greater distance.

Charles Ness then had Charge of the Town, which was furnish'd with sufficient store of Victuals, and other Materials for War, besides One and Twenty Companies of Souldiers; to whom, upon the first notice of the Siege, was added another Regiment, sent by Collonel *Wetherbrook*: And now the Garrison quickly began to shew their Valour, in their first Salley slaying divers Noble-men, among whom *Montenegro*, and above five hundred Common Souldiers. Afterwards, when Sir *Francis* Vars came into the Town, not singly as Governour, but as General, with his *English* Souldiers, whose Number was augmented by new Supplies lately come out of *England*, forthwith it was seen, that he took care, with strong Guards, to secure what ever was of any strength without the Town, and also to extend his Works further out; one of which, for all that being scarce finish'd, the Enemy took notwithstanding it was defended by 40 men: But from the back-parts of the Town, the *Besiegers* being Repulsed, with his greatest Force came to the left side of the Town: In the places that were overflowed with Water, he rais'd a *Battery* by a new kind of means, the praise whereof is wholly due

due to himself, though most of the other late Inventions were found out by the Devices and ingenious Contrivances of Prince *Maurice* and the *Hollanders*; and it was this, They bound together Faggots Twenty Foot long, and little less in compass; wherein likewise were contained Planks and Boards, that they might the more firmly, by their Weight, prevail against the Waters; they were call'd Stuffing: These, by little and little, moved forward, and, by the strength and weight of Engines, pressed down into the Old Haven, soon took away the use thereof, that no Ships could come in that way: But out of the Estuary or Gollet, which we said flow'd on another part, by digging a little on the Shore, a Channel was made, which presently emptied it self within the very Works, and afterwards became a better and more safe Haven.

This way there came in and out oftentimes a hundred Vessels, to carry our wounded men, and to bring in Guns, Wood, Victuals, and whatever else was wanting, either to prevent the Injuries of the Weather, or the fear of Diseases: Nor could the Enemies, though from the higher Ground, prevail anything against it, their Shot being aimed thither at such distance as made them uncertain; insomuch, that because of its freeness from danger, a great number of persons came thither onely out of a desire to see it, *to wit*; Of Foreign Noble-men, the Duke of *Holsatia*, Brother to the King of *Denmark*; and, out of *England*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, who view'd, with admiration, the same place, famous for all the Politike Devices of War: Wherefore, the Enemy finding the Terrour of his Cannon-Bullets to be of no force, left off shooting, and fell to throwing in Bags of Sands, and great Stones, to choke up the Gollet; but that Design also prov'd vain, the violence swiftness of the Waters being too prevalent.

Now

Now when they saw they had no hope of keeping out all kinds of Relief, Colonel *Catrick*, who lay on the *West* part of the Town, making Approaches and Batteries with great Violence, assailed and shot at the Work on that side, of which there were three close together, which were named the *Porcupine*, *Helmont*, and *Sand-hill*, formerly part of the Old Town, but now a great heap of Sand in several little Rifings; one whereof being more eminent then the rest, had on the Top thereof two small Forts, one joyning to another, besides other Works round about, that those weak parts of the Town, might, from thence, be the better defended. To this place were so many great Shot directed by the Enemy, that it seem'd wholly to be made of Iron, yet got they not any benefit thereby equal to that vast Expence; for whatever was beat down, was easily repaired, and as soon as they were killed or wounded, fresh men were sent into their places: Among those killed here by the Enemies Shot, was young *Castillon*, the *French* Colonel, and Nephew to that famous Captain *Coligny*, from whose Vertue and Valour he no whit degenerated; General *Vers* himself was wounded, for the Care whereof he was forced to go out of the Town into *Zeland*, from whence, not long after, he returned safe and in health: Nor were the *Refugers* free from like hazards, for within a few days *Catrick* and *Bracamont*, both Colonels, were kill'd.

In the Town, that the Bullets and Granadoes might be the less feared, the Ground was every where thrown up into thick Heaps like to Walls; and to hinder the Enemies assaulting the Rampire towards the Sea was their chief Care, because by their Approaches, they gave cause to fear the same; therefore, the Bank that was builded for keeping out the Sea, was with some hesitation and danger thrown down, and the Event proved successful against the *Spaniards*, whose Trenches, Huts, and Batteries, made of Osyers, were drown'd

at a great distance, when the Winds made the Waters grow boisterous and Raging, so that the Guards were forced to fly to the high Banks which they had raised thereabouts, for the bringing their Carriages.

The Sea being thus let in, incompass'd *Ostend* like an Island, which sometimes was a little offensive to the Town, but with *Palizado's*, *Stones*, and other Ingenuity of that Maritime People, the greatest force of the Waves was turned upon the Enemy.

Four Months were spent, wherein the *Besieged* made successful Sallies; and the *Besiegers* many fruitless Attempts against the Walls: Some Souldiers also frequently running from one side to the other, and some prisoners taken fill'd both Parties full of vain Rumours; And within that time a Traytor was discover'd, who had promised the Enemy to blow up the Town Magazine of Gunpowder: The Arch-Duke *Albertus* himself, and *Isabella*, were many times Spectators of the slow progress of their Siege; both Officers and Souldiers, in the presence of their Princes, shewing great Alacrity, some binding together more of those long Faggots and Planks, which they wrought into the Fashion of Globes; and rolling these whither they list'd, consolidated Moory places, and added new Works to those before raised; others endeavour'd to connex and joyn together Works and Ways far distant each from other; and some began to dig a great Ditch, that all things might, with the more ease, be brought to them from *Bruges*.

But the *United States*, having lost their Design of invading *Flanders*, after the taking of *Berck*, weary of such vast Disbursements, and chiefly minding *Ostend*, pass'd over the *Summer*, and much of *Autumn*, doing nothing at all: But when they saw the Siege was like to be protracted, and that they did not so much fear the Danger of *Ostend*, as the vast Charges they must needs be at in Defence of the same, they

proposed, either to make the Enemy draw off thence, or if he would stay there, to fall upon those parts of the Country that were unguarded.

A long time it was disputed, in what place they might probably get the easiest Victory, and with the most Advantage to them: At length, *Sheringenbosch* was Resolved on, which since its Defection from the *League*, had never been attempted by open War: Neither was there, at this time, any greater Garrison, than two Companies of Foot, and as many Troops of Horse, which were all Commanded by *Anthony Grobbendone*, the City being always very solicitous, that they might not be overpowered by the Souldiery: 'Tis true, the City were of a generous Resolution, so were the Magistrates and Clergy, of whom there was no small Number very zealously affected: These, *That their accustomed Religion, Altars, Images, and beloved Saints, might not be forsaken, or contemptuously violated. Those, Repent- ing the Heroicall Actions of their Ancestors, whose Valour had so often driven the Geldians from the Limits of Brabant: Adding thereto, their own present Example: For every Night they set out Lights, and took Order by Edict, that the Prices of Victuals should in no manner be enhanced, and that all kind of Deaths should be taken notice of by proper Marks, set forth at the door of the deceased. They Erected likewise a strong Redoubt, for the safegnard of the Fuchten Gate.*

On this side, Prince *Maurice* pitched his Tents; on the other, over against him, the Counts *William* and *Ernst* of *Nassau*: On both sides the Way, lying through low Fields, made the Passage very easie, for *Pioneers* to come to the Town.

This Conveniency, and the Cities being no otherwise Fortified, or re-inforced, than ordinarily it was, gave hope of short Work about it; when otherwise, the Month of
Nov. mbr,

November, and approach of *Winter*, would have been enough to deter them from beginning such an Enterprize; besides, the number of the *Besiegers*, were not sufficient to environ the vast Content of that City, being onely 73 Companies of Foot, and about 30 Troops of Horse, *Ossend* requiring the best part of the Army.

But they feared not any Sallies from the Enemy, who had enough to do to defend their own, being not used to such business, and all the Plain round about being Marshy, was shut up with Forts: They found also a Way to make the next Rivers and Brooks overflow their Banks, by making Damms therein, the more fully to drown the adjacent Parts: But this was not so well done, but that the Souldiers for all that twice broke into the Town: And, at the Request of the *Brabanters*, *Frederick Count Herenberg*, with some Foot, and a strong party of Horse, was sent thither by *Albertus*, a Rumor being first spread over all the parts near, and all things prepar'd, as if he intended to fortifie the Village of *Hellmont*; by which means, he sent into the Town at first almost Three Hundred, and soon after a Thousand Men, the *Besiegers* knowing nothing of it; and when they came to the knowledge thereof too late, they onely kill'd a few straglers in the Rear. Great was the Care and Diligence of the Magistrates and People in the Town to prevent fire, which they greatly fear'd from the Red hot Bullets shot into it; for they throwed the Floors with Sand, took away all Weapons from strangers, and kept in readiness all things that were fit to quench fire: And the more to encourage them, the Arch-Duke sent and promised, *That what Damage soever they sustained in their private Estates, should be made good upon the Publike Account.* In the interim, Prince *Maurice* hastned his Approaches, which being brought to the Trench under the Walls, there wanted onely Galleries, and the last Extremities used towards Cities.

But the Frost cut off his hopes in the bud ; being more early and sharp then was expected ; for it had turned the Water in the Fields to Ice, the Rivers were frozen , so that Provision could not so easily be brought to them , although the Besiegers way to the Town, proved more facile ; but so violent was the cold, that the Centinels were not able to endure it : Whereupon , the seven and twentieth day , the Siege was raised, Prince *Maurice* grieving, and often wishing, that the Weather would grow more mild ; But Count *Heremburgs* approach with his Forces , caused him to make the more hast ; for the Count had taken to him the Souldiers, which after their departure from *Diest*, we mentioned before, to be translated to the Town of *Wart* ; as also those that then were at *Diest*. Nor did the Prince so much fear them in his Camp which was very strongly fortified, as that they should make an incursion over the frozen Rivers into *Holland*, which was then left unguarded, the Carriages, because they had no use of their Ships, as many as could be, were sent away before to *Hesden*, and the residue were set on fire : The Fortifications were all left standing, yielding an ample Testimony of an Expert General , and an Industrious Souldier.

The rest of *Autumn* and *Winter*, was spent in light excursions , The *Hollanders* foraging that part beyond the *Rhine*, which is opposite to *Colen* , under pretence of what was due to the late deceased Count *Mears*, and on the other sides, some parts of *Brabant*, under their obedience, being wasted by the *Arch-Dukes* Command, because they refused to pay Tribute.

The War yet continued about *Ostend*, with equall labour and toyl, both to the Besiegers, and Besieged, for the Winterly Sea, now shattered the Works of the Town, anon those of the Camp ; besides, the great moysture both of the Ayre, and the Ground, bred infinite Diseases, whereof the *English* grew weary, as finding their daily decay , desiring leave of

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General Vere, to return into their Country; by these means the number of Defendants in the Town was so lessened, that of seven thousand, there scarce remained three, which was not unknown to the *Arch-Duke*, who when he saw the Gullet could not be choked up, either by sinking Ships therein, nor any other great heaps of Wood or Stones, and that his Work could not be forwarded that way, the Sea and policies of the Enemy pressing much upon him, he resolved to bring the matter to the decision of true Valour hand to hand.

And first of all, for a tryal of his Forces, he commanded eight hundred chosen men by night, to assaye the Walls of the Town that lye towards the Sea-shore, which they valiantly put in execution, burning up the Palizadoes, and consuming all things of defence towards the Sea for a great space. But the Tyde of Flood in a short time beginning, caused them to depart, leaving behind them not a few of their own number, which had been either killed or wounded before by the shot; yet they resolved, having received new Supplies into the Camp at once, with all their force to storm the Town on both sides, as well that part which looks backward into the Fields, as that which abuts upon the Sea; as also the *Porcupine* and *Sandhill*, the Principal Forts in that part. Of which, General Vere having Intelligence by a Prisoner, and fearing the small number of his men, without any advise of his Officers, but led by his own single Judgement, very few knowing thereof, made a short Truce with the Enemy, and seeming, as if he intended a Surrender, both received, and gave Pledges. But the Souldiers, especially they of *Rossem*, mutinying thereat, as fearing they should be betrayed to an implacable Enemy. Vere was forced to send back the *Arch-Duke's* Pledges, and to declare the Reasons of his actions to his Officers, which was this, That under pretence of a Treaty, he might spin out that time of danger, untill his expected Relief came; which being understood, it seemed

good to all, That for the safety of those Gentlemen, which were then Hostages with the Enemy, they should draw some common Persons among the Enemy into the Town, with whom they would Treat very slowly, upon some unusual and unlikely Terms; among which, this was one, That the Arch-Duke should pay a great sum of Money to the Soldiers, upon their marching out of the Town.

In this interim, a prosperous Gale brought out of Zealand, five Companies of Men into the Town, when immediately, General *Vers* declared both to the Arch-Duke, and his Commissioners, that he had been driven by necessity, to desire a Treaty; but now, in regard Supplies and Relief were come to him, he could proceed no further, without breach of his Oath; yet that he hoped, if he should in the future, be reduced to extremity, by the Arch-Dukes Forces, the Clemency of so great a Prince, would vouchsafe to hear him.

This Affront, (for so was it looked upon) highly enraged the Arch-Duke, because all Flanders were in a manner, come together, to see the delivery of the Town; yea, and the fame of this Treaty, was blown into Foreign Kingdoms. Neither was this deceitful kind of Policy altogether excused by the States themselves, who looked upon it as dishonourable in itself, and carrying with it more of danger, than necessary convenience.

This year, some Foreign Affairs, brought no small disadvantage to the Dutch Affairs; for in England, the Earl of Essex, the great Adversary to the Peace of Spain, though he was not at first committed to Custody, yet was banished the Court, and He that of late was so great in the Princes favour, supported with many followers, and defended with Armies, now could not bear his life without Honour, without Command, pondering in his Breast variety of Counsels, whether he should assault the Court by water, or threaten it with War at a distance, his Enemy prying into all his actions

by

by the *Queens* directions, whose mind was now much incensed against him for former faults, without any regard to his Splendor of Body or Condition, was called to answer for his offences. He understanding his danger, followed onely that Counsel, which at the present was worst of all, being neither modest enough, or bold enough; for detaining at his House, the Lords that the Queen had sent to him: Himself with a small Party, hastning to *London*, and there endeavouring to pervert the minds of the common people, he was prevented by a publick Herald, that by the *Queens* Command, proclaimed him guilty of High Treason, unless he presently submitted, with which the People being stricken into an amaze, fearing themselves, easily put off the care of another. Hereupon, the Gates are shut, his House Besieged, and himself now devoyd of Counsel, surrendred himself, and was carryed to prison by the Earl of *Southampton*. Judges according to the Custom of *England*, being Assigned for his Tryal, he was heard publickly, where he spoke much against his Enemies, especially against the Lord *Cecill*, whom among the rest, he branded with this Crime, *That he promoted peace with the Spaniard, against whom he had revenged them, but never altered his Faith and Allegiance to the Queen.*

A great while, the expectation of all people, was held in suspense, whether the *Queens Clemency*, and old affections, would forgive him, or the greatness of his Crimes, his suspected popularity, and powerful Enemies, would deprive him of all hopes of Pardon; at last, he was condemned, and privately beheaded, giving great Testimonies, both of Piety and penitence, at the end of his greatness, his Death being attended with many of his friends and followers.

The Report of a *Fleet* built in *Spain*, spread a great terror abroad, part whereof was directed into the Hostile Coast of *Africa*, and beaten back with Tempests, the other part carryed a great Relief of six thousand men, to the *Irish* Rebels, under the Command of *Don John de Aquila*, who setting

forth a proud Edict, boasted therein, that he came to deliver *Ireland* out of the Jaws of the Devil: he Landed in the Southern part of that Kingdom, near the Town of *Kingsale*, and vainly expecting great Forces of the *Irish*, was Besieged there by the Lord *Mountjoy*, who Governed that Province for the *English*.

Tyrone, the Head of the Rebels, attempted to break through, leading a great Company of men after him, over the frozen *Moors*; but being beaten back with a great slaughter, he retired into his fastnesses, and lurking places. Then *Aquila*, upon Articles, surrendering the Town, and whatever else the *Spaniards* held in *Ireland*, was in *English* Ships, transported into *Spain*, with the Remains of his Soldiers.

Not long after, followed an unfortunate Expedition of the *Spaniards* against *Casaria*, a City of *Barbary*, (now vulgarly, but corruptly called by an *Arabian* Name, *Algiers*) wherein they reaped no other fruit, than the vast expence of a great sum of money.

Now also, the *Hollanders* began boldly to undertake long Navigations; for they passed the *Streights of Magellan* (so called from the first finder, *Ferdinand Magellan*) afterwards sailed through by *Drake*, and *Cavendish*, *Englishmen*; and now by a fourth, upon their fame, to wit, *Oliver Vander Noort* of *Rotterdam*: this *Streight* being made narrow, with long turnings and windings between the bounds of *America*, and the yet unknown World, he with much difficulty, went through into the *South Sea*, and over against it, the Coast of *Chili*, of an unknown Magnitude; where also, he found some enenayes to the *Spaniards*, and thence by a reflex course, came to the Isle of *Borneo*. And so coming to the Cape of *Good Hope*, having sailed round about the Earth, he brought back no Wealth, but onely great Honour to his Country, and the names of places not heard of before at home; But other Ships endeavouring the same Voyage, having neither Men,

nor Victuals enough, part of them being cast upon those strange Coasts, were taken by the *Spaniards*, others by the *Barbarians*: And after they were taken, were ignominiously tormented and murdered, which in the Salvages, was but ignorance; but in the *Spaniards*, perfect Barbarisme.

At this time, while the *Hollanders* strove to make advantage of all Reports against King *Philip*, they were puffed up with great hope, by a rumour that *Don Sebastian*, late King of *Portugall*, was alive, there being a man found, who had marks upon his Body, such as the same King had, and being taught many private particulars, by some crafty *Portugueses*, deluded the credulity of the rest of that Nation, untill being delivered to the *Spaniard*, by the Duke of *Estruria*, he was condemned to the Gallies (having first been shewed to the People) there to expiate his impudence and subtilty of the worst sort, where he continued in slavery, until at last, he was thence redeemed by the Kingly hand, of a more gentle Death.

The Eleventh Book of the History of the Dutch AFFAIRES.

AT *Ostend*, the Besiegers hope was yet a great way off; but the *Arch Duke* being intraged at the late action of General *Vers*, he resolved to try if the valour of his men could perform any thing against hope; and thereupon, shooting with great impetuosity from a battery to that purpose raised against the Town-works, upon that part where the old Town and the old Haven stood, and understanding

that there was a great breach made in the Works, the ninth of January in the Evening, at the ebbe of the Sea, he commanded the Town to be stormed on all parts; but especially on that part. Two hundred Souldiers under two Captains were ordered point blank to fall upon *Sand-Hill*; as many more upon the left side of the Bulwark, and the like number upon the Curtain running before it. These were seconded by *Durango*, a *Spanish* Colonel, with four hundred men more, whose directions were to put Garrisons of Men into all places, as soon as they were taken, and to that purpose, they were furnished with Victuals and Gunpowder, and what other things are necessary either for the new erecting, or repairing of Fortifications.

Against the *Porcupine*, two hundred were appointed to the Storm, and near three hundred more to defend, and reinforce what was taken under *Gambalotti*, an *Italian* Commander, and under *Don Augustino de Mexia*, four hundred men, with a strong Guard for such as should work in the defences when taken: Afterwards, the whole Army being divided into several Battalia's, that they might be ready to give assistance, when ever occasion should require: And Count *Bucquy* was sent to the East part of the Town: At *Sandhill* there was a cruel and bloody Fight, because General *Vere* having received Intelligence from a Fugitive of the Enemies intent, had brought thither chiefly, as well great Guns, as all other things fit to do damage to the Enemy, and every where kindled fires, that all the Assaylants actions might the more clearly be discerned. And now the Pallisado's being cut down, the Scaling Ladders were brought to the Works, where between the prevalency of the *Spanish* Pikes, and the *English* Swords, was a very hot Dispute; during which, Gen: *Vere* opening two Sluces, and the old Haven, over whose shallows the Enemy was to pass, he drowned all thereabouts for a great compass; by which means, not only the

The Gun-powder was spoiled, which every Souldier carried for his own use, but many by force of the waters were carried away into the Sea, and there drowned; besides, the seconds not coming on according to order, they who were in the first Assault, were compelled to retreat, wherein they met with a twofold Death, the one from their Enemies Weapons, the other from the force of the Waters. And *Jugosoy*, putting what he was commanded to do, in execution too late, performed less; for while he delayed the Tyde of Flood increased, whereby his way was precluded. The defences on the backside of the Town, and other slight Works, General *Vere* took no great thought for, while the Enemy made this Assault, knowing that some threatening offers might be made on purpose onely to divide the Defendants; for it would be of small benefit to the Enemy, if he had them, in regard they could with ease be retaken: which the event proved true.

There lay scattered every where about the Rampires, Curtens, and Trenches, the dead Bodies of Officers and Souldiers, some nearer, some at more distance, as every mans Valour, or care had put him forward, or kept him behind; and many were carried into the Sea, as is before related.

Upon account the *Arch-Duke* wanted near eight hundred men, for the taking up and burial of whose Bodies, a Truce was desired for four hours, and granted: In the Town were near forty killed, but more wounded, among whom was the Generals Brother, Sir *Horace Vere*, while he excellently performed the duty, both of a good Leader and Souldier. Among the Bodies of the *Spaniards*, was found a Woman, who had dissembled her Sex, both in courage and a military Habit, as if he should have accused Nature, for not making Her a Man.

The unhappy success of this Storm, together with the impossibility of starving *Offend*, and the terror of lying all Winter in a wet Camp, moved many of the Commanders to persuade

swade *Albertus*, That he would leave off this unfortunate design in time, before he suffered greater damage. But he was so sollicitous of his own and the Kings honour, that he had rather obstinately persist in a tedious and difficult labour, then let the World know he was unable to Master one Town. Therefore raising a great Mount for battery in the Camp on the left hand, on the right by little and little he made a bank to prevent the influx of the Sea; and this was done by fixing in the ground pieces of Timber, with other pieces overthwart, whereupon great Faggots bound together were placed like Stacks of Wood, the planks lying sometimes divided or open, another time made close like floors, great heaps of Sands were thrown thereon, that so the greatness of the bulk being more compact and firm, might with the greater force stand against the Waters. Which Work proved of such strength, that it not only served as a Rampire for the Souldiers, but was a Mount from whence (Cannon being planted thereon) they daily shot against the besieged. Nevertheless Ships daily came into the Town with relief, without suffering any great damage or hurt. By this time there were come to *Albertus* the most ingenious Engineers from all parts of the World, who all aimed, even with emulation, to choke up the *Gullet*; and when in the night some fixed a Cable with great Vessels and Anchors under Water, from one Bank to the other; the Besieged likewise another night would with little difficulty cut away all that fixed the same. About this time one *Pompey Targon* invented a frame of Wood like a Castle, which being placed in Ships, would carry Great Guns, but upon tryal it quickly appeared too weak to bear the concussion of the Waves, and that the sands would yield to the weight that was underneath in the belly of the Foundation; by the same also were made a kind of Boats, by the joyning together of boards and bundles of smaller Wood, which should altogether be carried by the Tyde, but by the shot of the *Hollanders* Artillery, these were more then

then once overthrown and destroyed. The besieged likewise made provision, That if the Enemy should hinder them of that entrance into the Town, which at present they enjoyed, to have a New Haven between the *Gollet* and the old Haven by the old Town? for the United States were mightily inflamed with a desire of Glory in defending that part of the Sea, making a Decree, as if they foresaw the Siege would continue a long time, that every six moneths the Garrison should be relieved and changed, and accordingly General *Vere* was sent for out, and one *Frederick Dorp* made to succeed him, by whom the ruines of the Town were repaired, the Fortifications augmented, and money continually provided to pay for the pains and labour therein taken: When *Albertus* his Souldiers could not get their pay, which bred the seeds of mutinies and sedition, which is for the most part the Mother of disobedience; the very Government it self was full of fear, and hatred, the Horse being appointed to drive on the Foot upon dangerous enterprises, or force them back when they took themselves to flight, as if they had been brutes without the light of reason to direct them. Moreover their promised largesse of the *Flandrians* fell infinitely short of the charge, and the *Walloons*, that they might do the less help, pretended a Peace treacherously with the *French*. The *Brabanters* had a just excuse from the sedition of the Souldiers that lay in *Waert*, who by the conspiracy of others, wanted not much of surprising the Castle of *Antwerp*, and the Town of *Hulst*; yet among these various crosses of Fortune, some hopes was given to the Archduke, that *Breda* might be surprised. But *Frederick Count Heremberg* that was sent hither, mistaking the way, came not thither till the day-light discovered him. And not long after some of Prince *Maurice's* Horse took Prisoner his Brother *Adolphus*.

Till this time *Don Francisco Mendosa*, who had been taken Prisoner at *Newport*, had been kept in *Holland*, sometimes in a more strict, otherwhile in a more unrestrained custody

custody, and although Count *Bruckells* Widow, and the Deputies of *Cleves* required, That he might be punished for his grievous Offences, the acting whereof, he defended, partly as done by necessity, partly by command. And the States did not think it fit to proceed judicially against a Prisoner, guarded by the Laws of War. But because there was a difference made between the Ransome of Commanders and Private Souldiers; after long debate, it was agreed, *That whosoever of the People belonging to the United States were Prisoners, either in the Netherlands, Spain, the Indies, America, or elsewhere under King Philips obedience, should all be set at liberty for Mendosa;* and either the Kings respect to *Mendosa*, or future Generals, so prevailed with him, that he agreed to the said Articles. And accordingly it was performed, for there returned from all parts of the World, both Merchants and Marriners, whom the Enemies rage for hope of gain, or the Priests hatred for difference of Religion, had carryed and kept there, part of whom had their very joints eaten off with their Chains, and now with joy remembered the darkness and filth they were wont to endure, others gratefully acknowledging their deliverance from the bitter slavery of the Gallies under most cruel Tyrants. And this was a matter of great moment, to incite the common people against the *Spaniards*, by a fresh memory of their old injuries, and for winning their love to the Lords, whose clement and popular action was applauded with many exultations, because they esteemed the liberty of their Subjects before great sums of Money which they might have had. Thus the Agreements being in part performed, and Pledges being given for the rest, *Mendosa* was set free, ever after giving a very good Character of the Commonwealth of the *Hollanders*, which he now came to know by a near converse, and from thence forward, became a perswader of Peace, rather then War to both parties. And from these more certain Rules
for

for the ransoming of Prisoners were set down on both sides.

All this Spring the United States did spend in raising a greater Army then ever they had before, their Minds and Resolutions being augmented with the memory of *Newport Batrel*, and the new seditions of the Enemy, from whence they hoped, before the Souldiers expected out of *Italy* arrived in the *Netherlands*, either to renew their Glory by the slaughter of the Enemies, or by a Land March through *Brabant* into *Flanders*, to go to *Ostend*, and there raise the Siege. But Prince *Maurice*, unmoved with all this noise, resolutely affirmed, That it was safer to use wary and cautelous Counsells, then to run on in rash and adventurous attempts. But the Queen of *England*, and the King of *France* approved the Opinion of the States, perswading them to go on with greater Authority, because they assisted them with men and money. Also a great strength of *German* Horse was hired, and very well furnished, with other very great preparations: And in the Moneth of *June*, Publick Prayers being first made by command, though later then was necessary, the Expedition was begun, at the same time when the *Italian* Forces arrived at the *Netherlandish* borders. And Letters were sent into divers places, as *Artois*, *Brabant*, *Flanders*, and the Deputies of other parts.

The United States wrote magnificent things concerning their Affairs and Assistance by Forreign Princes; they spoke also of the Souldiers sedition on the adverse party, and of the wasting and spoiling of Cities, what was too much truth, and what reward had they for all these miseries, but that which is the last and greatest of all miseries, Servitude? for it was not unknown, what the *Spaniards* formerly prepared, and that a false Pretence, or the bare Name of Archduke might no longer deceive any body, they should see in whose hand was the Government of the State, and the publick Power

Power of Peace and War. If they desired the Glory of their Ancestors, or the Liberty of their Posterity, they should then joyn with them, or at leastwise assist their strong endeavors by some moderate Levyes. Let the Archdukes go and seek more peaceable Kingdoms. That it was easy to drive out the few *Spaniards* that remained in Garrison in several Castles, and then they might put the State both Civil and Ecclesiastical, into what form they would; and that it would be no great pains and labour to attain to the chiefest felicities of Peace and Liberty: This was the effect of their Letters, which were quickly followed by Prince *Maurice*, who divided his Army into three parts, which he commanded to March three several wayes; the whole number whereof, was Five Thousand Horse, and Eighteen Thousand Foot, and almost Two Thousand Carriages; the middle *Tertia* was led by Count *William* of *Nassau*, That on the right hand by General *Vere*, and the last by Count *Ernst* of *Nassau*; yet at no greater distance, then that they could easily meet and joyn upon occasion, however thus divided; they could proceed with more ease and celerity. The whole rabble of Peasants, and other inferiour people that attended the Army with Mills, Furnaces, and other necessaries that were usually sent by Sea, now followed the Army by Land, with no small difficulty.

Passing the *Maas* at *Nimwegen*, from thence the Army marched through the Countrey of *Leige*, by the place where *William* Prince of *Orange*, Prince *Maurice's* Father, held his Camp with his Army, which was conquered by Famine, not the Duke of *Alva's* Arms; which mischief, because he would avoid, by terrible threats he compelled the neighbouring Towns, which of their own accord were more inclinable to the *Spaniard*, to bring in Provisions daily to the Army, and to sell it at a reasonable rate, and yet was scarcely Victuals enough found, to give sufficient to so great Forces.

And

The fifteenth day the whole army sate down at *Centron*, a village in *Leige*, not far from *Tielmont*, where *Mendoza* then lay: for the Arch-duke hearing of this preparation of the States had sent him from *Ostend* with forces, having left there *Don John de Rivez* to guard the Camp and fortify it round about. They that lay at *Waes*, laying aside their sedition for a while, were persuaded to come to *Mendoza*, and increase the number of his forces, so that now he had five thousand foot and four thousand horse. *Ambrose Count Spinola* was sent to joyn with these, with eight thousand *Spaniards* and *Italians* more, which he had new brought into the Country, in hope of winning honor, and to assist his brother's endeavours at Sea and the *Spanish* affairs at land, with this select band of men. For he covenanted with King *Philip* to be reimbursed his charges, and therefore at present he paid his men out of his own revenues; and although *Mendoza* had the chief command as General, yet he directed and commanded his own men; and as he kept them from the want which the rest suffered, so he would not give a licentious liberty, but kept them in a strict discipline: by which means it came to pass, that no souldiers ever behaved themselves with more quietness and civility, yet seldome was there any severity used towards them. By which example it was evident, that the strength of military government consisted in money. Prince *Maurice* lying near them, drew his souldiers out of the Camp, provoking and challenging the Enemy to fight: But *Mendoza* kept his men within their trenches, either because he was unequal in strength, or else broken by his captivity, he yet feared his unlucky fortune, and having once received a great blow, for the future it made him only fight by delay. These by all means avoiding fight, and objecting to themselves the danger and terror of a battel, made the

Prince perceive that all these glorious and great beginnings would come to nothing; for it was not possible for them to goe into the inner parts of that Country with so great an army, through so many narrow passages, among all the Enemies towns, and where the Enemy himself was ready to attend them upon all occasions: wherefore he thought meet the sooner to make his retreat & get to the rivers, and the rather, because Victuals began to grow scarce, and the harvest was not yet come; yet that the year might not pass away ingloriously after such great designs and ostentations, turning his thoughts to things of less moment, he presently sat down before *Grave*, a town within the territories of *Cuick*, hard by the *Maes*, reasonably well fortified, having therein a strong garrison & all other things for the enduring of a siege. Hither being come the eighth day after a tedious march through the parching heat of the Sun, the Prince pitched his Camp in three several parts, where many of the new souldiers unaccustomed to such toil and labour died. On the upper part of the river lay *General Vere*, on the lower himself, and on that part where the fields grow marshy towards *Brahant* Count *William* of *Nassau*. That done two bridges were built upon the river, one hundred and fifteen foot long, and whatever was within the Camp, as also on the other side towards *Gelderland*, was inclosed with one continued breast-work, before which were very deep and broad trenches, for the clearing whereof several forts and sconces were erected that were well furnished with Cannon. The great Bulwark which the Townsmen held beyond the river being deserted, as not tenable against so great force as was used about it, proved afterwards a great assistance to the besiegers. In the interim *Mendoza*, although the most active of his Colonels perswaded him to pursue forthwith the Enemy marching

marching away, and to intercept him in his designs, fearing not onely his fortune; but the blame of any miscarriage that should happen, and besides being needy as well of money as of all things else almost, he had rather advise with the Arch-duke, in this notable juncture of time. But the Arch-duke returned no certain answer, onely admonishing him to be carefull, lest going too far with the army, the *Hollanders* should suddenly with their Fleet invade *Flanders*. From which direction *Mendoza* fearing to recede, in all his motions depended upon the Enemies counsells: yet however, preparing in readines at Roermond what he thought necessary, at length he also pitched his Camp near the *Maes* below *Grave* and Prince *Maurice*. Many thought that he erred therein, for that he ought rather to have chosen the superior part of the country which is called *Rauessteyn*, by which means he might have forced all his provisions from the *Hollanders*; and likewise have kept the like from coming thence to the Prince, because he had lain in the Enemies country. But now his Camp being fixed, it was very dangerous to pass by the *Hollanders* leaguer, and too late to goe round about, because Prince *Maurice* being diligent about his work, had in many places made approches and galleries even to the Town-ditch, by the commoditie of the banks; which were placed on both sides the river to guard the same, and yielded a secure and easy way to the Pioneers. Neither had the *Spaniards* any hope now, but to break through the open places, which were very large, between the Prince's and Count *William's* Camps, and so to get into the Town. To this end ladders were prepared, together with shovells and mattocks, either for the more easy climbing up of works, or demolishing them, as occasion should present: these were conducted by Colonel *Thomas Spint*, being a thousand choice foot, which were followed

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by many others. But the Guards and Sentinells being very diligent and watchfull, although they set forward in the night, together with the breaking of the day, among the tedious passages of the marishes, made their attempt, how daring soever, vain. Whereupon *Mendoza*, being ashamed that he was thus beaten off from his hopes of relieving the Town, withdrew both himself and his army, that they might not helplessly look on and see the City taken, privately departing to *Vento*. At this time the States taking care for *Berck*, sent Count *Ernst* thither with supplies. But *Antonio Gonzales*, Governor of *Grave*, with whom were in garrison fifteen hundred men of several nations, having in the sight of their companions wearied the besiegers with frequent sallies, would not yet desist by many valorous experiments to protract the time to his advantage, although all hope of relief was utterly taken away. After a two months siege, when the *English* drew near to the sluices, which kept the water in the town-ditches, the *Frisons* also on another part bringing a gallery even into the trench, and some of the Princes Pioneers being ready to undermine the walls, after the losse almost of seven hundred men, the garrison was surrendered upon honourable conditions, the souldiers marching thence with their armes and baggage. This town of *Grave* at first belonged to the Province of *Geldre*, but was afterwards annexed to *Brabant*, and taken as a pledge by *Maximilian* Count *Burin*, whose son-in-law *William* Prince of *Orange* bought it, and though lost in war, by the peace made at *Gant* the Garrison of *German*s being removed, had the same delivered to him. But about eighteen years before the Duke of *Parma* having gotten it by the carelessness or cowardice of the Governor, Prince *Maurice* now regained and took possession of this his Patrimonial inheritance, as he had done before

of *Breda*, *Lingen* and *Maers*; which he made subject not for his own advantage onely, but the good of the Commonwealth; by which means he obtained a great dominion about the *Maas*, with very great advantages.

While these things were doing, some souldiers enraged because they had but very little or no pay, leaving *Mendoza's* army, betake themselves to *Hamont*. He, to prevent the increasing of their number by impunity, hastens thither a convenient strength; where having taken some great guns, he forced a few foot-souldiers to surrender themselves, but the horse got away, not to be moved with prayers or threats; and having in vain attempted other places, at last they seize the Castle of *Hochstraten* by the consent of the Garrison, (this place is not far from *Breda*,) where in a short time being much augmented by a continual resort of old souldiers, who required their arrears, and new souldiers, that expected no other thing then a licentious freedome in villany, chusing themselves a Head, they elect a Senate and settle a Councell-house with divers laws, expressing therein more care and diligence then is usually found in the meetings and assemblies of settled Cities. They would not suffer any rapines or plunders to be committed, unless by publick order and for the common cause; and if any upon their own account durst doe otherwise, they were punished like thieves according to the laws and customes of other places. Wherewith the Arch-duke being highly displeased, and fearing the example because of his want, gathering together what mony he could possibly get together by any means, he perswaded those who yet remained in their obedience, to punish the others rebellious perfidy, and to that end prepared to besiege them. They perceiuing themselves not to be looked upon as mutineers, (which in those parts is no new thing) but as absolute enemies,

begin to tread unusual paths, desiring and obtaining from the *Hollanders* Victuals, Armes and Arillery. And this they did the more willingly, because these troubles of the Enemy were very advantagious, and to make these differ among themselves, to a great expence of their treasure, would secure them against the like evils. But this resolution of *Albertus* was soon altered upon the arrival of the news that *Grave* was taken, for that he began to be afraid of Prince *Maurice's* army: yet for all this he would not hearken to the *Netherlandish* States, who about that time being called together concerning the raising of tributes, perswaded him to appease and win the offended Souldiery with money: But the *Spanish* Noblemen and Commanders disliked thereof, averring it was more fit to take some new forces into pay, but to punish those Rebels with all severity. And so at last threatnings of actions being turned into words, an Edict was set forth, wherein all that were in *Hochstraten*, unless they came in and desired pardon by a certain day, were proscribed, and rewards promised to any that should kill them, their goods confiscated, all that furnished them with provision should be punished, and their wives and children banished: adding above all the rest of their crimes, that their Sedition had been the cause that *Grave* had not been relieved. But all this threatening served to little purpose, for so much were they contemned, that they published an answer filled with many souldierly taunts, objecting to *Albertus* his fear of a battel, and that *Grave* had been in vain looked after long before their recess; and finding fault that while the Army was ready to starve, he feasted and revelled at Court without any moderation of charge; and repeating on the other hand the praises of such Commanders as were courteous and affable to their souldiers. But what wonder could it be, if, after so many others, they

they required what was due to them for their service, or fled to such assistences for recovery thereof, which though unseemly in themselves, yet were made just by the laws of a fatal necessity? Subjoyning at last, that they were and would be safe against the punishments of that cruel Edict, partly by their arms, and partly by their poverty.

Olavio Frangipane, the Pope's Legate, endeavored to appease this Sedition: but they would hearken to no condition, untill that ignominious Edict was revoked and made null. And now the greatest part of Autumn being past and Winter approaching, Prince *Maurice* having dismissed his *German* horse, disposed the rest of his forces into Garrisons: the like did *Albertus*, whose Army was grown thin by frequent runnings away to the other party, and the *Italian* souldiers decay (being but fresh men) through the extremity of labour. Yet part of the Army was sent into the Camp before *Ostend*; so were *Spina's* ships in part sent to those parts where either the Enemies forces or the mutineers designs were feared; and the citizens of *Venlo*, who had hitherto with pertinacy refused a garrison, now were persuaded to admit souldiers, because of the near-adjoyning danger of *Grave*.

About this time *Mendoza* departed into *Spain*, where he was somewhat strangely received, King *Philip* the father being dead, and the son prepossessed by others, who accused him for his unfortunate managery of the war, and that he had neither sufficiently taken care for Peace, nor undertaken or avoided battells as the necessity or contingency of affairs required.

Upon the forces departing into winter-quarters, it fortuned that fourteen troupes of the *Hollanders* fell upon sight of *Albertus* his troupes, that were without their

officers, lying somewhat carelessly, not far from *Münster*, where they surprised and took most of the Horse in their beds, together with five Cornets or Horse-colours, which were hanged up in the Palace at the *Hague*, and a great number of hories. At winter, when the seditions began to inroach upon other parts, Count *Lewis of Nassau* was sent with three and thirty troupes of horse and twelve hundred foot, to waste all the farther parts of the enemies country that denied to pay contributions, where he took the town of *S. Vite*, and for a whole moneth together ranging all about, burning the Villages and spoiling the Country, he did no small damage to the Province of *Lutzelburg*. At this time also the *Hollanders* had very good success at Sea. *Frederick Spinola* was coming out of *Spain* with eight new galleys; and *Martin Padilla* being made Admiral of the Sea was said to be preparing a great Fleet, which was suspected to threaten *England* or *Ireland*: whereupon the *Queen* sent forth some ships, to watch their actions and wait upon their motions, and, as occasion should offer it self, either sink or take them: and accordingly they burned two of *Spinola's* galleys, and utterly made them useless at *Sesimbra* a town of *Portugal*, giving to the slaves therein their liberty, and to the rest their lives. But for the future to prevent the like damage, a great ship of *Portugal*, of the same sort with those they call Carracks, was opposed against them, laden with precious Merchandises, which while the *English* assaulted, and soon after took, the rest escaped by flight. And *Frederick Spinola*, being long detained in *Spain*, untill he could have his covenants with the King confirmed, with his six remaining galleys (wherein were nine hundred souldiers and fifteen hundred slaves that rowed) in the moneth of *October* set forth towards *Flanders*: upon news whereof the *Queen* ordered three Ships

ships to wait upon the *English* coasts, and in the narrow seas; to which the *Hollanders* joyned four of theirs, besides those which guarded the coast of *Flanders*. The *English* first getting sight of these Gallies, gave notice to their Companions; but the Gallies making use of the closeness and calmness of the weather, went so near the *English* shore, that some of the Slaves throwing off their chains leaped into the shallow waters: but the *Hollanders* pursuing the vessels, sometimes by the shore, other times in the narrow Sea, not farre from *Graveling* with their great Guns sorely bruised two of them, and twice or thrice being pressed with the vast bulk of their own ships, they were broken to pieces; the Masts, Oars, and residue of the Ships being torn in pieces floated upon the sea, but their main bulks were swallowed up in the waves. Almost two hundred of the men were saved, and more of them might have been, but that mercy was banished by fear, lest the conquered should become more in number then the Conquerors. Besides, one other of them suffered ship-wreck at *Calais* by the unskilfulness of the Pilots; two others of them were much shattered with bullets, and falling upon the shelves in that coast of *Flanders* got into *Newport*; the sixth, wherein *Spinola* himself was, sailing up and down in the Sea of *Zeland*, at last not without great hazard, and throwing over-board much of their lading, the slaves being incouraged with hope of liberty, arrived at *Dunkerk*. When then *Frederick Spinola* had joyned these three with the rest which he had before at *Sclays*, aiming to repair both his credit and fortunes from the spoils of *Walcheren*, he was with-held by winterly and contrary blasts of wind, and because the Arch-duke, being vexed both with forein and intestine Warre, refused to denude his Garrisons for the resurnishing those Vessels.

At this time the Fame and Trade of the *Hollanders* increased in the *Indies*, to the great detriment of the *Portugueses*, who of old having been the first Finders, had now for one hundred years quietly enjoyed those Navigations, and out of reverence of the Pope's Donation made to them had extorted, and kept the same from the beginning against both the *Castilians* and other Christian Nations, defending themselves therein by force of Arms. These therefore make address to King *Philip*, as the onely column and support of that flourishing Kingdome, that he would with an extraordinary Fleet defend those revenues which belonged as well to himself as to the People. From hence it came to pass that the Warre, which had hitherto been contained within the *Netherlands*, was now pulling into another World, for the managing and conduct whereof *Don Andrew Hurtado Mendoza* was chosen, who then by chance had beaten *Canahy*, an *Indian* Pirat about *Malabar*, having used those parts above fifty years, and was now with great applause ennobled with a Royal Commission. This man being furnished with divers great Gallies and lesser Ships, to the number of twenty and upwards, wherein were eight hundred *Portugal* Souldiers, besides a great number of above fifteen hundred *Indians*, he resolved to make exemplary according to his Commission all such, whether Kings or Subjects, that had admitted the *Hollanders* to trade freely, and *Bantam* a City of *Java* was the first destin'd to this destruction. It fortun'd by chance, that at the same time, being the beginning of the year, five *Holland* Ships under the command of *Wissard Herman* were in those parts trading: they carried about three hundred men, and were upon that account far unable to meet with the *Portugal* Fleet, whose Admiral alone exceeded the whole *Dutch* Fleet both in largeness of bulk and number of men: yet the fear of losing the Trade for the

the future, and the hopes of getting honour and favour among those Eastern people, drew them not onely to fight like men hand to hand, but to undertake the Combat with their great Guns, wherewith the *Hollanders* being very well accommodated did their Enemies very great mischief, because being onely driven by the winde, and able to retreat & draw off as they listed, by their quickness of motion they frustrated all the intended violence of the *Portugueses*. Thus they fought for some daies even without intermission, until some of the Enemies Ships being sunk, and two of them taken, the *Spaniards* daunted with the novelty of such an unexpected mischief departed, steering towards *Amboyna*, where without danger, there being none to resist, they wasted the Town *Non*, and whatever place else adhered to the *Hollanders*, with fire and sword, and the cutting down of several odoriferous plants. But the Conquerors in the City of *Bantam*, which they had rescued from so imminent a danger, after a festiuous reception there, soon after went to *Banda*, whence come the best Nutmegs, and undertaking the defence of that Island, made a league with the People, (for they have no settled Government) That they should not sell their spices to any other people; That they should not be injurious one to another concerning Religion, but should leave the judgement thereof wholly to God; That every one of them should use their own Laws, but neither of them should receive any fugitives from the other. According to this firm, in progress of time, they contracted friendship and society with other Kings and People that stood in fear of the *Spanish* tyranny. The chief of all the Cities of *Sumatra* is *Achem*, the King of which place the *Portugueses*, four years before, that were most potent in the Court, by bribes, gifts, and false accusations of the *Hollanders*, had drawn, partly that he would kill all such of them in their
Ships

Ships as under the shew of friendship admitted them into them, and partly that he would dispatch all such as should come into the City: and according to this design, a great many were slaughtered, the Ships that lay in the harbour knowing nothing thereof; moreover, the drink of that Country so consternated their minds that they seemed mad; nay, so farre did the treachery proceed, that the Ships were hardly preserved. But the King shortly after repenting the cruelty of the fact, the *Hollanders* which afterwards came thither making certain covenants concerning the sale of spices, discovered again that the *Portugueses* had been buying the King's faith from them; whereupon, when they found the Agreements they had made would not be observed, the *Arabian* Ships being gone out of the Harbour, in revenge of the injuries received from the *Indians*, they sent ashore some Forces, which thing being dissonant to the Laws of those Nations, afterwards gave the Enemies matter wherewith to recriminate the *Hollanders*. But the *Zelanders* afterward returning, when the King was somewhat estranged from the *Portugueses*, they cleared themselves from that objected crime, and beseeched the King that he would send some of his people with them, that they might see they were not a company of *Pirats*, (as they were aspersed among such as knew them not) but that they were a people famous for wealth and fidelity, having no enmity or warre with any besides the *Spaniards*. This advice pleased the King, that for the future he might be more certain whether he might with more safety incline to the *Spaniard* or *Hollander*. In this voyage near the Isle of *S. Helena* these *Zelanders* espying a great *Portugall* Carrack, loaded with Pearl and other precious commodities, and putting themselves between it and the shore, after a hot conflict they forced it to surrender it self, being first much battered with the great Guns.

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The men that were in it they set ashore upon the coast of *Brasile*. The chief of the Embassadors from *Sumatra* (whose name was *Abdutzamar*) died in *Zeland*, and was buried with a very decent funeral, having a Monument exquisitely raised to his memory. The rest that survived went to salute Prince *Maurice* then encamped at the siege of *Grave*, giving him Presents from their King. When they saw the great number of the Horse and Foot, and the Works of that bulk as was not onely unknown to the *Barbarians*, but such as exceeded those generally in use among us, they were even amazed with admiration. The Treaty held with them was by the name of *Arabians*: And the report of these things coming as it were into another World, made them not onely shake off all vain suspicions, but was prevalent with many rather to entertain the *Hollanders* friendship, then to be kept in subjection to the *Spanish* tyranny. The King of *Ternate* (which is one of the *Molucca's*) publickly owned the *Hollanders*, for at his request *Necken* invaded the *Portugueses* in the next Island named *Tidoris*. But when he was about to assault those in the Castle being ready to make defence, some darts and shot being spent on both sides, being lamed by the loss of his hand, and having lost some few of his men, he put off the fight. In *Patan* also and the coasts of *Cauchin-China* and elsewhere, their coming was very acceptable: but in *Ceylon*, one of the bigger Islands, where grows the best Cinnamon, they found the King (who is called *Fimala*) a great enemy to the *Portugueses*, by whom he had formerly been taken and carried away; and *Spilberg* informing them of the *Dutch* affairs, perceived them very desirous both of friendship and society. The King of *Jora* also (this is a Kingdome in the region of *Malacca*) daring to rip up old injuries against the *Portugueses*, incited *Jacob Hemscherk*, then having with him two *Holland* Ships, to set upon

upon a Carrack of an immense magnitude that lay in the Streights between *Malacca* a *Portugal* colony and *Samarra*; which he accordingly did, the said King being both the author and witness of the Victory. The *Hollanders* contented with the booty, which was very great, spared the lives of all the persons in it, (being near seven hundred of all sexes and ages) although there yet appeared many fresh examples of the *Portugal* cruelty. That Ship came from *Macao*, a Town in the Empire of *China* which the *Portugals* possess by the courtesie of the Natives, whether of late some *Hollanders* being driven, they were by the *Portugueses* hanged and put to death, the Magistrates of the *Chinois* being perswaded that they were no other then thieves and robbers. Now *Macao* stands upon the River *Canto*, by which onely strangers are admitted a passage into the Empire of *China*; as to goe out of the same Empire into forein parts, there is no way but by *Cinco*, a Port in another part of the Country. Thus wealth being gotten from the publick Enemy, and great damage done both to the King and *Portugueses*, great advantage was gotten with honour by the *Hollanders* both in private and publick: yet some were found in this industrious and gain-seeking Nation, who would refuse part thereof as not convenient or fitting, being by force of Warre taken from Merchants, and, as it many times happens, such as least deserve it. And the pretence that moved some to this conscienciousness was the ancient enmity with the *Portugal*, believed to be begun four Ages before, when the *Netherlanders* going to *Syria* to the Holy War, conquered *Lubone*, then the Kingly seat of the *Saracens*. From thence great priviledges were granted to the *Netherlanders* in *Portugal*, and no less to the *Portugueses* in the *Netherlands*. Besides, after the beginning of the Warre in the *Low-Countries*, and the Conquest of *Portugal*

by King Philip, the *Portugueses* were invited by the *States*, that as they were equally subject with them, so they should equally enjoy all manner of commerce, and the same benefit with all their Citizens. In answer of which desire, not a few of them, out of hatred to the *Castilians*, of old their neighbours, now their Lords, or lest the power of the Inquisition should grow high under pretence of *Jewish* or *Arabian* Superstition, came to the *Hollanders*: but they that remained under the King of *Spain's* obedience, and increased his wealth with their own, were by all Law accounted as Enemies, (especially after so many injuries among the *Indians*) as without doubt they might be. And that no man might pretend ignorance thereof, the *States* by a publick Edict declared the same. And here a doubt arising, whether the goods of *Italians* in those Ships that were taken should be esteemed Prize, the matter was decided by settling a moderation between enquiry and the practice of Warre.

Hitherto many Companies of Merchants frequented the *Indies*, whose emulations since they enhanced the price of Commodities there, and here on the contrary brought them low, and being several were not able by all their strength and endeavours to resist the *Spaniards*; the *States* taking this into serious consideration, of many separate Bodies made one conjunct Society, appointing Consuls and Factors in divers Cities, that should sometimes meet together by their Deputies, and publishing a Law, that no one separately, during the space of twenty years, should sail beyond the *Cape of good Hope*, or goe to the Streights of *Magellan*. And now a day was set within which all should give in their names that would be partakers both in the charge and revenue of that Company, so that at the end of ten years new names should be received and offers made. At this time there was collected
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threescore hundred thousand pounds: And from this time, a new Warre as it were arising in the East, the *Indian* Company began to be esteemed a great part of the Commonwealth, for that not onely a part of all booty came to the publick Treasury, but also the common Enemy was exhausted at the charge of private Citizens, that daily made spoil of him, and made him be at infinite expenses in his defence. But now the long wants of King *Philip* were at last in part supplied by the arrival of the *American* Fleet towards the end of this year, when also his animosities against the *French*, as if they had not before been violent enough, broke out more clearly, Letters being dispersed over *Brabant*, accusing the Marriage of the King with *Medices* as unlawful during the life of *Margaret* of *Valois*, and that the issue arising therefrom was illegitimate, and so passionately reproving the King's lust.

About this time also was convicted of Treason *Gonsbalds Duke de Biron*, (King *Henry* then warring about the *Alps*;) he having married the Duke of *Savoy's* Daughter, and covenanted with the *Spaniard* to have *Burgundy* in Dowry, to the hazard of the ruine of the King and his children. Being cited to the Court, when he denied his fact to the King, who till then was inclinable to pardon him, this was the first thing that aggravated the King's anger, although he well knew *Biron* had with his own blood secured both the publick and his reign. This great Duke was of an immense spirit, ambitious of honour beyond hopes of satisfaction; but in the arts of Warre and his merits towards his Country giving place to no *French*-man that ever went before him, until he dishonoured the glory of his *Marschals* staff by his unhappy exit. And thus within two years Ambition brought to a miserable end two men, that under their Sovereigns of *England* and *France*

were

were great Princes. But as *Essex's* attempts were more excusable, so was his death more serene and quiet: But *Biron* having conceived a Treason in his minde, was so farre followed by Divine revenge, that he contaminated his end with a mixture both of impiety and madness.

Now also the people of *Embsen* began to blow up the coals of new Commotions, upon this occasion. *Enno* the son of *Edsard* succeeded his Father in his *Transylvanian* Principality, and being pressed with the complaints of all the States, supposing that he might more safely act apart, he had easily wrought upon his Nobility, that they would follow the Prince with all equal freedome against the Subjects. With the City of *Embsen* a Peace was made almost agreeable to the *Delphian* conditions, onely some obscure things fraudulently contrived were implied. These being drawn to his Party, contemning the lesser Towns and the Country, he laid upon them a grievous Tax: But the Town of *Nordam* resisting his commands, he ran to Arms, and was not content to set upon them a mulet onely, but publicly erecting Gibbets, made Citizens pass under the yoke. Whereupon, calling to minde old feuds with the *Embseners*, he terrified other places by the example of *Nordam*. He tears from the Magistrates the most active and ingenious of the Vulgar, promising that when the *Hollanders* were excluded, he would transfeſſe the *Spaniſh* Trade to them; and it was true, that they were friendly received that brought *Enno's* Letters. This was very terrible to the United States, and so much the more, because *Christopher* the brother of *Enno* was in pay under *Albertus*; and *John*, another of his brethren, being by the Pope married to *Enno's* daughter, to whom he was Uncle, advanced the *Roman* Religion in *Paderborn*. And on every side it evidently appeared that the

Count laboured that he might open that large mouth of the *Emme* to the *Spanish* Ships. But at first the *Hollanders* strength being employed elsewhere, onely four Companies were sent to assist *Emden*, which entered the City at the same time when *Emme* drawing near with his Forces hoped to have been admitted by those of his Faction; but now being kept out thence, he entred the Villages round about, and erects several Forts for the shutting up of the City and the River. The *States* being informed thereof, and now after the taking of *Grave* having some leisure to consult about their neighbours affairs, at the request of the City, sent *Warner Duple*, a Colonel of Horse, thither with some Troops of Horse, and almost nineteen Companies of Foot. He within a few daies assailes and wins all the Forts, and sets free the City from those rude and ignorant maintainers of Warre. *Emme*, that he might remove this disgrace out of his sight, with as much envy and bitterness of language as he could invent, disputed the *Hollanders* incroachments upon the rights of anothers dominion; of which the *States* being conscious, they published in Print the cause of that action of theirs, and the danger that was like to have fallen not onely upon themselves, but all *Germany*, by this Count's deeds.

The

The Twelfth B O O K of the
History of the Dutch
A F F A I R E S.

1603. **T**HE *Hollanders* being oppressed with the *French* Peace, were attended with a greater evil, which was the death of *Queen Elizabeth* about this time, whereby they were more deeply plunged in a Warre, yet had lost that assistance which, as it was the first, so had it continued unto the last. She died the third day of *April*, being by the length of daies arrived to the toils of life, from whence she supposed her old age, which she had spent out even to the seventieth year, now grew contemptible, and that the hopes and counsels of those in whom she had put her greatest confidence were turned towards her Successor. It was a long reign for a Woman, and famous not onely at home but abroad, which produced many various censures; some conjecturing at the future according as they were led by fear or hope; others, from the memory of former actions, reckoning what prosperity and adversity she had seen during her long life. Here was remembered the beheading of her Mother, and that for no small fault, but onely the supposed crime of Adultery; whence arose those many bitter taunts of her Enemies, as if she had been the Issue of an unknown Father. Soon after, when her Sister sat in the Throne, she was cast into Prison, which was no small affliction of so great a spirit, until by the means and intercessions of *Philip* King of *Spain*, to whom she owed her Liberty, if not her Life, she

was freed from thence ; though afterwards she required his kindness with a long and sharp Warre. Besides, her Reign was accounted cruel by the execution of so many Noblemen, for no other pretence but that they professed the *Roman Catholick* Religion ; and also in that no less novel then odious example to all Princes, though indeed excusable enough from the necessity, that by the command of a Woman, not onely a Woman but a Kinswoman and she a Suppliant, not as a common person but a distressed Queen, was put to death. Also there were some that stuck not to exprobrate the divulsions of *Ireland*, and seditions of the *English* Souldiers in the *Low-Countries*, as if they had been commanded. Certainly, it was the greatest of her misery, that she lived so long without a Husband, from whence came the incertainty of her Heir : and very various were the several opinions concerning her, many objecting her love to the Earl of *Litchfield*, and after him her endearments of *Essex*, whose hot and over-hasty youth, together with his contempt of her decaying and aged beauty, was punished with the loss of his head ; though soon after her minde was more changed from hatred to repentance, then before it had been from love to hatred, so that it was by many judged to be the main cause of her sickness and death. On the other side it was said, that the long continuance of her Government and life manifested the same to be well-pleasing to God, and that instead of the customary evils of youth, she had shewed great prudence in her carriage and behaviour in the enjoyment of both good and bad fortune. Nor was it so great a wonder that her security was established by the death of some Rebels and by Warres, as that a Woman's Government after four and forty years had not onely made *England* safe, but flourishing ; nor had she at any time taken

Arms

Arms but for most just causes. Religion was by her reformed to the example of King *Edward*, not by force, or according to her own fancy, but upon debate of the matter in the great Council of the Kingdome, and in a lawful manner. Nor did she rage with cruelty against those that were of another judgement, unless it were when it was too late, when by the doctrine and instruction of the Jesuites they had thrown off all reverence & love to their Country and Government at once. By her help *Scotland* was vindicated from the *French*, the Prince of *Condé's* Party from their adverse faction, and much of the *Netherlands* from the *Spaniards*. And although she had so many great allurements to increase her Dominion, yet she remained content with her own, not desiring from all her victorious achievements any other thing then the liberty of that Religion by her promoted, and to set limits to power that was or might be deservedly suspected. Thus did she restore the Towns which she possessed in *France*, preserved *Scotland* for a Child, and rejected the desires of the *Hollanders*, intreating her to take the Dominion over them. And now lately the old Garrisons in *Ireland* being taken, and new ones fortified, some of the Nobles being taken here, some there, their faction was so ineebled, and the very strength and pretence thereof so weakned, and *Tyrone* himself so broken, that falling upon his knees before the Lord Lieutenant he humbly requested pardon of all his offences. (For that excess of Honour happened to him a little before his fall.) She had been courted to Marriage not by the *English* onely, but by *Charles* of *Austria*, brother of the Emperour, and by *Henry* and *Francis* brothers to the King of *France*; as also by some Kings themselves, to wit, *Philip* of *Spain*, and *Ericus* of *Sweden*. That she was thus sought was her happiness, but that she refused

sed all was her prudence; because as it was unfit for her Greatness to marry a Subject, so the Subjects of *England* were afraid she should marry a Forreiner. The reproches that were spread concerning her took their beginning from her sex and the elegance of her beauty, together with the customary liberty of Princes, and could onely be refuted by manlike care and diligence. Nor was she onely well skilled in the arts of Government, but was learned in the ancient and modern languages; an excellency rarely found in Women of a private fortune: which made her Name and renown great and famous, and not onely terrible to and admired by her neighbours, but courted by Embassadors even from the *Moors* and *Sarmatians*. No man hitherto doubted, but that great Commotions would have arisen in *England* upon the death of the Queen, who had never declared any certain Successor; for it was believed that although *James* King of *Scotland* was the next in blood, yet the ancient hatred of the inhabitants, and the private fear of those that had consented to his Mother's death, would be an obstacle to him, there being several ready in *England* who boasted themselves to be descended of Royal blood. Then also the power of the *English* Catholics was feared, lest they should hope for that by Troubles which they could never expect while the settled Authority of the Queen remained; the Pope also instigating them, as unwilling that a King of the new Religion should be admitted, although he were next in blood. Nor was that hope onely grown in the *Spaniards*, who lay at watch for the peoples commotions, but the *Hollanders* also, although they had by many good offices before-hand pre-engaged King *James*, upon the connexion of Religion, yet by tacite wishes did guess that the Imputation of their alliance with him would trans-

ferre

ferre part of the Warre into *Britain*. But it happened beyond hope and expectation, that presently after the decess of Queen *Elizabeth*, the old Councel of the Queen; and as many of the Bishops, and Magistrates of *London* as were at present at hand and in readines, proclaimed King *James*, not waiting for the authority of a Parliament, for the danger of delay, and because *Interregnum's* do many times in the future by new Laws and Covenants diminish the grandeur and power of Authority. Thus without any contradiction the King of *Scotland* got the possession of *England*, and was the first that within the known Records of any Annals enjoyed the whole Island of Great *Britain* in one entire and undivided Government.

The United *States* did not omit forthwith to send an Embassy to congratulate him for his new access of magnitude, having first sent some gratulatory Letters. The Embassadors sent by them to the King were Count *Henry of Nassau*, Prince *Maurice's* brother, then a Member of the Councel of the *States* and General of the Horse; next to him was *Walrave Brederode*, thirdly *John Olden Barneveldt*, and lastly *Jacob Valcken*, who died before he returned from this Embassy. When they were admitted to audience, they spake in this manner.

We are come hither, Great King, divided in our selves between Grief and Joy: for we have lost Her, whose goodness and benefits to us we are not able to express in words; but we have found You, as the Heir of Her Kingdom, so the Imitator of Her Vertues. That which formerly we desired, and since that by publick supplications decreed to the most happy Messengers of Your new-begun Dominion, that now in Your own presence with hearts and voices we beseech and begge of God, that this Your reign

may be happy and prosperous to Your Self, to Posterity, to Great Britain, and to Us. We begge of You, Sacred Sir, one thing, That You would not suffer the insulting Spaniard to trample upon the necks of the Netherlanders, and from thence by degrees to incroach upon the Dominions of others his Neighbours. It suits with Your Religion, to save so many Assemblies of pious men from that Kingdom of sanguinary Superstition: it agrees with Your Justice, to defend a Cause allowed of by so many Kings: and it is an act becoming Your Prudence, to drive away those underminers of Kingdoms, and supporters of the Papacy, by whose judgement all that You now possess is given to them as a Prey. Your Predecessor Queen Elizabeth did this, and so we hope will You, and that with the greater ease, by how much You are in the prime of Your age, have a more man-like Authority, a more ample Power, and a House well settled upon the happy foundation of a hopeful Issue. Our fidelity shall in part supply Your Work and Charge, by whose prosperity and adversity it hath been made evident that the Spaniards could be conquered. True Peace is a most excellent Jewel, and worthy of high estimation among Christians; but that that is made with Tyrants and treacherous people is little better then Warre. If all they that are joyned in the Cause would unite their wealth, he would be deprived of the Netherlands: and if that punishment would not yet make him wise, he should be driven out of the Sea, and all his maritime Dominions, which would be no hard matter for the Hollanders and English to effect: and this certainly would make him glad to come to a true Peace, the best maintainer wherof was equality of Forces. Now is the siege of Ostend protracted unto the third year, so that having endured so long a misery, we humbly intreat You to aid us with supplies for relief thereof, for which pur-
pose

use you may make use of those ships which by the Queen's command were furnished and instructed with Armes and provisions by us, being eleven in number, and now wait for nothing but your Royal command.

Hereto the King very courteously answered as to the matter of friendship, but as to the rest he excused himself by the infancy of his Dominion, but in time he would see what was best to be done, in the interim not concealing, that as much as he could he would prefer all counsells tending to Peace: for hitherto he had had no difference with the *Spaniard*, and also *Philip* had voluntarily offered him his assistance, if any dispute should have arisen concerning his Kingdome; and himself being of a mild disposition and well grounded in all kind of Literature, had spent his time in studies rather inclinable to Peace then War: And the Archduke being supposed to have made war with the *Queen*, not with the Realm, had by Edict forbidden any damage to be done to the *English*, sending home besides all Prisoners they had that were that Countrey-men, and soon after he sent *Charles* Prince of *Artenberg* Ambassador to the King, as also the *Spaniard* sent *Don John Baptista Taxis* to the same, for the promoting a Peace, concerning which the year following there was an agreement.

When the Embassadors of *Holland* saw they could not prevent it, they endeavored to delay it, and to give the King some hopes that they likewise might obtain Peace together with their Liberty, if the King by procrastinations or delay would suffer the *Spanish* counsells, which yet depended upon the event of a few years, to grow towards perfection. And this was the discovery of *Olden Barneveldt*, who was thoroughly versed in all the secrets

secrets of the United Provinces, producing the Duke of *Branswick's* hand, whom the Emperor *Rudolphus* had acquainted with that affair. But King *James* his heart was not at all stickened in making that Peace: whereupon the *Hollanders* onely contended, that if they could not obtain a shew of assistance, yet that they might not be denied right. These their desires were seconded by the *French King*, who was very solicitous for the support of his allies, and to that end he had sent into *England* *Maximilian de Roban* his chief Treasurer and a Privy-counsellor. At last this Medium was found, That whatsoever moneys the *French* should lay out in behalf of the *Hollanders*, the third part thereof should be charged to the *English*, and all accounts to be discharged wherein *Rebecca* impoverished by her Warrs was indebted to *Britain*. The States were content herewith, although they were offered by Sir *Ralph Winwood*, the King of great *Britain's* Orator, to be comprehended in the Articles of the Treaty if they pleased; which they refused with great thanks. The rest of the year King *James* spent in performing and receiving the Solemnities of the Kingdome, and in viewing his new Dominion of *England*, giving audience at Intervalls to the Embassadors of other Kings and the gratulations of his own subjects; *Tyrone* himself, the great Captain of the *Irish* Rebels, coming, and upon his humble submission obtaining pardon.

Concerning Religion several complaints were offered by two sorts of people: The one in *England* are called *Puritans*, being a people that do not esteeme the Ecclesiastical State or Church-government there to be sufficiently orthodox and sincere, but requiring therein more purity, from whence sprung the original of that hated name of Separation. These find fault with many Ceremonies

monies retained from custome and antiquity, as the Orders of Bishops, some Ceremonies added (as they say) in the Sacrament of Baptisme, and others things more tending to Discipline then Doctrine: A change, or at least an amendment, of all which they now hoped from hence, because the *Scots* had already rejected the same. On the other side, the *Catholicks* with high applauses magnifying the antiquity of their Religion as well in *Britain* as elsewhere, and setting forth their fidelity both to the King himself at present, and heretofore to his Mother, petitioned, that if he would not give them public allowance, which yet in *France* the King allowed to dissenters, that at least they might privately and without fear of punishment worship God according to the custome of their Fathers. But the King rejected both these suits, suspecting the *Catholicks* for no other cause, but that the *Pope* claims power over Kings: but the King was offended at the *Puritans*, because by men of the same Faction, under pretence of Ecclesiastical authority, he had irreverently been used in *Scotland*. Whereupon also he accused their perverseness and obstinacy publicly set forth in Print: for he would have each Nation be free to use their own Rites which were not contradictory to the Divine Law, but the supreme Authority even in matters Ecclesiastical should continue in the King. Yet something was settled according to the desire of the *Catholicks*, viz. That the Sacrament of Baptisme should not be administered by women or private persons; that many Ecclesiastical promotions should not be accumulated upon one person; and that Church-censures should be strict and severe, both in the inquisition and punishment of errors either in the life or doctrine of the Priesthood. But the words of the *Puritans* became so offensive, that many of their non-conforming

ming Ministers were punished by Imprisonments, Banishment and abjuration of the Realm. Notwithstanding which some of the *Romanists*, associating others with them who were desirous of novelty, conspired to set up to the Government the Lady *Arabella*, a Virgin sprung from the blood Royal, dividing among themselves the chief places of honor and preferment through the Kingdom. The authors of this Treason were punished with the losse of their heads: the accessories thereto and such as had concealed the same were cast into prison, and the fear of imminent death was reckoned to them for a sufficient punishment; the King being prone to win repute to his new Government by the same of his Clemency.

While these things were doing in *England*, *Enno* Count of *Friesland* beyond *Ems*, having really learned that he might easily obtain from the Emperor both words and threats against the City, but that he could not give him a power to put the same in execution, he resolved to try the favour of them that were most potent among the *Hollanders*, and to that purpose he went to the *Hague*, urging many things both privately and publicly in his own defence, and objecting many things against the *Emboldners*, as being of a wavering temper in their fidelity, not well knowing either to govern or be governed. At the same time were present some Deputies from *Emden*, behaving themselves with much obstinacy and notable irreverence towards their Prince then present. At length after many long debates the United States, not doubting the fidelity of the City towards them, bent all their resolutions for the security thereof, and it was concluded, that the *Delphelilian* agreements should be observed: whereto besides were added, That for the future there be an Edict of Indemnity and Oblivion for all things already done, nor should the Count exact the Penalties

Penalties set by the Emperor's Decree: That both should be restored to their houses and lands, all prisoners be released, and all instruments of war and other received profits be accounted for: And that *Enno* should endeavor to set free all strangers, being really such, nor should deny his safe conduct in writing to all Ships going from the City: That the Tributes imposed upon the City the third and the fifth year before should all be made null, and that there should be a consultation had in the Senate of the *Transamians* for the settlement of new; the right of summoning which should be in the Count, but if he neglected to do it, then they might meet by themselves, and consult of their common affairs: That it should not be lawfull to denounce a War or levy souldiers without the decree of that Council; onely the Count might retain as many as should be sufficient for the guarding his Castles and strong holds, and likewise that the City might raise seven hundred souldiers for the defence thereof and maintaining their works: That the *Transamians* should maintain the souldiers, the charge of the works should be born by the Townsmen; and what goods were within a Town should be equally distributed, and whatever was inclosed within any fortifications should enjoy the same priviledges with the City itself: That the Magistrates of *Emden* should be created by the Senate of the City, and that the Count to that creation should adde his authority.

When therefore the Count and the Deputies of the City had agreed upon these conditions, it remained that the whole Magistracy of the City and the States of the *Transamians* should allow of and ratify the same: which was very likely to have been done, the Nobility being afraid of War, as that which would wast their Lands, and some being sent by the United States to enforce

force such as should offer to delay the same; the greatest
 part of the garrison also was withdrawn, that the face
 of affairs might appear more peaceable. But new hopes
 from the Emperor changed *Enno* absolutely, inasmuch
 that it was publickly said that those Covenants were of
 no force that should disannull the Emperor's Edict, par-
 don Crimes, and grant a power of fortifying Towns, and
 all this without the Emperor's consent, whose authority
 in that City was supreme. And soon after *Rudolphus*,
 being not a little angry that the affairs of *Embudo*
 should be transacted by a foreign power, sent *Maxi-*
milian Count of *Cochaine* to the States, who grievously
 accusing the *Embudoers*, related the causes which
 had moved the Emperor long since to declare both to
 others, and to them the United States, that they should
 give no assistance to those Rebels; and that nevertheless
 they had invaded the City with their souldiers, begun a
 War in the Country, and taken booties: for the repressing
 and taking away of which injuries, the Emperor had
 sent his Commands by him. Which done, he recited
 particularly what things seemed unjust in that last A-
 greement. To these things the United States, although
 they were more proudly reproved, yet returned this
 modest answer. That *Enno* came of his own accord to them,
 and had voluntarily entered into those Covenants: and
 that it is not usual to blame those that had used their en-
 deavors in the composing their neighbors differences: Also
 that they had as little as possibly they could receded from
 the *Delphizian* Covenants, which they understood plea-
 sed the Emperor: and that they had sent their souldiers
 into the City, not to offer an injury to the Emperor, but
 lest the Spaniard, who by the Peace made at *Verbin* had
 taken to himself all the right of Authority in the Country
 beyond the *Ecms*, should seize it, being so convenient to
 infect

infect the Hollanders, and at once withdraw it from the German Empire. Thus had he taken formerly Utrecht, Gelders, and other places beyond the Rhine: Thus had he seized Millain, and some peculiar appurtenances of the Empire, and at last Cambray; and all this without contradiction. Not were the Letters and Messengers sent by Emmo unto King and other Spanish Commanders without cause supplied by them. To these good words they added some gifts to the Embassador; however as yet all things at Embden were full of hatred and dissention, every one being suspicious of another.

This also made the Hollanders more incensed against Emmo, because his brother John, as we said before, having obtained licence from the Pope to marry with Emmo's Daughter, to whom he was Uncle, proposed the Roman Rites in the Country of Paderborn, and did the Bishop's business there, breaking into the City upon them who had kept it upon presence of liberty, raging against them with most exquisite torments, among whom the Consul of the Town was tormented, and afterwards cut in pieces.

The latter end of Winter the Spaniards suddenly took and lost *Katbrunbeck*. For a Fisherman being hired brought into the Castle fifteen souldiers under the command of *Maarten Dulken*, (he was the Governor of *Straelen* not far off) which were covered over with straw; and upon the approach of the Sentinel, that stretched forth his hand to help him up, drawing his sword he thrust him through; then all the souldiers leaped up, and strove to admit their companions that were on the other side of the river *Neres*, forcing the bridges that were kept against them, which they did by that time their fellows who lay in ambush not far off arrived. But the garrison of the Town, although the Castle and the

the Governor *Ribeux* were taken, began to raise a mount and battery against it, and with speed to bring thither Cannon. And by chance it happened, that two troops of *Hollanders* that had been abroad foraging rode by, which hearing of the Tumult, entered the Town; and presently souldiers being sent for to *Brix* and *Mons*, they begirt the Castle, and the sixth day after recovered it being sorely assaulted and withall wanting of provision.

Not long after *Grubbrader*, laying some ambusher in the Champains of *Brabant*, surprised five troops of *Mauritian* horse, and though he were inferior to them in number, killed near seventy of them: many men and horses were taken, and the rest fled. But this damage suffered by the horse was doubly recompensed by a more famous naval victory. For *Frederick Spinola* weary of an inglorious idleness, and hasting out of the greatness of his spirit to purchase honor and wealth by the winning of *Zeland*, furnished eight gallies of the bigger sort and four lesser with chosen souldiers out of the Camp before *Ostend*, besides a great number of slaves that rowed; and going out of the Haven of *Silley*, the wind gently seconding his desires, he got over the Sands, and spying the Enemy's Fleet, chose a place to fight with them in, upon the open Sea. Three *Zeland* Ships of war had beset the Port, over which one *Justus Mann* had the Command, besides two Gallies, one of *Holland*, the other of *Zeland*: four of these (the fifth for want of wind being very far distant, and giving no other assistance to the battel then with its great Guns) voluntarily setting forward, *Spinola* set upon close at hand with a great outcry, compassing sometimes this, sometimes t'other, with more violence, as hope led him on, distressing them with the multitude of his shot, and, indeed,

over-powerfull for them, as well by the help of the number as the number of his Ships and souldiers: for in the *Hollanders* Fleet were no more then six and thirty souldiers out of the Town of *Flushing*, who were armed with Muskets; but the company of Sea-men, being naturally inclinable to war, skilled in the use of their Arms and Guns, both near at hand and at distance, freely gave wounds to their Enemies both with their Swords and Javelins. And now the fight grew so hot, that the very clouds of smock had eclipsed the light from their eyes, so that it seemed to be a nocturnal fight, untill *Frederick* himself, with great valour and confidence assailing one of the Enemies Ships, was killed with several wounds, and with him above three hundred others, besides many hurt: but the breaking of the Oares was the first thing that took away all hope of Victory from the *Italians*: hereupon they were surpris'd with fear, lest more Ships coming out of *Zeland* should encompass them on every side, and so in time they retreated to the fleet. This victory of the *Zelanders* with so small loss, which happened because the ribs of their Ships were more solid and compact, and less open to the damage of the bullets, made that great terror of those at first unknown Vessels come to nothing, for that it was experimentally found, that they might be overcome, even in the most calm and serene weather.

There was no War any where untill the midst of Summer, but before *Ostend*, because the *Hollanders* not receiving those aids out of *England* and *Scotland* which they hoped, had enough to doe to defend their own, and the Arch-duke minding to take *Berck* and to pass the *Rhine*, for the perfecting these new designs, he procures new forces out of *Spain* and
C c c *Italy*,

Italy, under the conduct of *Ambrose Spinola*: besides he raised in *Germany* foot-souldiers, and in *Lorraine* horse-men; and after they arrived, *Spinola* being left at *Ostend*, seven thousand foot and three thousand horse were delivered to *Frederick Count Heremberg*, and his first orders were, to drive out those who had violently seated themselves in *Hochstraten*. This *Philip* had commanded as well for security sake at present, as for example sake in the future, and lest while he turned his Arms to other parts, they should invade the places left destitute of defence; for of late they had spoiled the Province of *Namur*, taken the Town of *Jedin* and the Governor of *Carpes Castle*, and yet returned safe and full of booty. At this time they in *Hochstraten* held a most severe discipline, and worthy of imitation by the best souldiers: their guards and watches were very diligently looked after, neither was any permitted to goe into a bed or put off his clothes while he took his rest; no women were suffered to come within the Castle; to fight among themselves, and to have any secret conferences or letters, was a capital offence. These laws were established and confirmed by punishments of offenders without pardon. These understanding that they were like to be besieged, sent to the *States* and Prince *Maurice*, and beseech and beg their aide, promising upon their faith, that they would jointly and unanimously fight against the Enemy, but protesting that they would have all prisoners they should take at their own dispose, because the laws of War were usually denied among Enemies to such as were renegadoes. Eight hundred of them were shut up in the Castle; the rest, being fifteen hundred foot and above a thousand horse, expect Prince *Maurice*, who hearing that Count

Heremberg

Herenberg was now come, and began to doe all acts of hostility against the Castle, draws together little by little then ten thousand foot and three thousand horse out of their Winter-quarters, and speeds with them to Gertruydenberg. In which City happened a sad spectacle, the French and English by mutual quarrells among themselves falling together by the ears, being Nations always emulous of one another; insomuch that now there began a perfect battel between the whole Regiments, some being killed, more wounded, and the Colonel of the French, Monsieur Bethune, himself running in between them to prohibit their fighting, was killed, which much incensed the minds of his men. Scarcely could the sight or speech of the Nassavian Commanders or of the Prince himself prevail to deterre the further increase of this impious and increasing slaughter. Here Prince Maurice's forces joyning with those of the seditious, they marched together, though souldiers of different obligations and principles, by a new and strange kind of example. Between the fields and the Enemies Camp was a little rivulet, the ground all about which very moory: this Count Herenberg either by error, or in suspecting the coming of Prince Maurice, had neglected to possess. The Prince having by prepared bridges brought over his souldiers and artillery, on sudden faces the Enemy with his Army. But Count Herenberg kept himself within the safeguard of the place and the defence of his carriages, which he had placed in form of a rampier, onely the horse were commanded to advance, which produced some light skirmishes. Nor did Prince Maurice think meet to set upon the Enemies entire untill he had tried all places that might be advantageous to himself

or the Enemy. Count *Heremberg* fearing, as other things, so to be debarred of provisions, through the help of the night withdrew first his Cannon, and afterwards his souldiers, towards *Herentals*; in the mean while keeping watches against the Enemy, that he might be the better able to deceive them. But when the appearance of day-light had discovered their design, they which were in the Castle first fell in their rear, where among others was slain *Rosney* (the son of a famous Commander both in *France* and the *Low-Countries*,) who at that time commanded the *Lorrain* souldiers. But another small river hindered Prince *Maurice* from his intended pursuit of the Enemy, for that it was fordable onely with great difficulty, besides the way was narrow and full of water; yet moving on forward with the horse he found the Enemy newly passed the streights, and his Army drawn into battalia in the open fields: and although the *Hochstrattners* were very earnest to fight, as well in their own revenge, as in giving a proof of their affection and valour to their new friends, yet it was not thought fit to fight this Army thus drawn up, and ordered without the foot and Artillery, which followed but slowly after over the difficulties of an unginous way, besides the toilsome grievousness of the weather, which was disturbed with continual rain and tempests. Thus the siege being raised, Prince *Maurice* boldly threw himself into the midst of the seditious souldiers, that by this great confidence of them he might oblige them to him the more strictly. And now he again resolved, while part of the Enemies forces were with him, to besiege *Hertogenbosch*, which by the cruelty of the Winter the last year he was forced to break off, his confidence resting onely in celerity,

If the City could be surrounded void of a garrison, as it then was. But the matter being related to the Council of the States, the *Zelanders* pressing to make war in *Flanders*, yet at last the Prince was permitted to doe what should seem most convenient to the Commonwealth; but in the mean while eight days were spent. And although Count *Heremberg's* forces were prepared and increased purposely to disturb all designs of the Prince, yet he continued in his resolution, not so much out of any hopes of attaining the City, as because he would keep the Enemy busied in trifling, and himself not be compelled to the defence of his own elsewhere, and to depend wholly upon uncertain events. Some were of opinion that the Townsmen, wearied with the miseries of war, would either alter their fidelity, or at leastwise doe that it should make them seem so moderate to both parties, that they should neither fear nor be feared. Therefore the Summer being now well entred, the Prince lay down at the Village named *Vuchten*, and the *Hollstrangers* at *Vlimen*, in the way to *Hoefden*, there being a great distance of ground between the two Camps. The third day after Count *Heremberg* drew up, and in the woody places towards that part where the City lay open, in the Village of *Dalem*, fortified himself, casting up defences against Prince *Maurice*. He, on the other side, erected some Sconces and Batteries with great Guns, where the ground ending to be plain swells up into little hills; and much time was carelessly spent in light skirmishes and mowing of shot. At last *Heremberg* was advised to erect a Fort without the City, near the way that leads from *Vuchten* to *Vlimen*, to this intent, that the passage being stopped from Prince *Maurice's* Camp

to that of the *Hottshutners*, a more hopefull opportunity might be expected against them being divided, or that by a scarcity of Victualls, which were brought from *Hoyden* to the Camp, the siege might be removed or broken up of necessity. The charge of this business was committed to the Marquesse of *Bella*, Colonel of the *Draughts*, with two thousand souldiers, the floor of divers Regiments, which being carried round about the City in the night, had brought the designed work to some perfection, the ground being thrown up and mingled with faggots to the height of a man; whereof the Prince receiving intelligence, not til it was very late in the night, he with the most active and valiant of his men flying thither, excited every one to this no less difficult then necessary business. The *English* valiantly made the first assault, and were no less courageously repulsed; but the *French* strongly seconding them, soon made the place too hot for the Enemy, and the gates of the Town being shut, they having no place of refuge to fly to, nor any relief to assist them, were slain together with their Commander, or drowned in the adjoining marshes: about one hundred and fifty were taken prisoners. It happened by chance about the same time, that the Arch-duke at *Ostend* striving to restrain the going in and out of the souldiers by some sharp and severe punishments, getting a Ship which stuck upon the Shallows, wherein were onely twelve sick souldiers, he hanged them all, pretending they were not taken at land, but upon the Sea, where there are no laws of Arms to be observed: the news of which being brought to the Camp, Prince *Maurice* esteeming it an act of great cruelty and wickedness, nor having any relation to a war at Sea, that he might make the

laws of Arms settled among all Enemies to be of esteem, by a return of the like cruelty caused twelve, chosen at hap-hazard out of the whole number of prisoners, to be hanged, yet one of them out of pity in his tender age was spared; though some did not like to averre, that the known and well-approved law of covenants being infringed so barbarously, ought to be expiated not onely with the punishment of the like, but rather of a double number. Certainly it was a sad sight, and not to be forgotten among the many evils of war, when young men of good breeding and ingenuity, and not deserving any such thing, with sorrowfull countenances, trembling hands, and between prayers and sighs, not so much fearing death as the ignominious kind thereof, should draw and look upon their fates inclosed in bits of paper, either of condemnation for anothers fault, or of pardon not for innocencie's sake, but the chance of fortune. Yet there was one found of so desperate a temerity, who by his own good luck set free, yet, hired by another, once more put his life in jeopardy for the safeguard of the other. But the Townsmen defended themselves onely by shot: yet it fortun'd that the Marquesse of *Malaspina* and one *Oliver Tempel*, passing from the Prince's to the *Vlimian* Camp, had both their legs broken at one shot. *Malaspina* was a person much knowing in all *Albertus* his counsells of war, and being lately taken prisoner by the *Hochstrateners* survived, though in a very weak condition. But *Oliver* died of his wound, having fought on the States behalf above twenty years, so that now he was Judge-Advocate of the Army, and besides at that time was set over the *Hochstrateners*, by his reason to keep in order their violence. Afterwards *Albertus* himself came to the

City, and trying all things, observed that there was a slight Sconce built by the *Mauricians* in a square forme, not far from the place where the Marquesse of *Bella* was lately slain. Of this place the Arch-duke saying, it was necessary to be taken, (and without doubt for the future it would have been of great use to him) news thereof was privily conveyed and brought to the Prince by the intelligence of a souldier that fled from them to him. Some days being past, one night, a little before the break of day, making as if they intended an assault in divers places, their main strength wholly aimed at the destined place. Nor did Prince *Maurice* being forewarned of the danger omit at the same time to draw down thither the most courageous both of his own men, and some of the choicest of the *Hochstratems*, putting out all the fires. The appearance of the day discovered a Battery of nine great Guns opposite to the Fort, and others directed from the Town-Bulwarks and other Fortresses, wherewith the Sconce being violently battered on all hands was so shattered, that the souldiers hid themselves in the hollow places of the ground; yet the Prince came to them, and threatened severely to hang any that should desert the place. At the same time he placed a circle of musketers round the whole circumference of the Trench, and commanded three Cannon to be brought out of the Camp, wherewith the Enemies strength being repress'd, and the assailants forced to become defendants, leaying the Boats which they had brought for the more easy passing the interjacent marshes, and scarcely saving their great Guns, the *Mauricians* took all the Mattocks, Faggots, Hurdles and other things prepared for destruction, and converted

verted them all to the repairing and augmentation of their own Works. The Arch-duke designing several attempts against the Enemy, (which indeed was the main cause of his coming) commanded three thousand Soldiers, which he pretended should onely march through the Town, to remain therein Garrison; which made the Citizens complain grievously of the breach of those Covenants which for twenty years together had been inviolably preserved. But necessity and the fear of punishment quickly made them silent; also there was a strong Fortress raised close by the City, which might serve instead of a Castle, though it had not the name of one. And at the beginning of Winter, the ground being marshy and full of water, the Armies departed. When the seditions, whose labours this year had been great and exemplary, desiring another place of safety might be given them for *Hochstraten*, wherein they might have more room, and that lay more convenient for forage, the matter hanging long in debate before the *States*, Prince *Maurice* of his own accord admitted them into *Grave*, a Town belonging to himself, that they might remain within the Walls, and have the command of all the Bulwarks about it, but not to doe any injury to the Citizens. And the Covenants formerly made were renewed and confirmed, concerning the dividing of the spoil, and that they should not infect or spoil any of the Countries belonging either to the *German* Empire or the United *States*: as long as they continued at difference with *Albertus*, they should not spare their best pains and labour, yet so as they alwaies should remain separate in all marches, and be free from all servile works of digging and assaults: that when they should be reconciled, they should restore *Grave* and receive *Hochstraten*, for performance whereof they engaged their faith and gave pledges.

These

These were the transactions in those parts, while in the interim about *Offend* the Warre greatly increased, and therewith not the charge onely, but the political inventions and stratagems also. And now the Winter being past, that had sometimes been offensive to these, other-while to those, as the force of the wind drove the waters and made them more turbulent; in the middle of the Spring a fierce assault was made from the Camp upon all the quarters of the Town; and when the Defendants were not able to sustain so violent and spreading a force, three Forts were taken by the Enemy, (which lying on the backside of the Town, at the conflux of the waters, we mentioned before to be slightly guarded) and some few daies after the besieged making a sally upon the same places, which wanted success, made the Enemy not onely encrease the number of his Guards, but to put therein of his choicest men. But other small Forts beyond the *Gollet* assaulted by *Burgoy* were successfully maintained. Colonel *Durpan* was then Governour of the Town, whose time being spent, he was succeeded by Colonel *Norris*. Towards the middle of Summer *Ambrose Count Spinola* came to *Offend*, promising an end to this hard (and by some esteemed desperate) work, if he might have the chief command in the Camp. Nor did he undertake this out of any vain temerity, but by the sound informations of those by whom both the place and method of the Warre were well understood, especially after the way was found through the water over great piles of wood, a work onely of time and diligence, whereby the Works of the Town might be taken from them as it were by piece-meal. And this desire of *Spinola* was the more easily consented to by King *Philip*, because besides many eminent vertues of a noble minde,

made, whereof he had given certain testimonies, he offered also out of his private wealth to prescribe a remedy to the affairs of the Treasury, at that time very much out of order. He was at first very greatly esteemed, because being an *Italian*, and but newly come into the Warre, among so many *Netherlanders* and *Spaniards*, he commanded at once both the Souldiers and Treasury: but he diligently minding all things, and following the most prudent, by little and little overcame it. And presently removed such as had made a gain of the Treasury, having prepared his own provisions, because there was need of money to prevent mutinies and running away. Besides, the hope of rewards had brought thither the most famous Wits of Christendome, among whom there was great emulation, in finding out new waies of approaching, battering and assailing Towns; and as any ones inventions came to most perfection in the executive part, so was the care of the General more ready to gratifie him with a certain reward. No less valour or industry was shewn by the besieged, for they took care, lest their provisions should be streightned, that all commanded allowances should be publickly delivered; and, for their defence, were unwearied in their Watches, yea, and sometimes were confident enough to make Sallies; besides, what either the violence of the Enemy or the Sea had thrown down, they employed skilful workmen to repair. To believe so great a number of men shut up in so narrow a compass, and obnoxious to so many dangers, wounds and labours, and yet to finde no contagion bred among them, next to the providence of God, must needs be attributed partly to the extraordinary care of the Chirurgeons and Physicians, and partly to the care of the *States*, which alwaies caused the sick or wounded

ded with all diligence to be carried thence. Moreover, besides the harm they did by burning bullets and hand-granadoes and the like new inventions, they did other great damage to the Enemies materials being now through dry by the heat of the weather. The chief labour of the Assailants was concerning some Boats that were built for the carriage of great Guns, by the same Engineer which we mentioned before, *Targon a Roman*, a man of a very subtle wit, but altogether unexperienced in Martial affairs. Part of these were sent to the left hand of the Town, where the Sea was not so boisterous, to the Forts that lay nearest to the Enemy; but on the right hand, where the *Gollet* is, the shot being unequally levelled, they did little or no harm, most of them being spoiled by the impetuosity of the waters, because stones being bound up in great bundles of wood, the bands thereof quickly breaking, the rest floated, having lost the weight that kept it down. Yet was not *Spinola* dismayed thereat, but still added more Boats to the former, learning new waies of Fortification, from the very experience they gained from their losses: And the battery of Count *Burquoy* being by little and little advanced nearer the Town, it came to pass that Ships came in and out with more difficulty to bring in Souldiers, Victuals, Guns, or Gunpowder, some after that falling upon the Shallows, or being swallowed up in the Sea, when they had in striving to enter endured the fury of the Enemies Artillery. Against the shot from the Town the Besiegers partly chose the night, partly used Works made of earth to keep out the water, wherein were transfixed several rows of Piles and Faggots, where they had settled in places of more safety; otherwise they sunk great Vessels filled with stuff underneath the water.

But

But in *Spain* with the King, who in the practice of his Affairs did most things by the counsel of Strangers, not his own judgement, sometimes new counsels were preferred before old, other times the old regained their former repute, as the authority of persuading or hope of the event led every one. Some averred that it was a great error of State to forbid the *Hollanders* traffick with *Spain*, they being a People potent at Sea, and seeking Merchandise from the farthest parts of the earth, either by Arms or otherwise, and going to the *Indies*, to the no small (though new and hitherto unheard of) damage of the *Spaniards*. With how much more wisdom did his Father attain a hope of Peace from that custome of the Provinces among themselves, having alwaies a convenient number of Ships, as often as occasion required, made ready for him by his very Enemies? If a remedy should be sought for present and future mischiefs, it must be by taking away necessity from the *Hollanders*; for that very thing first shewed them their own strength. This counsel, in it self not absurd, was yet found fault with and disallowed by covetousness: for though Trade was publicly confirmed by Edict, yet there was so great a Tribute and Custome, besides what was formerly laid upon all Merchandise, that it amounted to little less then the third part of the price of the commodity; to wit, thirty in the hundred was to be paid to the King's Exchequer. And this was not laid upon the *Hollanders* onely, but all other Nations, lest otherwise the *Hollanders* should shelter themselves under the names of others; and for some private causes of hatred against those by whose assistance it was believed the Warre was supported. Onely some immunity was granted to those that lived within the Arch-duke's Territories, or should import
any

any thing into his inland Sea. And this was added as a clause peculiar to the *Hollanders*, that it should not be lawful to import any Merchandises made by themselves, nor should any of those things be paid to their Pilots for wages, which they either imported or exported. Besides, they were commanded to take the Archduke's safe conduct with them. Which things being very grievous and unjust, did not onely not prevail against the *United States*, but much incensed the King of *France* also: so that first, he laid the like Impositions upon the *Spaniards*; and when that seemed not a sufficient revenge, he forbade all the *French* to Trade into *Spain* so long as *Philip's* Edict remained in force, on pain first to lose all their goods, and after that to receive corporal punishment. Nor did the Archduke's dissembled elemency succeed any better, when he proclaimed safety of return to all living among or dealing with the Enemy, and not blasted with any other crime, and that whatsoever they had formerly possessed, and was now in the Exchequer, should be restored to them, onely debarring them of the power of alienation. The words of this Edict were filled with many fraudulent deceptions: for all kinde of Religion was directed to be punished thereby except the *Romane*; and the settlement of their Families detained many in *Holland*, as well as the certainty of the gain they made there. About this time the *Hollanders* suffered some small damages by the *Danishers*; among the rest, they took some *Holland Ships*, out of the very *Thames*, being deceived by the Pirates bearing the same colours with their Companions.

On the other side the *Indian Company* sent thirteen Ships to the East *Indies*, commanded by *Stephen Van Hague*: and the *States* sent out six others, under the command of *Paul Carden*, to spoil the coast of *Brazil*.

This

This Winter was sharp and very tempestuous, by force whereof a Whale was driven up the *Schelde*, and found not farre from *Antwerp*, which, for the rarity of the thing, yielded the Vulgar matter of discourse, drawing *Omens* of good or evil from the meanest of creatures. Some a year before this vented threats against that City, which proved farre more vain then terrible, as the event afterwards proved.

The Thirteenth BOOK of the History of the Dutch AFFAIRES.

1604. **A**MONG all these things, *Albertus* did not omit consultations of Peace, either out of a real hope that he might attain the same, or that he might throw upon the Enemy the envy for the refusal thereof: to which intent the Count *Bassigny*, son of *Battel*, by the Archduke's command required a safe conduct from the *States*. They returned Answer, *That if he would treat by Letters, they would be ready, but they could not consent that he should come so them.* The Arch-duke resolved for this cause, and by occasion of the late troubles of *Emden*, that he would accuse the *Hollanders* as Enemies of his and their Neighbours peace at the *Germane Diet* held at *Ratisbone*, whereof his brother *Matthias* was the Moderator. And there were some who, out of affection to the House of *Austria*, or for the difference of Religion, were very bitter in their Opinions, crying out that there should be appoin-

appointed Articles for settlement of Peace, and they that refused to lay down Arms voluntarily should be compelled by force. The more moderate were against the using of force, making onely a decree for sending an Embassy to the *States*; and while that was preparing, the Emperour in the mean while sent Letters, wherein he recited all the evils done to the neighbour-Princes, and what several Cities had suffered, commanding them to make restitution of whatever they had taken away by violence. Moreover he laid to their charge, not onely what their own Souldiers had done, but also the rapines committed by the *Hochstrateners*, in regard they had undertaken their defence. Whereto the *States*, excusing what belonged to themselves, said that the faults of the seditious Souldiers ought to be ascribed to them that with the danger of others would defraud the Souldiers they hired of their pay. That they had sought nothing but their own safety, and yet as much as they could they had in all Covenants consulted the peace of *Germany*. But these injuries were not so easily wiped off by good words, since that in the beginning of this year (which we are now entring upon) the seditious left nothing undone towards the *Germani* which is usual towards an Enemy, slighting all their threats, so long as they proceeded no further then words. For that Winter after they had sacked *Eindboven* in *Brabant*, and *Erkelen* a Town in *Gelderland*, rich with the prey there for many years heaped together by *Albertus* his Souldiers, they fell upon a Troup going out of *Gelderland*, and besides took the Castle of *Carpswell* and fitly seated for excursions, having in all these actions the *Hollanders* Horse to accompany them; and as soon as they were departed, they fell into *Wissphalia*, compelling the Towns and Country to redeem themselves.

from fear by the payment of Tribute. They
 tossed their Guns at *Calis*, and killed near four hun-
 dred *Falderbarians*; for two Souldiers killed by the
Calis, while they behaved themselves with great inso-
 lency. Moreover, they raged with all kinde of lust and
 cruelty, even to the burning of Towns; so that, if
 those unhappy people deserved pity, it was now,
 when for so many years they had been afflicted with
 the miseries of a forein Warre, more grievously al-
 and then if they themselves had been engaged in the
 Council.

The *States*, perceiving the danger of *Ostend* to draw
 off, resolved to drive the Enemy from the siege, or
 to attempt another place, whereby they
 might both preserve their honour, and keep a passage in-
 to *Flanders*; wherefore gathering together money in
 haste, and levying Souldiers on all hands, they obtained a
 new Regiment of *Sass* under Colonel *Bareley*, and
 some recruits of *English*, not, as formerly, by authority
 of the King, but only by his permission. In the middle
 of the Spring, while part of the Horse with the seditions
 of the Enemy fall into *Brabant*, and the report of the
 Warre spread into every place amused the Enemy; the
Sass, accompanied with the Senate and Deputies of the
States, carried out of *Walsbergen* into *Canant* his Army,
 consisting of about twelve thousand. This *Canant* is a
 haven in *Flanders*, which the Sea beats upon, and on
 the side towards the East is compassed with the River
Aren, on the other with the large Haven of *Sclay*,
 and on the backside with other waters, like an Island.
 From the River *Aren* the Army was landed, which cer-
 tainly was a great over-sight, that it was not carried into
 the Haven of *Sclay*, which was the opinion of the Coun-
 cil of the *States*: from which if the Prince had not
 been

been dissuaded by others, out of a fear of greater danger, he might have taken the Town by force, having then a very little or no Garrison; and had also come upon them at *Ostend* while they were full of fear; and before they were aware, and dispersed farre distant from another; or else he might if he pleased have sought them, or at least have stopped all provision from the Enemy. In the mean while, *Souldiers* sent from the *Camp* at *Ostend* and elsewhere had filled the farther bank of the *haven* at *Wexford* with *Spies* and *Scouts* for it, who before had sent forth several *Spies* and *Scouts*, till they brought word of the coming of the *Fleet*. And although the *English* Ships of *Warre* had compelled the *Spanish* Gallies to retire to the Town, for fear the mouth of the *haven* should be stopped, they battered with their Cannon a small Fort situate on the opposite bank, for he could not put over either any *Souldiers*, having with him vain attempted it; *Don* *Philip* making resistance with two thousand men. This Gentleman was the son of all the Colonels in *Spain*'s commands, and held the honour of his knowledge in *Martial* affairs; he understood very well in his accurate writing thereof. And now *Prince* *William* inquiring what way he might best use to goe into the inner part of *Wexford*, by chance a Countryman, flying from thence to escape a small party of the Enemy that was come thither and pursued him, showed him a Ford in that channel which compelled the Enemy behind, where a bank being raised, and the adjoining Port taken called *Quay*, a bridge and Garrison was placed, they having time enough free from the Enemy, while *Don* *Philip* and *Don* *John* differed in consulting themselves. There were two other Portresses hard by called by the names of *Kilbarney* and *Port* *Top*, which yielded to her then could be hoped of

land; for *Katharine* scarce being sorely bruised with
 bullets, was deserted by *Trivulci*, even when Prince
Maurice despairing of the work had commanded his
 artillery to be drawn off; nor did *Trivulci* onely goe
 off with his Souldiers, but the tumultuary band of
 Country-men that were mixed with them; for they
 hearing a noise, which was of the Enemy's marching
 away, which they interpreted to be an increase of their
 forces, and that they were coming to shut up all the
 avenues, fled to Fort *Philip*, nor staid they there, but
 went to *Tsendike*, leaving in *Philip's* Fort threescore in
 number, who upon sight of the Enemy with all speed
 evacuated the place. Thence for the winning of *Tsen-
 dike* (which is a Fort in the utmost coast of *Flanders*
 neere the *Haut*) a siege was thought necessary; for all
 the Enemy that were driven from other places had here
 gathered themselves, to the number of six hundred: and
 on the seventh day after the place was surrendered. Prince
Maurice being busied there, the Enemy approached in
 hope to recover *Gazart*, and in the night endeavoured
 to have passed in Boats to that purpose provided. And
 six hundred were come thither unobserved, others
 following them; but at last being spied by the *Sent*,
 who had the charge of the place, these Enemies by their
 silent force were quickly put to flight and killed.
Belinde Selay lies *Ardenburg*, now shewing onely the
 remains of a sometimes farre more noble Town; this
 the Prince, finding the Souldiers that were left for the
 defence thereof, fled, entered, and commanded the same
 who fortified: and passing from *Middleburg* (which
 is a free City not farre off) and in the Castle, which is
 the only place of defence, placing Souldiers, he now
 began to revolve in his minde the siege of *Selay*. Be-
 cause the Enemy had preoccupied all the places lying

between *Ostend*, he spread himself to the two Rivers which from *Damme* and *Bruges* pass to *Scheldt*, being divided by a small limbe, yet so different in tast, that from thence they have attained the names of salt and fresh water: but where the Lake named *Merkerk* straightens the way leading thither, (as indeed almost all that Country is full of water) *Lewis Velasco* by the Arch-duke's command had fortified himself, and going out with a strong Party, Fortune smiling upon the Enemies, in the attempt they made upon those they first met, before the Horse that were added to him could come in to his help, he with his whole number was overthrown, six hundred almost were drowned, and three hundred taken: and thus they came to the Rivers; and although the Enemy had planted himself between, on one part dissembling, on the other side finding a passage, first went over at a Ford, and afterwards over Bridges to that purpose builded. Hence grew so great a terror, that the Ports were deserted which lie to the Eastward from the Haven of *Scheldt*, excepting onely one called *S. George*, which yet was quickly delivered, more out of fear then necessity, upon sight of the Cannon drawn before it. The Garrison going abroad, they found the secret of an evil custome: a lighted match being placed by the Barrells of Gunpowder, to have blown up the same, and ruined all near thereabouts. Then the Prince pitched three Camps between the Town and the Sea-shore, over which himself, Count *William* and Count *Ernst* had the Command. That which was beyond the River, lying every where under water, he commanded Colonel *Nass* to keep, to that purpose giving him some Boats, and from thence a Breast-work to be drawn as faire as *Ardenburg*, whereon frequent Guards to be kept. But before they were able perfectly to surround

the

the Town with their Works, the Souldiers twice broke
Scheldt through the Marishes, and in so great num-
 ber through the Governour's neglect, that it was belie-
 ved they were sufficient to have defended the Town
 against him; for there was within but little Victuals,
 and the number of those that eat it was increased; and
 he made *Justinian* with a strong Guard bring provi-
 sions into the parts near the Town; which they were to
 meet him and receive: but the design being discovered,
 Prince *Maurice*, passing with some Horse and Artille-
 ry, drove away the Enemy, and took some Carts loaden
 with Meal, and a few men. Fifty of the Slaves belonging
 to *Spiessla*, that with some others had come forth of the
 City, fled over to the Prince, by whose intelligence he was
 more certainly informed that there was Victuals in the
 Town only for a short season; that they made a great
 sort of many things, the better to deceive and delude
 their Enemies. Hereupon a Fast was proclaimed in the
 Camp, which is customary with them going to attempt
 any difficult and dangerous matter; after which they
 moved their great Guns, and made a Bridge of a won-
 derful bigness, as if therewith they would goe beyond
 the broad and deep gulf of the Haven even unto the
 Baster: but indeed some despairing, they stayed one
 week pinch the Enemy with Famine, and to that end
 they were more diligent in shutting up all the Avenues,
 so would receive any more fugitives; in the interim the
 Horse plundering *Flanders*.

Now was the Arch-duke pressed with many great dis-
 commodities at once, and the fear of the seditious hin-
 dered him so, that he durst not leave one Army at *Ostend*,
 and with another goe towards the Enemy: for the se-
 ditious having at this time covenanted with the *Hol-*
landers for one half of the prey they should take, made

incursions into *Brabant*, and were going into *Flandres* therefore supposing it necessary to gain these to themselves, though with the loss of honour and money, and the rather because others by their example began to threaten the like; their number was like to be increased, he offered them terms of reconciliation. And although they did not presently agree, because they would not endure to hear that the prey which they had gotten should be owned as part of their prey, yet their minds being mollified by treaty and discourse, and for purging themselves of crimes, they turned all their strength against the Country of *Liège*, or where they had remained in the Arch-duke's lands; they exacted their tributes, and in other things being indemnified, they were restored the *Mauritians* in vain urging their promises, whom they despised as being inferior to them in number. Besides, the *Stras* were possessed with no small fear, that this unfaithful company should seek to regain the favour of their old acquaintance by the delivery of *Greve*, & the high mockery of their easy credulity. But under shame, or the fear of revenge from the Arch-duke, if they should be destitute of a place of refuge, in which necessary, made them restore the Town, retaining the Castles of *Hochfray* and *Onphay*, which they would Arch-duke enjoy, and while their pay was provided for them, *St. Andrew* was delivered to them as a pledge, and several other noble Hostages. Yet, notwithstanding all this, some of them absolutely came over to the Prince. Two thousand of them by *Albertus* order came into *Flanders*, which being a good recruit to his Forces, and the Garrisons of other Regions by that means and the more safety being drained, he urged *Spinoza* that he would think of the relief of *Silisy*, which was no longer able to endure the Famine. And he, although against his

will, and with good reason judging that *Ossend* was at the last point of defence, obeyed his command. The first offer he made was with Cannon planted not far from the Lake *Merkerk*, by the shot thereof to drive away the Guards: But a greater force of Artillery was brought by the Souldiers of the Leaguer drove away, and made that design of no effect. Afterwards they set upon Count *William's* Camp with some choise Regiments of Foot and Troups of Horse, and all other like preparation fit to destroy Bulwarks; but he was beaten back also thence with great loss of blood, coming back thence, and forcing the two Forts called *Coblen* and *Philip*, (wherein were but few Souldiers) to drive by night to enter that way into *Cerepe* over the Fords, while the water was low: that also was discovered, and fresh Souldiers continually sent to defend the banks. That day gave an evident example of the Spanish Souldiers constancy, who keeping their ranks undisturbedly laboured both against a strong Bulwark and thick cloud of bullets. No less was the valour of the French, especially of many of the French Nobility: and the Prince himself was present, still adding supplies of fresh men to such as were tired. Thus as the day waxed, and the water grew higher by the flood, the Army was beaten off not without the death of many, whose of the nobler sort, among whom the Marquis *Montenay*, son to the Lord *Montigny*, formerly a famous Commander of the King's Party among the *Netherlanders*. They that came forth of the Town then first began to know what was violent hostility, being owned among the dead by the fresh memory of their fellowship in Warre. The besieged, when they saw no hope of relief, and that their hunger had consumed not onely the most vile and loathsome creatures, but also whatever they

they could finde of skins or tallow, at the end of the third month delivered the Town. There marched out of it three thousand Souldiers, who had scarce left within them any remains of life, part of whom died as they went away. Seventy great Guns were taken, ten Gallies, and about fourteen hundred slaves, to whom their liberty was given. Most of the *Turks* and *Mosses* were sent home with Letters, thereby to purchase favour and free trade among those Barbarians. *Ambrose Spinola*, the cousin of *Ambrose*, was dismissed upon this condition, that the *Holland* Seamen which the Archduke kept Prisoners should be released. *Calant*, *Iferdike* and *Selayr* with the Haven were all new strengthened, and their Works repaired. The Forts named *Philip* and *Katharin* the Enemy had levelled with the ground, and the Government of *Flanders* was committed by the *States* to *Count Henry* of *Nassau*, under whom Colonel *Charles Nette* was Deputy Governour. *Ostend* yet held out, among all the labours and distresses suffered from the Enemy, the Sea and Disease, having at this time a small breathing space, while the Enemy's care was divided for securing the Towns of *Flanders*. In the Government of *Ostend* Colonel *Nette* was succeeded by *Giffell*, upon whose death *Levi* came in place, whose successor was *Daniel Marquette*. Many of the Colonels and Captains on both sides were dead. Many new inventions were at this Siege staid out by the besiegers: of which one was a Bridge, a structure of *Targons*, with brazen wheels, and was drawn by horses; one part of it was bound together with Cables, that it might not be easily penetrated with shot: this by the ejection of a beam was lifted up on high, so that it might fall down by loosing the ropes that held it up. This they placed upon a platform, which, as we

rela:

related before, was in the form of a half-moon beyond the *Galleys*. But this vast and sumptuous work soon became ridiculous, one of the wheels being stricken off with the bullets, afterwards some Poles as high as a Ship's mast, being fixed in the trench of the Bulwark, by them that massy Engine was broken and spoiled. Therefore they turned all their force against the West part, and drew some lines beyond the old Haven, and on the backside of the Town. And now the outermost Work that joyned to the Town was taken, for part of it being blown up with gun-powder, it was in vain to defend the rest. Then the *Porcupine* and *Helmont* by little and little decayed and were lost. And now was the whole face of affairs full of horror, for the Enemy to get into the Town, and they on the other side to keep him out, were unawares, and in the dark intangled one among another in caves and passages under ground, and by the uncertain signs of fire, oftentimes those devices turning to the damages of their authors. The *Spartans* and *Italians* being worn out by long dangers, (for every one had his proper station and business, that it might the more clearly be looked after, and kindle emulation in each other) the *Germans* were inticed with rewards to assault *Sand-hill*, and though the first of them were scattered by the force of gun-powder out of a Mine, yet *Barlaymont* drove on the rest, until they attained the top of the place. From hence they went by secret waies under ground into the old Town: sometimes the besieged sallied, and in stead of the Works which they had lost, they raised new ones more inwardly, which out of a vain humour and conceit of the long continuing of the siege they named *Troy*. For the fresh ground being in it self loose, and not sufficient to resist the shot, though it was in the midst of Summer, as often as the wind

wind blew off from the Sea, all things were laid open to ruine. Inſomuch that now the *Spaniſh* themſelves began to conſider the infinite charge, and the loſſes of the Souldiers not much inferior to the greateſt Bateils, and that *Offind* it ſelf being ſo incloſed with Forts could be of no uſe. Beſides, whether they looked at honour or profit, they had gotten more of either in three months in the winning of *Selwa*, beſides *Berk* and *Grave*, then *Albernis* would get by *Offind*, which he had contended for ſo many years. And now the greateſt part of Autumne being ſpent, time was paſt for the Enemy to undertake any thing else, and Winter was coming, which was both dangerous and dreadful to the beſieged. And if they ſhould goe further with an Army, fiſt the way was full of water, and in the middle was *Dumais* and *Blackwater*, Garrifons of the Enemy; beſides, by length of time the Camps were well ſettled, the Forces united, and both Commanders and Souldiers were uſed to fight, all which threatned great hazards to ſuch an attempt. Therefore command was given to Colonel *Marquitt*, that he ſhould ſet an end to that tedious conflict upon as honourable terms as he could, which was accordingly done. And fiſt of all the Ships and other Vellels were ſent away with part of the Artillery. Then Commiſſioners were ſent, who deſired that all in the Town might freely march out with their Arms and ſour Cannon, and that all Priſoners ſhould be exchanged, which *Spinola* eaſily granted, either out of an high eſteem of their approved valour, or to prevent other uncertain events which time might produce. Three thouſand, marching through the miſt of the Enemy's Camp, came to *Selwa* to the Prince, who received them not as overcome, but gave them praises and thanks as Conquerors. The Arch-duke with his Princely Spouſe came

came to see the place, for which they had offered up so many vows, and been at so infinite an expence of money, time and blood, (themselves protesting the loss of fifty thousand men, and that a greater number of the besieged was killed.) They found nothing but an empty and confused plat of ground; here full of rude and misshapen heaps, there falling into great and uneven holes, with such confused remains of Fortifications, that by looking thereon, one could scarce imagine which were made for the defence, or which for the assailing the Town. The Townsmen that lived there before went thence to *Scrage*, and although the Arch-duke granted many Privileges to the place, yet of a long time none would inhabit it, looking upon it as a place of horror, and defiled with the blood and bones of dead men, which is generally repugnant to the nature of most men.

Besides these Embassadors which I mentioned before, King Philip and the Arch-duke sent into England more: to wit, thus sent Don John Richardot, and Don Lewis Ferrisken; but he, Don Ferdinando Velasco Constable of Castile, and Don Alexander Roveri a Senator of Milan; both of them very desirous of Peace, not so much out of fear of the English, as that they might draw the *Hollanders* to reason, by taking away their props and supporters. Nor wanted there some in that warlike Nation that perswaded to Warre, repeating in the English Parliament (which was then met) the ancient alliances with the *Hollanders*, the many leagues and marriages, long before Philip Duke of *Burgundy* unjustly drove *Jacoba* married to a *Brian* out of her Principality: And the reason given for this amity was, that without it the Sea could be safe to neither, and it would grow from thence that Trading would be full and free.

On

On the contrary, the *Spaniards* had no need of Peace, for Warre was more beneficial to them. And it was chiefly to be provided that the *Hollanders* should not by extremity be compelled to joyn either with the *French*, the ancient Enemies of Great Britain, or the *Spaniards*, Enemies for Religion sake and the thirst of Dominion. It hath been evident by too many examples, that who had the dominion of the Sea would easily be Master of Britain. But the King not at all moved herewith, and supposing there was strength enough both in Britain and Holland, for that, to maintain Peace, and this Warre, thereupon refusing the society of Arms offered against the *Spaniard*, he agreed to a Peace. Besides the Articles usual in Leagues, there were added certain concerning free Navigation, such as was before the Warre, and upon payment of the same Customes. Nothing was spoken of *America* or the *Indies*, because the *English* would not endure to be excluded, and the *Spaniard* was obstinate to admit none, so that matter was left to the decision of him that was most potent. Concerning Religion it was agreed, That the *English* should not be compelled in *Spain* to goe to their Churches: That when they met the consecrated Host, they should doe reverence thereto, unless they chose rather to goe out of the way. These that follow pertained to the *Hollanders*: viz. That neither of them should help the others Enemies or Rebels, nor should suffer them to be helped by any of their Subjects: That the facts of private persons should be answered for by themselves, but the publick Peace not be hazarded thereby. But the *Breians* denied to deliver the *Brist* or *Flushing* to the *Spaniard*, affirming it was contrary to the faith contained in their Articles: in the interim the Souldiers that kept those Towns should be unconcerned

armed in the Warre, but should doe their endeavours
for pacifying the *Hollanders*; and if that were delayed,
yet that at least there should be an open and free pas-
sage for the *Netherlanders* and *English* in point of trade:
That there should not reside at one time in the Ports of
either above six or eight of the others Ships of Warre:
That the *English* should be forbidden to carry the *Hol-
landers* Commodities into *Spain*, or the *Spanish* Mer-
chandises into *Holland*. Thus that Warre being ended,
King *James*, that he might take away the cause of all
 intestine discords, by obliterating the names of *Scotts*
and *English*, would have both to be united and grow up
into one Kingdomie by communicative Laws, and to be
called *Britain*, undertaking herein a difficult matter,
and which was agitated with great contentions, while
the yet fresh differences and emulations would hardly
allow thereof, as the foundation of a solid good to po-
sterity. Soon after, according to these agreements
with *Albertus*, he requires the *Hollanders* not to pro-
hibit the *Britans* to come out of the Sea into the
Scheld to pass to *Antwerp*, paying Customes equal to
their Subjects. But they excused it, by shewing that
they had good reason for their Decree, that none should
goe to the Enemy, unless they first changed their Ships,
that so they might the more certainly have know-
ledge of all things. Nor ought he to take it ill, that
they imposed Laws upon a River within their own
jurisdiction, when the *Spaniards* durst deny the pas-
sage of the Seas even to their friends. And so that
he might convert the *English*, who were accused as
infamous for Piracy, to innocent gain, he forbade any
to fight at Sea under a forein command, but con-
vincing at any that went hither or thither to a land
Warre.

By

By another Edict the Jesuites, and all other Ecclesiastical persons that received not Sacred Orders according to the custome of the Kingdome of *Britain* were banished thence, setting out for cause, that that sort of men taught that the Pope might absolve Subjects from their obedience to Kings of another Religion, then which there is not any opinion more dangerous to Government. But at the same time the same Jesuites were restored in *France* upon some conditions, from whence they had formerly been banished, when by their instructions a young man sought to murder the King. But now the monument was destroyed which kept the memory of that fact fresh, together with the Jesuites infamy; the Parliament of *Paris* crying out, that by that one work the authority of the most honourable Order and the security of *France* were subverted together. But the King, with his own great danger, as many ominously feared, untterrified, merely to gratifie the Pope, admitted and favoured these stout defenders of his power.

Between this King and the *Spaniards* arose some new causes of hatred upon old discontent. Monsieur *Villeroy*, a person highly entrusted and favoured by King *Henry*, had a servant named *Hassim*, whose industry and ingenuity (himself being much employed otherwise) he used in the decyphering and reading of Letters and private Characters. This man, being tired, gave intelligence of all the greatest affairs of State to one Monsieur *Raffet* a *French* man, but banished and living in *Spain*, who discovered them to King *Philip's* Counsellors: by which having such insight into all the private counsels of *France*, it was easie for them to guess at all things else: Some things also being discovered to the King of *Britain*, had ingendred animos-

ambitions and jealousies. This Treason being detected by *Raffet*, *Hoffius* first by flight, and afterwards by a sudden death, prevented further inquisition. There was also at this time another matter stirred up by a Woman, which was this *Henrica*, the daughter of *Monfieur Intrepide*, was esteemed among the first for her beauty and pleasantness of wit, wherewith the King being allured, (to whom there was hardly any other time to be objected than these loose Affections) he began to compass the end of his unlawful desires, and promised her marriage, if she bare him a Son, and this promise he confirmed to her by writing. After *Medices* was preferred before her in marriage, she was compelled, to pacifie the Queen, to deliver up this writing of the King's. Whereupon dissembling higher designs under the pretence of solitude and Religion, she aimed to compass forein wealth, wherewith she might secure her Son against the Queen's anger and malice, and not onely so, as she publicly declared, (and as others interpreted it) but also that he might therewith assert his right and claim to the Kingdome. The King of *Britain* refused to give any ear to them for the disturbance of another's Kingdome; but the *Spaniard* approved her cause, and promised to assist her therein. When these things first became known, the Lady her self, her Father and Brother, the Count of *Anvergne*, were taken; but King *Henry* pardoned them, acknowledging his own misdemeanor in their crime. But *Philip* fearing, lest *Henry* enraged with these things should from thence take a cause to make Warre, he ended the quarrel begun about the Customes, which he had lately raised by Edict; and turning his fury against the *Hollanders*, commanded all of that Nation to depart out of his

Domi-

Dominioms, and all Merchandise afterwards brought in
to be forfeited.

This year was celebrated in the *Netherlands* a solemn Funeral pomp for Count *Peter Mansfeld*, who for forty years had faithfully served the *Spaniards* in the highest Commands, being then President of *Luxemburg*, who, though all his life conversant in War, had yet by rare fortune lived even to the extremity of old age. And among the *Hollanders* died *Lewis of Nassau*, being but a young man, yet emulous of the glory of his Ancestors, and in whom there appeared great hopes of a noble and circumspect Vertue.

The Fourteenth BOOK of the
History of the Dutch
AFFAIRES.

1605. THE charges of the now superannuated Warre increasing every year, and that great demonstration of their equal Forces appearing at O-
land, restored to some that hope which they had a long
time laid aside, to wit, that the extreme fury of the
Warre would at length conclude in a Peate; hence
very one, as their hopes or desires led them, delivered
their opinions both in discourses and Books. Such of the
Netherlanders as affected the *Austrian* Government
believed, and so said, having great emulation to the
Gies of *Holland*, and malicious inclinations, that they
would fall under the weight of that Greatness they had
lawn upon themselves, or else would become a prey
to forein Princes, unless they returned to their old obe-
dience, whereof for so many ages they had had expe-
rience; onely with these additions to the old Laws:
That the *Netherlandish* Government should not revolve
in the *Spaniard*; That the right of Commerce should
be free and indefinite; That Religion should not be
forcibly or with punishments urged, in hope of ma-
king a more united Concord; That as well the forein
soldiers, as that plague of mankind; the *Fesaires* fac-
tion, should be expelled; That the chief honours
should remain in the Citizens, and all affairs of greatest
concernment should be handled in the General Coun-

cel of the Provinces; which liberty would continue more substantial if it were used with moderation. On the other side, some in *France* persuaded the *Netherlanders* to separate themselves from the House of *Austria*; That the name of Archduke was but a vanity, without power, without authority, his Forces being consumed by the Enemy, his Authority swallowed or devoured by the *Spaniard*: and when the *Netherlands* should be exhausted and *Spain* impoverished, what hopes had they of protracting the War? certainly, only this one, the wealth of the *Indies*, which also in time would fail them, and become a propriety to him that is most prevalent at Sea. That the twenty several Mutinies and Seditions of the Souldiers have made *Albertus* his Government infamous; and if while those jealousies and hatreds encreased among them, the *French* should have stirred, they might have lain upon the Country and devoured the fields, which of necessity must have produced desolation and poverty. Therefore they should return and unite themselves to the Body of *France* voluntarily, and of their own accord, rather then be compelled thereto by force; by which means they should remain settled in the ancient and renowned seat of their Ancestors, which must needs perish and be lost if the *Hollanders* should be victorious. That there are nine Forts or Castles erected for a small resistance of all Invaders, from whence the original of that Nation is extracted, of whom 'tis questioned whether they exceed more in cruelty or pride, but afterwards inclosed by the *Pyrenean* Mountains, and the remote shore of their own Ocean. That the *French* Empire, grown to a vast magnitude, would govern its Subjects with more moderation, and for the future settle Peace by a settled and hereditary succession, according

in the *Salick Law*: That this should be to them no loss, because they should enjoy in common all the advantages and benefits of *Fyance*. Some there were also in *Germany* who equally considered from hence the *Spanish* greatness, on the other side the abstruse recesses of the *Hollanders*, whose fortune was daily bettered by Warre; nor could they be concluded by conquering. That it were both more honourable and easie for the *Spaniard* to repel the *Turk* with those Arms he used against these; or else he might compensate any small damage of his Government by propagating and increasing his limits elsewhere. That the *Hollanders* might buy their Liberty for money: for Empires have their settled foundations and periods, so that when they are arrived to the highest pitch of Greatness, they suddenly decrease. Of late the *Spaniards* neither demanded *Tunis* nor *Goleta*, nor did the *Austrian Family* look after *Switzerland*. So also must be loose these people; and as they chiefly withdraw themselves, so were they to be suspected from the remembrance of the Warre, and by the discord of Religion, working great prejudice even from their example: besides, part of them were purchased from the *Burgundians*, so that he may with equal justice sell what he had bought. These were the discourses abroad: but at home, besides a few in whose hands lay the managery of the Commonwealth, and by whom all counsels and advices were ordered, the rest, calling to minde how great the *Spaniard's* pride was, how resolutely determined never to agree with the *Hollanders*, threw aside all hopes; the Fates having yet kept in obscurity any glimmering of an end of this so great and long a Warre.

And now the States, to Maximilian Cocbeyne urging the Emperour's commands, as also to the Legates of Mentz, Saxony and others desiring safe conduct, free passage, and time and place for a Treaty, being all things of moment, and such as usually work with the common people, returned this Answer.

That they were not unmindful what damages they had received by former Treaties: Nor were Germany or the Emperour, although names highly revered by them, of any power against the treacherous dealings of their Enemies. That the Hollanders were desirous of nothing more then that, the fear of Warre being laid aside, they might enjoy what they had attained with so many dangers, and so persevering an industry; and therefore having so long intreated the aid of their neighbours, to divert the Arms imminent over them by a moderate Peace, and having afterwards gotten to themselves a solid and well-settled liberty from a fatal necessity, which was allowed and confirmed by Kings and Princes, they would not change it for a deceitful Peace. That they had heretofore entred into Covenants with the Netherlandish Lords, and were now ready to renew the same; for it was evidently seen how small the authority of the Archdukes was, since Spinola a Foreiner received his Command over the Netherlands by Commission from Spain. They never refused a safe and well-grounded Peace, so as Religion might be safe, and the Commonwealth not hazarded: But if that opinion remained, that as there ought to be but one Pope for the ruling Ecclesiastical affairs, so for the Government of Temporal matters there should be but one King, and that the Monarch of Spain; Germany should see that the Hollanders would not be wanting either to their own or the publick safety. As to the

the business spoken of concerning damages done by them, they would endeavour that their Justice and Equity should not be blamed. That they should be reputed very rash and inconsiderate, if they should deliver up any strong Holds while Spinola lay about the Rhine: they knew Germany it self might thus be forewarned; if they would consider Mendosa's Army, and the contumelious injuries received by them.

About this time came forth a Book written by *Francis Rues*, a learned man and of good repute in the Commonwealth, of which he had deserved well for writing the Annals thereof in the native Language: this man, the Author, being dead, the Book was set forth and published by his friends; discoursing of many things as well ancient as novel, and relating the many tyrannies and oppressions of the House of *Austria* and the *Spaniards*, and what treacherous Leagues those Princes used towards other people, especially those whom the Pope absolved by a Religious kinde of perjury; and setting forth that from thence the danger was equal both to the Catholicks and Reformed people; and that there was no other issue to be expected then by Conquest, since those waies which are absolutely desperate to men are yet evident and well known to God.

While these things were minded discursively, the Warre in the mean time is spurred on in good earnest. For those Forces that had been taken up at *Ostend* made a great accession of strength to the *Hollanders*, besides some Regiments came out of *France* to their aid, the King sending them advice that they should first draw out into the Field, for it would be more for their advantage to be before-hand with the Enemy,

then to let him get the start of them. But in *England* and *Germany* Forces were levied and raised for both parties with a vendible faith, as they met Soldiers of Fortune, or else as Religion led any man to one side or the other. Also the *Hollanders* hastened to raise money with all speed; but the *Netherlanders* under the Archduke came to it with less willingness and more delay, for that the Warre was maintained against their will, and they were jealous of the ill managing of the Treasury: besides, the *United States* had increased their displeasure, by writing to the Nobles of affairs that concerned the common good; which things so terrified *Albertus*, that he would not suffer a meeting of the Provinces under him, though often before and at that time chiefly the same was desired, fearing lest by his denial of many things he should become unable to resist their envy, or the authority of the *States* being contemned, they should, according to their neighbour example, fall to direct force; his Letters to his friends detecting this his fear, which the *Hollanders* intercepting sent to the *Netherlandish* Nobles. Therefore *Albertus*, notwithstanding the waving of his consent, permitted the Provinces severally to meet, cherishing those that were discontented in mind with the hope of money from the *Indies*, which the wealthy and successful *Spanish* Fleet had brought, or else of an approaching Peace, if the Warre were more eagerly followed for a little time.

The beginning of the year among the *Spaniards* was spent in idleness and repose among the sweets and blandishments of mirth, while *Don Ambrosio Spinola*, having now the whole command of the Warre, (he was but newly come from *Spain*, where he had consulted with the King concerning the method of ma-

naging

ing thereof) had likewise bestowed on him the honour of the *Golden Fleece*, and before the King of Great Britain's Embassadour was sworn to the peace with *Albertus*. Now also was the settlement of the Kingdom of *Spain* upon the Male issue celebrated with pompous Shews and publick Prayers and Thanksgivings.

At the height of the Spring, and not before, Prince *Maurice* having gathered together his Forces, by the direction of the *States* he undertakes a great work; he went to *Antwerp*, of old the most flourishing City of all the *Netherlands*, and now, the general Trade being gone to the *Hollanders*, retaining their formerly-given wealth and renown. A great hope of glory incited him to the gaining thereof: for about twenty years before, in the Duke of *Parma's* time, while the Affairs of the *Union* were wholly unsettled, by a long and difficult Siege, scarcely grown into a full success, yet such was the Victor's vainglorious ostentation, as made the World believe that in that one City he had gained the possession of the whole *Netherlands*. It was serious and considerate advice, to shut up this large and spacious City with small Forces, by overflowing all the adjacent plain Fields with the River *Scheld*, and pitching their Camps on the higher ground; but there appeared no sufficient reason of seising the opposite bank of the River on the edge of *Flanders*. Some advised to send Souldiers through the Country by night-marches out of *Catant*: but Prince *Maurice* himself chose rather to goe by Ship; which while it was preparing with great endeavour, as fortun'd, the Enemy immediately grew jealous, and gave out in speeches that *Antwerp* should be attempted. This News was received with various affections of the Townsmen:

Part of them rejoicing, as if their Liberty was drawing nigh; others, imagining a scarcity would follow presently began to enhance the price of Victuals, and many, gathering together their wealth and riches, thought to betake themselves to flight. But *Spinola* sending thither some Horse encouraged such as were afraid, the same Horse behaving themselves modestly, and without injury of the Citizens: then viewed all the coast of *Flanders*, which situate over against *Antwerp* is called *Waeseland*, and left there three thousand foot-Souldiers in Guard, that were to wait upon the Enemy's motion, for he was not ignorant that the Enemy could not possess the River, unless by drowning the Fields and placing Guards: he made that coast also his own. Wherefore, chusing a particular day, Prince *Maurice* with a strong Party went to *Bergen op Zoom*, and Count *Ernest* of *Nassau* bringing the rest of the Souldiers in the Fleet out of *Zeland* came into the *Scheld*, and first of all passing with good success all the *Hollanders* Forts, when he came near *Antwerp* among the Enemy's Sconces, although in the night, he could not pass unseen, but was forced to assault the *Flandrian* banks through all the Enemy's Shot; but they which kept Guard in those parts being stirred up by the noise of the bullets, and covered by the interposition of the banks, following the sails, Count *Ernest*, the wind bearing back the Ships into *Brabant*, was hindered to come and joyn his Forces where he was commanded, being otherwise engaged to fight at disadvantage with a resolute and well-provided Enemy. However, to try his fortune, in small boats he transports almost four hundred men, that were easily routed by the first shock of the Enemy, and other part of them were taken: Colonel

Dorpen,

Duven, by the violent pursuit of the Enemy, leaping
 into the River, escaped one danger with ano-
 ther. Count *Ernest* being driven back into *Brabant*,
 Prince *Maurice*, disappointed of his design, compells
 the Castle of *Wonde*, situate not farre from *Berck*,
 within five daies to surrender; which was too mean a
 price for so great an Army to look after, and too
 small a reward for them that had before them so
 great hopes: yet some satisfaction it yielded, for
 from thence the Enemy infested the Rivers with Pi-
 rates.

But these great threats happened not onely to be in
 vain, but to fall out quite contrary, so that the *Hol-*
landers had not of a long time a more unfortunate
 year. While Prince *Maurice* staid at *Wonde*, *Spinola*,
 though at that time the Court there was full of mirth
 concerning the *English* Embassadour, was not slow
 to take into his thoughts more serious affairs among
 those pleasant diversions, but made a Bridge over the
Isheld, that went towards the Enemy which way so-
 ever he should turn, by which means he was ready
 to pursue; and therefore was the more severe to those
 that surrendred *Wonde*, as guilty of an over-hasty and
 cowardly fear, so that he punished some of them
 with death. Nor did the United States a little wa-
 ver and grow afraid at the report of these great For-
 ces approaching with *Spinola*, not resolved whether
 they had best assault or defend; but the Prince per-
 suaded to remain about *Rhine*, lest the Enemy that
 way should invade the undefended parts of their Do-
 minion. And his opinion prevailing, command was
 given to goe into *Flanders* and to call a Councel at
Selays. And now they thought fit to besiege the
Zu not farre from *Gannt*, where the waters run-
 ning

ning from thence fall into the *Hont*, and so into the Sea: which if they brought to pass with good success, they threatned some Cities; but if not, yet they would retain there *Spinola's* strength threatning the cruelty of a grievous Warre to other places.

Not farre from *Ysendike* Prince *Maurice* sat down with his Army which he had brought by Ship to *Waterfleet*, whom *Spinola*, sending some part of his Forces before, immediately follows, and at a place called *Bucholtz*, which was between him and the *Sea*, settles himself, as a fit place either to oversee or repress the *Enemie's* endeavours. Thus they remained a great while in view of each other, without any thing done by either, save a few light skirmishes of the Horse. One time *Pompeio Justiniano* by *Spinola's* command entred the marshes, in hope to have burned the *Sutlers Boats*, which lay hard by Prince *Maurice's* Camp; but being espied by the *Sentinels* he was soon met and repulsed. In that Region over against *Wulcheren* lies the Fort *Patentia*, in the assault whereof Prince *Maurice* intended to drive away idleness: but *Spinola* took a little Fort that lay in the middle of the way, and joyned it to his Camp with a continued Breastwork: but Prince *Maurice's* Camp lying in a wet and unwholesome soil, what with diseases, and what with runnings away, was almost emptied. But Fortune recompenced at Sea this slow and protracted Warre at Land; from whence, since the first Comotions of the *Hollanders* until these very times that which was reckoned among the great burthens of the *Spaniard*, (to wit, that his best and choicest Souldiers must of necessity be brought as farre off out of *Italy* by long Marches into the *Netherlands*, being in the interim of no use, though they were an extraordinary charge

charge and burthen) was now eased by *Spinola*; for he brought by Sea out of *Spain* it self into the Ports of *Flanders* what Forces he had occasion for. Twelve hundred Souldiers, trained up in the *Irish* Warres by Colonel *Pedro Sarmienti*, were at *Lisbone* put aboard eight Ships and some little Barks, the charge of all which was given to *Pedro Cumara*, whose particular instruction among others was this, That if he could not get in at *Flanders*, avoiding the coast of *France*, he should goe to the *British* shore, where by the help of the *Spanish* Embassadour they might have safe harbour; and that he should there receive such of the *Britans* as he had hired and purchased by gifts. But the *United States*, that they might for the future restrain the like bold attempts by terrour, did command *William Hantene* Admiral of *Zeland* to meet the *Spaniards* in the narrow Sea towards *Bulloyn*, and without any pity to drown all the Prisoners they took in the Sea. Now it is to be observed that the *Spaniards* were not brought in Ships of Warre, but of burthen, such as could with most ease lurk upon either the *British* or *German* coasts. But *Hantene* with part of his Fleet coasting about *Flanders*, and with the residue going along the shores of *Britain*, by this means met with whatever passed in the middle of the Chanel. Thus passing along at last he met his Enemies about *Dover*; who when they would not strike sail, but voluntarily stood in their own defence by shooting, part of them were slain, the rest escaped either by swimming, or the help of *English* Boats which came in to their succour and took them up. Another Ship, coming even into the harbor, was so beset with two Ships of *Zeland*, that at last they all struck upon the Flats and Quicksands: but the *Zelanders*

landers as they were less in bulk, so more light to avoid and escape a danger, not onely assaulted, but took and brought off the *Enemie's* Vessel. The *Martners*, according to command, were thrown into the *Sea*: the *Souldiers* and such as had long been in service much complaining of *Fortune*, not that she deprived them of their lives, which they knew was but short at the best, and whereof they could not in regard of their age hope the long continuance; but that they, being a people sworn to fight, should not die valiantly as *Souldiers* with their swords in their hands, but should be helplessly swallowed up in the all-devouring waves of the *Sea*. The next day some more Ships were taken, and one burned, all the *Souldiers* suffering the like severe fate, being tied two together, which upon a sign given were all at once thrown overboard. One saying he had no need of the *Enemie's* hands to hasten on his death, voluntarily leaped into the *Sea*, who though he was unknown among all that obscure company, yet was covetous of honor even to his last. This slaughter consumed almost the one half of the men and Ships; for four of them by the help of the wind got into the Haven, yet were many of the men there wounded and slain even by the *Enemie's* shot. But the *Souldiers* in *Dover*, while these *Enemies* fought at *Sea*, a great while looking on, at last grew angry to have the War brought into their Jurisdiction, and shot from the Castle in aid of their late *Enemies* against their old Friends. The *Britans* recriminating the *Hollanders* for these attempts, were afterwards answered, that they did not seek for any Ships in the Rivers of *England*, which yet the *Dunkirkers* without any notice taken thereof had done, but they looked rather at their Enemy growing hot
by

by the force of Victory, then either the confines or boundaries of Sea and Land. But they could not so easily purge themselves, because under pretence of searching the *English* who contrary to the King's proclamation made War at Sea, they had not long since drawn to their shore the *Spanish* Ships, which were as a prey by the *Hollanders*, and vindicating King *Philip's* Embassadour, had under pretence of right eluded the force of War: But the *Spaniards* that lately were driven thither by the desperate storms of the Sea before Winter, remained there at great charge, which was very grievous to their Masters; and in the interim, while in a miserable condition they continued on the bare shore in poor little cottages by them erected, either lived in great poverty, or died languishing: for not a few of them died of sickness and wounds, among whom was *Cumiana* himself.

Now arrived out of *Italy* six strong Regiments by their usual way of marching by Land, besides new levies made by the Archduke in the neighbour Kingdoms: nor otherwise came the parties to so great strength: for *Spinola* when he was in *Spain* with the King, replete with the honor and authority of taking *Offend*, had easily persuaded him, that this lingering War, advantageous to the Enemy, might easily have an end set thereto, if the King would contract his long-continued gifts; and to this purpose he gave for his word, and inscribed on all his Ensigns this Motto, *sem aut nunquam*, Now or never. Wherefore calling to mind the frequent mischiefs that had arisen by Sedition, he required money and two Armies; with the one of which he would defend his own limits, and with the other would invade *Friesland*; and to that purpose provided

provided all things necessary in plenty: for the Tributes beyond the *Rhine* being gotten by them would be a great damage to the Enemy; besides, many Cities now possessed by the Enemy, which at present the Rivers defended, would become a new bound, and there would be need of a strong Army to scatter the Garrisons. And this with the greater hope was to be undertaken, in regard from thence the very entrails of the *Hollanders* would lie open to them both by Sea and Land. This was wise counsel, as the first successes made it seem; but the rest being not followed according to hope, I will proceed to remember.

The Generals yet remaining in *Flanders*, while the Prince at *Sclays* took care to fortify *Tsendike*, and *Spinola* attempted him with false alarms, Count *Bucquoy* having with a strong party not far from *Colen* driven the *Hollanders* Ships out of the *Rhine*, (for he had carried with him great Guns) passed the River, to the great terror of the *German* Cities round about, from whose remembrance the Villanies of *Mendoza's* time, and the many indignities they had suffered, were not yet banished. At the mustering of the forces, the Pope's Legate was present, solemnly praying that their Arms might be victorious, and encouraging them to goe on chearfully, and be deliverers to such as were orthodox, but to take vengeance on the rest; That it was not so much their Prince's as God's cause they maintained, whose Altars and Temples being defiled and sacrilegiously converted to other uses, he would they should be restored by their hands.

When they were come to *Keyserswert*, (where some of old supposed a *Trojane* Colony remained) they begin

begin to erect a Fort on both banks of the River, to secure the passage. The Bridge that lay over the River was made at *Celen*, whence also great store of Ammunition was brought as long as the Spanish affairs were in a thriving condition, the Senate of that City publicly therein manifesting their affection. Which things being heard by Prince *Maurice*, conjecturing from his own and *Memoza's* former practices, that no man would goe into his Enemy's country that way, and leave *Berck* behind him, thereupon he sent his Brother *Henry* and Count *Ernst* with four thousand foot and two thousand horse, to whom the *States* added Deputies from their own Assembly. Nor did they delay to make their first care to strengthen *Berck*, taking into their Works (which they made exceeding strong) a great space of ground without the Town, whereby the greater delay might be put upon the Enemy, and the Garrison have the better room. Within these they sent the Souldiers, although *Over-Issell* and the Cities of *Friseland*, and *Lingen* especially, required fresh supplies of Souldiers, and what other things are necessary in Warre. But the care of the Publick here was omitted by private fear; but at length five companies were sent to *Lingen*. In the mean while the *Nassauian* horse twice met the Enemy and beat him. And while the Summer was yet in its prime, the Marquess *Spinola*, leaving in *Flanders* *Fraderick* Count *Heremberg*, (who had the command of six thousand foot and five hundred horse) himself hastened to *Bucgoy's* men and the rest whom he had sent before, and privately observes *Roerroot*, a place where the River *Roer* runs into the *Rhine*, fit to be fortified, which he doth. Then calling together all his chief Officers, who till this time were ignorant to what use

all

all these preparations were, he opens his mind to them, and tells them he would first goe to *Lingen*, the chief Fortrefe of all those parts, which would easily be taken, if he made haste, because there were but few Souldiers therein, and they unexperienced in Warre. But the chief point of all consisted in this, that they might prevent the Enemie's supplies which were coming to *Lingen*; and this might be done if they would diligently follow *Berck*, *Grath* and other Towns, whose names were unknown to him. He was not ignorant how contrary this was to the constant practice of former Captains, to throw himself into the farthest part of his Enemie's Country, leaving the whole Countrey behind him Hostile; but as matters proceeded, so were counsells to be altered, for no precepts would ever serve at all times, and sometimes more advantage is gotten by daring then by too much wariness. He had now chosen the best time, while their fruit and corn was ripe and not yet carried away; and the Towns on the edge of *Westphalia* would freely bring in Victualls, if they might be paid for the same. This also he had taken care for, That although it were true that Prince *Maurice* would come thither, yet it would be a great while first, for he was not provided for a land-march, and he would goe where neither a Fleet nor the usual Rivers could bring him; and at last when he did come, there were the plain fields which would afford room to fight, which was as earnestly desired by his Souldiers, as it would be carefully avoided by the Enemy.

As to the Forts taken by *Bucquoy*, it was debated whether they should be dismantled, or repaired at their return and defended. Most were of opinion that it was dangerous to goe into the Territories of others and with
divided

led forces to break both their strength and reputation. *Spinola* agreed with the fewer in number, and commanded *Bucquoy* to take up the cool and shady places upon the German bank of the *Rhine*, and for the entcrease in keeping his Works he gave him six thousand men, which were chiefly new and raw Souldiers, and not used to undergoe a hard march. By this shew of an Army, the care for *Bersk* taken by the *Hollanders* was removed, and hindred them from sending their forces to prevent real dangers, for fear lest the journey into *Friesland* being but pretended, *Spinola*, when his Souldiers were drawn away, should rather draw his strength thither. He conceived nine thousand foot and about two thousand horse were enough to go along with himself, as knowing Prince *Maurice's* men were tired, and part thereof were to remain in *Germany*, to resist Count *Herrenberg*. The foot marched and divided into three Bodies, to every of which was assigned Cannon, to the number of eleven in all. The Flanks were secured by the Carriages, wherein were brought the Victualls, Boats and Bridges for passing Rivers and Marshes, all which also had their guards: in the Front and Rear was defended by the Horse. *Spinola* himself went in the Van, sending before him Scouts and Pioneers to search the ways and level them: where the country grew more Champain, for hastning his journey, the first and middle Battel proceeded on together, the ranks of the Carriages being doubled: in the stead of a Trench were Night-watches, which were defended by great Guns and troupes of horse. In the day-time the middle-ward succeeded the Van, and in the Rear the middle-ward in certain turns. And thus was it found by a great experiment, that vices however having gotten to a head, yet are easily brought

into order and reformed, if there be but a persevering care: for the General quickly restored that Discipline which for a long time had been corrupted by Sloth and licentiousness; because as he was carefull in giving the Soldiers their pay, and bountifull in rewarding every good action they did, so he was inexorable to offenders, and would not be observant to any one's humer. Not onely thefts and rapines, but without leave to depart from their Colours was a capital offence. The Provost-marshal riding about, and with him a Hangman with a halter: by which means, and hanging of some few for small faults in the first of the Army, he cured all the rest. Philip Croy Count was sent to the next Cities of Germany, by taking away from them fear, to purchase favour: for they did as heretofore run on violently with disobedience and fury, for their Officers were with them to keep them in awe, and the Soldiers themselves were accustomed to obey, and such as could distinguish between Peace and War, they were neither oppressive nor burthensome to the Towns or Country. All they desired was but Victuals at a reasonable rate, and that they might have a free passage through the Country. Nor did their actions in ought differ from their words, that all kinds of provisions were plentifully brought to them, and they gained from their neighbors not onely praise but thanks, comparing their old misery with the present security they enjoyed. Beyond the Rivers *Roor* and *Lippe* (although some *Holland* horsemen were sent to cut the Bridge over *Lippe*, but they came too late) the fourth day they came to *Oliver*, a Town in *Over-Issel*, boasting the Fortification of former times, and not at all changed from what it was seven years before when Prince *Maurice* took it.

The Enemy thought he might have taken it in his passage; yet although they made very great halt, the Garrison being timely increased, frequent sallies were made thence, so that they put the Enemy in fear not only of his passage but of the want of provisions. Within the Town were almost four hundred men, all horse, the rest foot. The horse issued out first, and afterward the foot, doing good execution upon all they met with at first; but the approaching Army was too strong for their small number, and, notwithstanding all their shot, in one night in three places came up to the very Town-ditch; but yet *Spinola* not surrounding the Town, with the death and wounding of few men, he redeemed the time, which is a chief rule of War: contrary to which rule Prince *Maurice* was, whose custome is to follow on safely, though at less speed. In the Morning, upon a small Battery made by those Guns he brought with him, the Town was delivered; When understanding by some prisoners the state of *Lingen*, and that more Soldiers were expected thither, commanding the horse to go on, he himself the next day pitched his Tents before the Town. This *Lingen* being fit for a frontier Town, Prince *Maurice*, out of affection thereto, because it was given to him, had begun to fortifie at his own charge and with his best skill, surrounding both the Town and Castle with a very deep and broad Ditch and six strong Bulwarks and Mounts. But the work was new and in part unperfect, and the Rampier not well settled; was the more easy for the assailants to take. There was in the Town an indifferent number of souldiers, about six hundred, but such as neither could make a sally nor fight at the line, besides their Commanders were altogether unskillfull and infinitely

timorous, nor had any one knowledge how to plant or level a Cannon. Therefore while the great guns were preparing and the place viewed, the Enemy without any hindrance or loss, helped by the Meanders of the Gardens, sooner then was credible almost came to the brink of the Trench: And now four several nations, from so many distinct places, hastned to pass over, each of them in emulation and forwardness striving to outvie the other. Part of them, by drawing the small Brooks in the old chanel of the little River, strove to deprive them of water: others brought the Bridge and placed it upon Vessells, or else bound together Faggots and Oiers, according to the invention first found out at *Ostend*; which made them so secure, that some of them went unarmed even into the Trench, and there promoted the work. It was now the ninth day of the siege, and the *Wallons* had taken the Bulwark opposite to them, the *Italians*, *Spaniards* and *Germans* were partly imployed about the middle Trench, and part of them nearer. The Governor of the Town, Colonel *Martin Cote*, being broken with old age and feeble in going, call all his Captains to counsel, and shewing to them besides other inconveniences the great want of Ball, asked them what was fit to be done. They had no mind to raise new works, or repair those that were battered, to oppose their bodies to the Enemies shot, or so much as defend the Castle: but they rather admire, that in all that time the Enemy had not summoned the Town: but others said that custom was grown out of date, being used neither at *Ostend* nor *Sclays*. The Governor, as if this had been valiant advice, admonished them to defer attacking till the Evening, but if that were too much, at least

to move it till noon. The rest were troubled
great, averring nothing of moment could be done
within those few hours, and what they demanded in
war would be easily granted. This their resolution
they put in execution with as much speed as they had
resolved upon it: whereat *Spinola* rejoiced, whose de-
sires, though he were in great haste, yet were prevented
by fear of the Enemy. In the mean while Prince
 Maurice hastning as much as he could upon the re-
turn of this Expedition beyond the *Rhine*, gives the
charge of the Forts in *Flanders* and the Government
of *Sejays* to Colonel *Noisse*, and taking from thence
six and twenty Companies went to *Deventer*; be-
sides he drew out from about the *Rhine* ten others,
and as many more out of the Garrisons, as also eight
that were newly raised in *England*: but the great
fogs were kept back by the cross winds. Two or
three days after the surrender of *Lingen*, the Prince
was ready to have raised the Siege, to that purpose
having drained the Cities of their Souldiers, when a
snowfull messenger arrives with the news that the
Town was lost; for which not onely the Governor
Guoel Cobbe was ere he was aware committed to
prison, and there long kept, but also several of the
Officers, where they underwent as well the harsh
treatment of the people as the judgement of their very
relations, protesting them unworthy of favor. The
heads of their defence, which they sent in Letters
to the Captains and the neighbouring Towns, were, that
there were not Souldiers enough sent to them, or
other things either for the defence or freeing of the
Town; and that the Townsmen, though exceeding
them in number, yet denying to watch and ward or
do any duty, had compelled them by threats and

prayers to prevent imminent ruine by a timely agreement and composition. At length, when time had mitigated the envy of the fact, they were degraded, without any farther punishment.

During this Siege, *Thomas Filler*, one of them who from the *Hochstraten* Sedition remained with the *Hollanders*, being a courageous person and one that would dare any thing to get booty, fell upon the Count *Sotra's* quarters, and of a hundred horsemen given him for a guard took thirty, and slew among the rest the Baron *Ciaces*, *Don Richard's* son-in-law: the Count himself was wounded, and with much ado got away. But the United States, if perchance *Spinola's* Camp had been afflicted with want of Provisions, by publick Edict commanded, that none should carry any Victualls into his Army, and whosoever should be found so doing, should be reputed an Enemy: Yet for all this there wanted no provision, now out of hope of gain, anon by the terror of victory, in so much that some carried home from the Camp what they brought thither to sell, it being so much more then could be spent. *Spinola* staid a while at *Langen*, and there, as if amazed at so good fortune, he admired the strength and rare structure of the Works, and yet for their defence he raised other Works beyond the Trench. Which late design coming to the knowledge of Prince *Maurice*, he followed thither, as if he had intended a present siege. But if he had chosen rather to get more then to keep what he had gotten, the same force and the fresh report of his approach had brought an equal terror upon all places. There were but few Souldiers either at *Coevoorden* or the Fort in *Bourlange*, through which places the Enemy must come into *Friesland*: besides *Groningen* trembled,

abled, and *Emblen*, though farre off, yet ignorant
in matters of War, was tired with private discords,
which Count *Enno*, being confident in this Warre of
the *States* affairs, increased. And now the Enemy
ling still awhile, Prince *Maurice* had some vacant
time for his Pioneers, to strengthen and repair the
fortifications of the Garrisons in *Friesland* and be-
yond the *Rhine*: Himself with Count *William* of
Nassau having gathered together nine thousand men,
he marched to *Corvoerden*, for defence of the interior
part, and that he might be the nearer to follow the
Enemy in the very track, adding to that place several
new Bulwarks. Among all these publick actions some
private and clandestine Stratagems also were used,
whereof one *Terral* a *French* fugitive was the inventor.
This man having rendred his service to the *Hollan-
ders* and being refused, because he seemed to ask
too great honors and rewards, went over to the
Spaniard: he was of a confident spirit, and rarely skilled
in all Fire-works and other devices made with Gun-
powder. To this man the Archduke, out of the
supernumerary Souldiers in other places, assigned
fifteen hundred foot and three hundred horse under
the command of Colonel *Torricarte* the Governor of
Helft, in hopes therewith to have surpris'd *Bergen
op Zoom*. These, in the night at the ebbe of the Sea,
through the marshes got into the Haven, and possessed
two Forts, the one that defended the Haven, the
other the Gate, the Souldiers that kept them flying
away. And if they had proceeded forward from the
Haven, the City would have been indangered, both
the Souldiers, and Townsmen being unprovided, and
so in the greater confusion. But they went to the
Water-gate, and there with their Engines throwing

down two Sluces that lay between them and the Town, the Petard that they hung at the Gate, having in the march caught wet, did no execution; no more did the Hand-granadoes, because they were moistned with the drr. Thus being frustrated of their hopes, and the tide of Floud increasing, they hastned their return, deserting all the places they had gotten: and now the multitude of defendants being come together, they not onely shot with bullets, but from above threw down upon them great stones, wherewith thirty were killed and many hurt. Yet did not this unfortunate eyent so terrify them, but that a moneth after they attempted the same thing again with greater courage and more force: when the contest was most sharp, because their coming being foreknown by some Scouts, all things within were prepared ready to receive them. The Enemy, knowing nothing of their intelligence in the Town, came on. A little after midnight, the weather wet and cloudy, and by that means exceeding dark, the signe being given, they assaulted three places at once, in two of which they had placed Bridges by reason of the water; and although they were not long enough, yet many scrambling with their hands and feet got to the Rampier, to the top of which they were no sooner gotten, but they were immediately beaten down again: for the Governor of the Town, Colonel *Paul Baxen*, mingling the Townsmen and Souldiers together, had manned all the Works round about the Town, himself riding from place to place, and keeping in the Market-place two Companies to be assisting in any place in case of necessity. But on that side the Town towards *Siezenbergen*, it seemed rather to be downright force then any nocturnal Policy: for the Townsmen setting
fire

on straw and pitched barrells, made so great a
light, that they could see plainly all that the Enemy
did. There with Gunpowder they had beaten down
two Gates and a Draw-Bridge, insomuch that the
Enemies beat up their Drums even within the
Town-walls; in like manner the horse sounded their
Trumpets, as if at that very instant they had been
entering. There was one Sluce yet remaining, which
the Townsmen had stopped up with Carts and other
great pieces of Timber: this, in regard many of
Tirra's workmen were killed and spoiled in the
inner places, they endeavored to cut into pieces
with their Swords and with Axes: But the
Townsmen seeing the approaching Enemy, threw
down fire upon them from the walls, and with their
Muskets and great Guns not only gave them cer-
tain wounds but reproachfull language, so that at
last the Souldiers refused to be led to the slaughter
by their Officers. There was no slothfull person in
the City at this time, both the Magistrates and Mi-
nisters putting on Arms, and by their presence giving
others not only exhortations, but example: nay
the very Citizens that were of the *Roman* Religion,
if any such were, knowing that a Victory gained
in the darkness of the night and height of fury
would make no difference of persons, acted with
great resolution, lest they should seem to disunite
themselves from the common cause: the very Wo-
men did not spare any pains or labour, in bringing
Calbrops, Bullets, Pitch and Stones in their childrens
cradles, (having first emptied them of all things else)
and then in the more retired and soft places, upon
their bended knees, with eyes and hands lifted up to
Heaven, they beseeched God to assist the Defendants,
and

and to turn the evil of those cruel designs upon the authors thereof. After day was broken, the residue of them returned to *Antwerp*. In the Town there was only one killed, and very few wounded, for they were well saved by the height of their defences.

Inlike manner also *Grobbendonck* attempted to assault *Grave* by night with Bridges and scaling-Ladders, but understanding that the Townsmen prepared to receive him, he desisted. And now *Spinola* had fortified *Lingen*, untolved what to do, the remaining part of the year, the Autumn being now beginning. To refresh his Soldiers in *Germany* would be infamous and base: The Spies that were sent to *Rort* returned, and brought intelligence that the Works were very great and hard to be overcome. At length, leaving Garrisons both at *Lingen* and *Oldenzael*, oftentimes removing his Camp, he sat down before *Roorort*, and making there a Bridge, he erected a Fort on each side of the *Rhine*, the *Germans* desiring that at *Keyfersweert* might be pulled down. But *Roorort* being a Town in the jurisdiction of *Mons*, in the *Enemie's* Country, and better situated, upon consultation had about the same, it was thought that removal was advantageous.

At this time a new Regiment came out of *Italy* into the *Netherlands*, and another, consisting of part *English*, part *Scots*, and some *Irish*, but all Catholics. These unobserved of the *Hollanders* passed the Sea to aid the *Spaniard*, *Britain* also rejoycing to be rid of them. With this strength, and what other supplies *Spinola* added out of his own Army, *Bucquoy* was sent to besiege *Wachtendonck*. But Prince *Maurice* fearing some treachery attended the *Enemie's* motion, and

Book 14. and kept hard by *Tissel*, lest he should carry the War further. When he saw *Spinola* settled, he also pitched his Camp a little lower not far from the Town of *Wissel*: Nor did he suppose he had at any time a better opportunity to dare the Enemy, or make some attempt upon him, then while one part of the Enemy was in *Flanders*, another about *Wachsendonck*: and to this end he resolved first to fall upon *Spinola's* horse and some Regiments that quartered about and in *Mullem*; and if his success there answered his desire, then he determined to invade the rest of the Army; hoping this laudable advice would in one day yield him a great Victory, unless God thought fit to repell the long-continued prosperity of the *Hollanders*, and the honor they had attained in the War, by unfortunate and adverse successes: for I cannot with reason ascribe their so fatal a fear to any other cause.

The Village of *Mullem* lies close by the River *Roor*, which, although it be broad, yet is fordable in many places: onely it was not passable for horse, because the banks lay so high, except they were levelled by main-strength. On the contrary bank was situate the Castle of *Burick*, and all round about were the Fields that lay somewhat higher. The Prince made haste with his horse, carrying over some foot-Regiments in Carts: with part of the Troups he commanded his brother to goe before, and likewise by another way with another party Colonel *Marcellus Baxen*; this to goe towards *Roor*, against the Castle of *Burick*, to shut up all passages of flight from them being circumvented; that by a narrow passage among the Enemies, whose inclosures were by chance open, as not kept by the Enemy, through the Souldier's neglect

neglect to whom the charge thereof was committed, that afterwards expiated his fault with his head. Herein was a great Error, that Count *Henry* of *Nassau's* horse did not presently come to the Village of *Mullem*, but he staid for the coming up of the foot, hoping to find the Enemies scattered elsewhere; who in the interim gathered together at the River, and the higher and more open places that were beyond it. And this onely thing made the *Hollanders* afraid that they found not the Enemy unprovided, as they hoped, but without doubt stronger then themselves: hereupon their courages being altogether abated, they betook themselves to an unworthy flight, no body pursuing them. Scarce could the sight of Prince *Maurice* himself and the rest of the Regiments restrain them from running over their very fellow-Souldiers, nay the General himself, so much were they affrighted. In the mean while *Baxen* breaking into the out-parts of the Castle of *Burick* (the inner parts were held onely by ten Souldiers) met with some Troups of the Enemy, which by chance were going out to forage: But he being not affrighted therewith, and moving forward, drove them back, and questionless they had fled, but that both horse and foot coming from *Mullem* restrained them: and then the Prince's men overpressed with number and wearied with long fight, were afresh encouraged by the sight of Prince *Henry*, whom a few men recovered from flight followed; some others also being reclaimed by mere shame. Therefore on both sides they set upon the horse and horsemen intangled in the River: but *Lewis Velasco* hearing of the danger of his men, speeding with some Troups out of *Spinola's* Camp, reduced the Prince's men into a new fear, their

their courages and countenances yet bearing in them the terror of their former flight. Thus once more brought into an amaze, they fled absolutely, nor could Prince *Maurice* standing publicly on the other bank withdraw them with all his Forces and great Guns, intermingling exhortations and reproof: now he remembred them of the honor they had formerly gotten, That they should not be the first to fully the Victories gained at *Tornhout* and in *Flanders*, nor lose those merited praises they had won in taking so much from the Enemy, and that had made them renowned in so many fights; That they should not leave his brother, their Leader, in the midst of his Enemies: Then calling upon the fearless Souldiers, that trusted rather to the swiftness of their horses heels then the valor of their own hands, Would they onely be diligent in forrage, and actively oppressive to unarmed people? Then requesting them to stand and face about, Where are those countenances, where are those couragious inquisitions so often by you made to fight the Enemy? acquit your selves of this dishonor offered to your Country and to Me: Be conquered rather when I am absent, but rather purge your selves of this crime by some worthy act, that I may hereafter see you otherwise behave your selves with valour in other things. But all these things prevailed nothing, their minds being so fully possessed with fear. Count *Henry* of *Nassau*, onely accompanied with a few of his domestick train, as he was retreating to *Baxen*, being eminent for his habit, was on all hands furiously followed; and the Captain of a Troup of the Enemies riding near, that he might not discharge his Carabine, being in great fear of a Pistol levelled against him, by and by

by laid hold of the Scarf he wore upon his shoulder, which the great Officers of horse wear for show, but is of great danger in the wearing; yet at the instant was redeemed. Which was an act of high merit, whoever did it, which till this time is questioned; though the memory thereof be yet fresh. But Prince *Maurice*, nor so solicitous now for the Victory as the safety of his Army, lest the begun terror should consternate all, sends part of the remaining Regiments over the River: And first of all Sir *Horace Vere* with the *English* foot beat back the Enemy's horse, compelled to draw his men into the forme of a wedge, and to fight at push of Pike. *Merville*, the Colonel of the *French*, followed next, who there honourably lost his life. Nor did the foot Regiments sustain onely the brunt of the horse, but some of them, following the example of the horse, beat back many of the Enemies who fled into the Castle of *Burick*. And now Fortune was come about. But *Spinola* eluded them a while by a noble policy, beating up his Drums hard by, as if his whole Army had been drawing near, which were indeed far enough distant. Then the Prince, doubting this false fear might prove true, as formerly he chiefly relied upon the valor of his horse, so now at their cowardly running away reckoning the greater uncertainty of the War, sounded the retreat, placing his Muskettiers on the inner bank, and drawing his horse within safeguard of them. Of the Enemy was slain Colonel *Trivulci*, an excellent Souldier and a good Captain. The slaughter, wounds, prisoners and Ensigns taken on both sides were equal, onely with this equality the assailants reaped the most dishonor. *Spinola*, having escaped this danger, for the

the future went more prudently to work, contracting the Forces into a narrower compass: Then going to see how affairs were managed by *Bacquoy*, and finding all things to his satisfaction, he returned to *Ronsse*. *Bacquoy* had the advantage of a dry Autumn, otherwise the soil would have been very wet. But the besieged, though they were twelve hundred, commanded by *Richewin* the Governor, and trusting in their multitude and the strength of their Works, promised mighty matters, yet never came out of their works, or endeavored to delay the Enemy by any sallies, so that making a Bridge over the River *Niers*, and the eighth of getting to the Town-ditch, they drew away the water, by bearing down the Sluce that kept it in. Being come to the great Bulwarks, first terrifying the besieged with Mines, and after that by an assault, the seventh day *Wachtendonck* was delivered.

During this time *Geldern* was attempted by the Prince, he with as little success as the rest, which Town was distant from the Camp four leagues, whither going in the night, he drew his horse and part of his foot, some going before that should make way for them by forcing the Gates with Gunpowder: but when they came to the draw-bridge, the force of their instrument was too weak, and another being let to, fell into the trench, which gave the Townsmen time to draw together, who soon dispersed those that were near at hand with their shot, among whom was *Philip*, the son of *Philip Henry*, Lord *du Plessis*, being fearless of danger out of the earnestness of his desire to learn, he was the worthy offspring of so worthy a Father, whom he followed in the very track, who in his time was famous in a high measure as well for his noble and heroick actions as Learning.

Nor

Nor did *Spinola* omit farther to prosecute the good fortune of this year; for sending *Burgoyne*, he easily took the Castle of *Cracoy* in the jurisdiction of *Muris*: for the truth is, it wanted the main part of its strength, the marshy soil being by the extraordinary drought of the weather void of water. But in *Flanders* *Frederick* Count *Heremberg* erected a great Fort hard by *Sclays*, where the two Rivers, known by the diversities of their salt and fresh waters, fall into the Haven. This he did assisted by fraud, and a small party of the Enemies in those parts; because they of *Bruges* pretending to make a Bank as it were for the recovering of the ground, which by an Inundation was torn from humane use, had desired leave to doe the same from those of *Sclays*. At the end of Autumn, which was very showry, *Spinola*, seeing the Fortifications about *Rotroort* were perfected, first dismissed his Army: The same did Prince *Maurice* soon after, and the horse returning to their winter-quarters, meeting in the way *Grebendonck's* Troups, routed the same, carrying the greatest part of them away prisoners, being now resolute to lay hold on all occasions whereby they might abolish the memory not of their fight, but of their flight at *Mullem*. Nor was there any thing more done at Land; but at Sea the reliques of *Sarmienti's* men by stealth getting through the boisterous Sea, while the wind had driven the *Hollanders* otherwhere, arrived in *Flanders*. Soon after this one *Lambers* of *Rotterdam*, a Sea-Captain, setting upon one of the greatest of the *Dunkirkers* Ships, that carried one hundred and twenty men, fought with all sorts of shot, and though fewer in number, yet equal in courage, he would not give place to his Enemies fighting for their lives, he himself onely fighting for honor. But when *John Gerbrand* Governor of *Enchnisen* brought also his
Ship

Ship against the Enemies, the *Dunkerkers* having lost among the rest their Captain, (who was named *Adrian Tholore*, and famous for Piracies) and being tempted with the hope of pardon, yield themselves. The Ship that was taken afterwards served for War: about three-score of the men were hanged, some few got pardon in pity of their youth, some as they were led to punishment escaped and fled, no one offering to stop them; for the long continuance of their miseries in prison had mollified the peoples minds towards them.

Among those that returned this year from the *Indies*, were some that were left by *Hemskerck* beyond the Cape of Good hope, by reason of a Leak sprung in their Ship. This Ship being driven by the wind to the coast of *Madagascar*, staid there eight moneths, in great want of all things, and the Sea-men, some by diseases, others by War among the *Bardavians*, and the rest by grief of mind, were almost all of them consumed, there onely remaining alive eighteen of a great number. A like fate over some other *Holland* Ships to the same Coasts, when were bound for the Island of *Swans*: but at last meeting those first poor men, they were even comforted between joy and tears, and to hear the narration of the dangers they had passed, would make any one acknowledge the infinite loving-kindness of God towards them. Presently they began to repair the wrecks of other Ships with the fragments of their own Vessel, and to transpose their Merchandises, by which means at last they returned to their Country, of which they had so long despaired, and the Factors received an unexpected gain. Besides two Ships came from *Celon* bringing sad news of the death of the Governor *Sebalde Waert*, who was killed by the treachery of the *Fimale* whom we mentioned elsewhere to be

the King of *Candy*, and seemingly affectionate to the *Hollanders*; but his suspicious nature incited him, as usual with *Barbarians*, because *Sebalde* gave liberty to the *Portugueses* whom he had taken prisoners in War, which he, being a stranger to the customs of the *Barbarians*, doing, it was by them interpreted to be an argument of collusion between themselves: and he was the rather incensed to believe this, because among the treaties between him and the *Barbarians* about making War upon the *Portugueses*, he advised him that he might diligently consider his Ships, and from thence let an estimate upon his strength, urging this with more earnestness then suited with the honor of a Prince. He under pretence of officiousness, pretending his mine to be sought, to prevent the imagined wickedness, took off *Sebalde*: and his Associates, for fear of losing their Trade, omitted to revenge the death of their Captain. But the King of *Spain* fearing lest those distant and weak parts of his Empire, should become known to all, by a severe Edict forbad any foreigner to sail to the *Indies*, or any other place under the jurisdiction of *Portugal*, and they who then were in that other World should by a certain day return thence: which for all that did not so hinder the *Hollanders* endeavor, but that they sent to the *Indies* twelve Ships, under the conduct of Captain *Matelisen*, one of the Governors of the *Indian Company*. In the interim, *Carden*, whom we mentioned before to be sent to *Brazil*, returned with a very great booty.

Among the Neighbors, although the name of Peace yet continued, yet many fierce commotions were believed to tend towards War: for the Citizens of *Aguirram*, the City having alwaies been covered by the Dukes of *Brabant*, had new Governors put upon them,
Imperial

Imperial Decrees made against them, and (which then was buried in silence, but afterwards was manifested,) by the confidence of a private League with *Albertus*, all the Ceremonies of the Reformed Religion were both publicly and privately forbidden; they who had before born the Office of Magistrates were not onely accused as guilty of Sedition, but as being illegally chosen were cruelly used and fined; their Accusers were of the choicest sort, and whoever undertook their defence was joyned with them in punishment. The Bishop of *Coles* Legates, to whom the Emperor had given that in command, under pretext of Reconciliation, publicly declared that profession faulty upon their bended knees, and afterwards laied pecuniary mulcts upon all they denounced guilty, in the name of costs and charges; and upon most the fine exceeded their ability; yet if it were not paid, part were thrown into Prison, others removed their habitations; whose Banishment was followed with rage and hatred of the Commons against the Great men, and pity towards the poor. But by how much at the present they were oppressed, by so much the more violently they would in the future break out.

In *France*, besides the rest of the *Spaniard's* treacheries, it was discovered, that Monsieur *Merarges*, sent from *Narbon*, to exhibite the desires of that Province to the King, had agreed with Don *Balthazar Zunica* King *Philip's* Ambassador privately for the delivery of *Marseilles*, concerning which he and one *Brunelle*, a *Netherlander* Secretary to the Ambassador, were apprehended, and with them were taken palpable demonstrations of their Treason. When the Ambassador required his servant, according to the Law of Nations, the King on the other side set forth the unworthiness of the fact, and how the right belonging to Ambassadors was by himself

violated. The Embassador replied, If any thing had been done contrary to friendship, that ought not to be attributed to him, for the *French* King, contrary to the Peace made at *Verbin*, had openly given assistance to Rebels and the Enemies of the true Religion; nor had he onely tempted to corrupt the Counts *Heremberg* and others in the *Neiberlands*, but had stirred up the *Moors* to invade *Spain*. With which reproof the King being more enraged, answered, That the *Roman* Religion was more indebted to him and his ancestors then the *Spaniards*, that being untruly reported to be the cause of the War in the *Neiberlands*, because, in truth that contest was about Dominion: And if he either would pay what money was due to the *Hollanders*, or the *French*, who are people impatient of ease, would in these parts make War under a famous General, as in the farther *Hungary* and with the Archduke, how much would that resemble so many treacherous designs intended against Cities, and the tempted fidelity of so many great men? Then he repeated particulars, protesting those things spoken concerning the *Moors* to be false, and confessions extorted by force: And if it were unlawfull for him to allure the Count *Heremberg* and others, who were not *Low-country*-men, but *Germans*, to unworthy actions, what did they merit who by large promises had drawn away *Terral*, not onely a Subject, but a Member of his House and family? But these were small matters. But if haply an Embassador dived into the secrets of State-affairs by politick means, it ought mutually to be dissembled and pardoned; but counsells of cruelty and such as tended to the hazard of lives ought by him to be refelled. *Zunica* praising the King of great *Britain*, that although he differed in Religion, yet he observed the Peace with great reverence; the *French* King answered, Their friendship

ship with the *Spaniards* was but of a new date, but a short time would make appear what it would come to. But at last the Embassador was glad to pacify the King's anger, which began to break out into threats, saying there should be no need thereof, as well the vertues as the wisdom of *Henry* the Fourth being generally known to most men. But at last *Merargis* being brought to condigne punishment, the Secretary was restored to the Embassador his Master; it being proved to the King, that it would be better to repay subtlety with policy, then to seek to revenge it by War.

About this time a horrible Conspiracy was discovered in *Britain*, contrived by some who valued their own liberty and fidelity and all Laws both divine and humane less then their Zeal to the *Roman* Religion: for because they could not by Petition obtain liberty for the exercise of their Rites, hiding a great quantity of Gunpowder under the Parliament-house, they decreed at the next assembling of the Parliament to blow up the King, the Prince and the Peers of the Kingdome: And the chief Fathers of the *Jesuites* being consulted with by the authors of the Plot, whether it were lawfull in so great a number of guilty persons to destroy some innocent ones, they answered, that for the great good of the Church some wel-deserving persons might suffer, confirming their opinion by an argument of besieged Cities. But one of the more conscientious of them admonishing his friend, that he should not come to the Parliament at the appointed day, the Letter of advice being mistakenly delivered, first gave notice of the designe; and afterwards the place being found out, both the Treason and the Traitor himself were found out. Upon knowledge whereof, the Conspirators in the farthest parts of *Britain* broke out into open Rebellion, one *Oldcorne* a *Jesuite*

incouraging those that were afraid, lest they judged of the goodness of the cause by one unprosperous event; That God did many times deny success to undertakings well approved by himself, that he might make trial by adversity of his servants constancy and perseverance. But at the very beginning of the same they were apprehended, brought to trial and executed: Father *Garnet* also, who had formerly attempted many things against *Queen Elizabeth*, being wont highly to extoll the *Pope's* authority over Kings and Kingdomes, that no faith or obedience was due to Princes by him interdicted, averring that subjects, if they were commanded, ought to oppose them with Armes even to the hazard of their lives. From whence all in power and authority may learn, who neither stand in awe of the *Roman* Religion, nor Fleets nor Armies, that they are by Ecclesiastical authority most violent inciters of the common people to Rebellion. They added also another pestilent opinion, That one might answer to any questions proposed by the Magistrate evasively, ambiguously and with mental reservations; to that purpose setting forth Books in print, which in defence of a lie they inscribed with lying Titles. And whatsoever was related to them in Confession, ought to be kept secret, and to disclose the same was a sin; although it tended either to the destruction of Prince or people; and in pursuance hereof they named all manner of conferences among themselves, Confessions. It was not doubted but these hopes of Treason were nourished by the *Spanish* wealth, and the rather, because long since some Societies of *English Jesuites* were maintained by them purposely to disturb the Peace of that Kingdome. But some that were knowing herein betrayed all those forms of private counsells abroad, lest they should still continue unknown; but they that
continued

continued faithfull to *Rome* and *Spain*, wanted no convenient supplies from thence upon all occasions. And was told to the Constable of *Castile* when he was Embassador in *England*, that if the new King would not allow or suffer the *Roman* Religion, he would find some ready to exact the same by force. And the Archduke fomented jealousies and suspicions, denying to deliver to King *James* requesting the same such *English*-men living in those parts, with whom the Prisoners confessed they had participated counsells; the chief of them being sent away into *Spain*. Yet did not King *James* take either as an affront or injury; publishing by Proclamation, that he was satisfied of the innocency of foreign Princes in that business. Nor did King *Philip* come to congratulate his delivery from so great a danger by *Don John de Mendoza*, both in countenance and serious forms of speech to that onely purpose made.

The Fifteenth BOOK of the History of the Dutch AFFAIRES.

1606. **T**HE Defence of *Antwerp*, one of the principal Cities of the *Netherlands*, the taking Towns so strongly fortified, and carrying the Warre into the Enemy's Country, while with less danger and more hope he might have fought elsewhere, added very much to *Spinola's* honour and renown, he being the first that seemed to put new life and courage into, and to restore the fortune and discipline of, that side which for fifteen years before had been decaying. Therefore which way soever he went among the *Netherlanders*, there were great exultations and applauses attended him; and when he came into *Spain*, as his custome was every year, he was privately envied by the Lords, but publicly and with great honour favoured by the King. But the many actions of the former year had so drained the Treasury, that by the emptiness thereof the present Counsels of the Warre were much retarded, and he but slowly obtained pay for both his Armies, refusing to undertake the charge of the Warre without it; and if he had it, boasting he had in a manner already obtained the Victory, determining, as before he had passed the *Rhine*, so now he would goe over the *Waal* and the *Yssel*, and so penetrate into the very bowels of the *Hollanders*. Therefore he consented to
help

help the King's decayed credit with his own and his friends wealth, which with what damage to himself it was done, will be commemorated towards the end of the year.

On the other side the *United States*, long foreseeing the approaching evils which Armies are wont to draw along with them, increasing their Forces that were at distance, (and they were infinitely vexed with the vast charges of the Garrisons) resolved the following year to give way to that violence which they imagined would not endure long, being content to defend their Borders until the fury thereof began to be assuaged: Beside, the new Levies intended were hindered in *France* by the Warre of *Sedan*, and in *Germany* by the troubles of *Brunswick*, *Sedan* is a City lying hard by the *Mais* in the confines of the *French* and *Belgick* Dominions, and was a place of great concernment if at any time the Warre came towards those parts: Of old it was possessed by the Family of *Le Marque*; but *Henry de Turin* Viscount *Turcin* marrying the Daughter and Heir of the *Bulionian* Family, gained the inheritance of the Town, and took the name of *Bulion*; and although his Wife was dead, retained it by virtue of her Testament, but often undermined by the *French* greatness, while the affairs of the House of *Bourbon* were yet but private. He was reckoned among the chief Captains during the unsettled estate of that Kingdome: But after the King had changed his Religion, and for defence of the Kingdome new Taxes were found out, which gave cause of complaint, and the great multitude that professed the Reformed Religion had their eyes chiefly upon *Bulion*, he being famous in Warre, and the frequent author of resolute counsels, he was believed to have caused some commotions.

sons. When he was called to answer his offence, at the same time as Marshal *Biron* was put to death, excusing himself against the violent animosities of his Enemies, and challenging many of his suspected Judges, he departed into *Germany*: And the Prince Elector *Palatine* being asked that he would remember his Affinity, (for both of them had married Prince *Maurice's* Sisters) sent some Embassadors to the King to appease his wrath: but it little prevailed, it being alwaies a thing detested by Kings, to have forein Powers interpose themselves for the reconciling their differences. Hereupon the matter was undertaken by Prince *William's* Widow; and indeed the Woman's sollicitation proved most effectual: but the King required the custody of *Billon* as a pledge of his fidelity. *Billon* offered to deliver both the Town and Castle to the patronage of the Kingdome of *France*, and for performance of that agreement consented that as well the Governour as the Souldiers therein should be bound by Oath, and besides this he offered other things, while yet he was not removed from the possession, and in the interim prepared all things for enduring a War, if he should be compelled thereto by necessity. This boldness of his, together with the potent Enemies which he had lately made himself, and besides being a man greedy of honor and impatient to be excelled, forced the King, that marching out that Spring with a great Army he came with his Camp as far as the *Mars*. Thus did this great King threaten with the fury of a destructive War, not the *Spaniard* nor the *Burgundian*, as heretofore, but his old friend, the Lord onely of one poor Town. But a meanes being found to make Peace, *Billon* was redeemed from that imminent danger, and the King freed from such an inglorious contest. The

King

placed a Governor in *Sedan* for four years, and at the end of that time the custody of the same was to be redelivered to *Bulion*. By that agreement it was forbidden for any to inquire into his former actions; and if hereafter he should change his allegiance, the Townsmen swore they would chuse them another Prince. This Peace being made, he was restored to his wonted favor with the King, who as he was easily angred, so he was ready and free to pardon; men wondring to see him that lately was an Enemy, now be at the King's elbow, and inseparable from him both in his cares and recesses. The Castle it self within a moneth was restored to him. This was the amicable issue of that business, which was very pleasing to both parties at War in the *Netherlands*; For it was a grievous thing to the *Hollanders*, that one of the same Religion and related to the house of *Nassau* should be afflicted; and the Archduke was sorely afraid, lest those Armes pretended against *Bulion* should fall upon himself; and therefore *Lewis de Velasco*, that was sent to defend the Borders, offered help to them of *Sedan*. But the *Brunswick* Commotions began the former year, the Duke having a spleen to the City, because having bought their Privileges partly from his ancestors, and partly extorted them, they defended them with more then ordinary confidence, relying upon the *Hanseatick* League. He replete with hope that he could by his own power restore that Authority which the carelessness of his Ancestors had lost, gathering together his Forces, as if he had dreaded *Spinola's* coming over the *Rhine*, first by ambushes planting some *Souldiers*, he invaded the more outward of the two Walls that encompassed the City: but the assailants being repulsed, they fell to open hostility and a Siege, which,

though

though the King of *Denmark*, whose Sister was married to the Duke, came with a notable strength to his assistance, the Winter broke off. The United States being requested by the Duke to send Count *Ernst* of *Nassau* as General with some Forces to his assistance, were in a great suspense, because it appeared to them an unseemly thing to oppress the liberty of another, while they so hotly contested for their own; and yet rather for the King of *Denmark* and the Duke of *Brunswick's* sake than the *Hanseatick* Cities, who had not assisted the *Hollanders* either by wealth or any other kindness whatsoever, it was thus moderated; They would not send him, but that he might goe with some new Forces if he pleased: to whom some Colonels and Captains joyned and associated themselves, requesting that for that time their Oath might be dispensed with, being covetous to gain those rewards which are more readily given at the breaking out of a new War. But this high contest was ended in a short time: for at the entrance of the Spring, the Leaguer about the Town being anew begun, and the dam broken, by which the Duke hoped to bring the restrained River upon the City, and by that means to shorten the Siege, the *Hanseatick* Forces being collected, prevailed with him to desist from the War. To both parties unable to bear the charge the Emperor's authority was interposed, which commanded them, that they should voluntarily and out of reverence to the Laws proceed judicially, since they seemed in honor thereto to lay down their Armes. Besides these affairs which were common to the *Hollanders* and their Enemies, there were certain peculiar causes which hindred the Enemies Levies of men both in *Britain* and *Italy*. For in *Britain* the King being forewarned how

dreadful those Subjects were that acknowledged
yet superiour to the King, conceived a new form
Oath to oblige all his Subjects, whereby they were
to profess him the true and lawful King of *Britain*,
that he could not be deposed by the authority of the
Church of *Rome* or the Pope: and if that should be at-
tempted, yet that they should bear unto him faith and
allegiance, and discover all things that might tend to
the King's damage; and that in the taking the said
Oath they had no other meaning then the common use
of the words expressed, and that they did not hope to
be dissolved from the same. From hence arose great
dissension even among the Catholicks themselves; while
some of them, by the allowance of *George Blackwel* an
Archbishop of *England*, (for so the Pope had entitled
him) took the said Oath without fear, supposing a di-
stinction between sacred and temporal affairs; and as
they were brought to doe their duty to God in point of Reli-
gion, so in all things else by the command of God
themselves they were bound to obey their Princes: On
the other hand, some believed the *Jesuites*, that humane
things ought to be subservient to Divine, and so, that he
who was the great Arbitrer of Religion, if necessity re-
quired the same, might transference Kingdomes, that be-
longed to a most sacred Order, that all things should be sub-
servient to one. In the interim they that demurred at the
taking of the Oath were forbidden to goe out of the
Kingdome into any forein service. And the Pope's au-
thority in *Italy* made the like, if not greater, troubles
and delays: For the *Venetians* fearing the wealth and
power of the Priesthood, and imitating the Decrees
of other Nations, forbade them to build Temples, or
to give lands to Abbeyes or Monasteries, unless they
were licensed thereto by Decree of the Senate, and
that

that the Revenues of Church-lands should at no time return to them: besides, they commanded some Priests to be put into Prison, because they were accused of Sorcery, Parricide, Incest, Falshood and publick Force.

Pope *Paul* the fifth, by the instigation chiefly of the Cardinals *Bellarmino* and *Baronius*, interpreting their things to be done in despite of him, when they were refused to be taken away, interdicted and excommunicated the City. Cardinal *Baronius*, in some Letters by him sent to the *Venetians*, advised them among other things to take heed lest God, being angry with them as he was once with the *Hebrews*, should take away their Liberty, and make a Lord over them. Many Books were written, wherein a long time it was disputed what was the power of the Laws, or of any other Sentences, upon those that were wholly devoted to Religion, or whether the Pope's unjust commands obliged their Consciences. The greatest part of the Priests in the *Venetian* territories did not abstain from performing all publick services in the Church, and the *Jesuits*, when they refused to doe the same, were banished. While this matter was hoped to break out into Arms, the *Spaniard*, who had received it from his Ancestors to augment the Troubles of *Italy*, raised Souldiers there, boasting himself the Defender of the Pope's Majesty. On the other side, the *Hollanders*, partly out of hatred to the Pope, and partly out of love to a free City, promised the *Venetians* some assistance by Sea, if they should be indangered: for which they returned them great thanks by Letters, with much candor of language. But that prudent Senate, as they would stoutly defend the rights of their Dominion, so they studiously avoided all things that might

might hinder Peace or the ceremonies of greater affairs. However this was the beginning of friendship between those two most potent people, who would never endure the Rule or name of a King.

While these things were doing in forein parts, at the beginning of this year the *Hollanders* send a Fleet to *Spain*, to increase the dearth and scarcity of all things which was rumored to be there; and also for vindicating those losses they had received by the violent assault of their Ships by *Lewis Faizara*, the said King lying unprovided and unguarded at some *American* Islands seeking for Salt, whose Mariners and Seamen be either drowned, hanged, or burned. But first the *States* set out an Edict, that none of their Citizens nor any foreiner should either carry Corn or other things into *Spain*: And it being found both formerly and of late, several Ships in hope of commerce had been invited thither, and made use of for warlike purposes, they now would goe to beset the Enemy's Ports, whither whosoever would goe, should have their share of what booty should be taken. In this Fleet were four and twenty Ships at the publick charge, under the command of Mine Heer *William van Houten*, besides those that were set out and armed by private men in great number, but very unapt to be kept under command. Their Orders were to intercept the Fleet coming out of *America*, and to stop the *Portugal* Ships that were going out to the Indies; to which purpose the *Indian* Company had brought a great summe of money into the Treasury, whereby, being freed both from their Enemy's Arms and all other contestants, they might have the more plentiful and safe returns of their Merchandise.

Van

Van Hanten had but a very slow passage, by reason of the crossness of the winds, yet got abundance of booty, because he took all Merchants he met, and wasted the Coasts. The *Portugal* Ships were so long kept in their Harbours, that, despairing to get out, they discharged their received lading again on shore. Of the *American* Fleet news was brought, that one laden with the King's Silver, being entangled with a *Holland* Ship, was together with it burned; three suffered Shipwreck by Storm, four were empty in the *Port Havana*; for that was added, that they might stay the time of their coming out. But now *Van Hanten* began to want Victuals, and the winde hindered those fresh Ships that the *Hollanders* sent to bring them new provisions: And for these causes at the beginning of Summer he returned home, sooner by much than he was expected.

But although the Armies made a slow progress, yet there was no cessation of taking care for the Warre: *Terral* being chiefly unsatisfied, and laying the blame of the miscarriage of his design not upon himself, but his Souldiers, afterwards by accident lighted upon some *Holland* Horsemen, where being wounded, and hardly escaping by flight, as he began to amend and gather strength, so he grew more earnest and desirous of revenge. At his command therefore five hundred *Spanish* Horse passed the *Rhine*, giving out in speeches that they came to seek out the *Hollanders* Horse, who having conducted Count *Ernest* of *Nassau* to the borders of *Brunswick*, returned through the Country of *Paderborn* taking great booty. But Prince *Maurice* having intelligence by his Scouts that *Terral* was in those parts, admonished

the *Garrisons* beyond the *Rhine*, that they should take
of receiving damage by too much security. But *Terrall*
taking Twelve hundred Foot out of *Oldenzael*, and avoid-
ing *Grill* in his March, fetching a long compass by Night,
arrived at *Breesfort*. It was then by chance Shrove-tide,
time of mirth, so that all as well Souldiers as Towns-men,
were taken to themselves a liberty of feasting and merriment:
The Night-Watches were at first deceived, they that were
with *Terrall* of their own accord, crying out, That they were
Murrinians, and were necessitated, being overpressed by the Enemy,
to fly for shelter thither under the protection of their Friends.
and they scarcely began to suspect the fraud, when by ap-
plication of their Engines, they had forced two Gates, and
were come to the innermost, there being very little time
lost in the doing these things, that a few only running to
the Works, they quickly found it was in vain to think of de-
fending the Town; the rest flying to the Castle, which
with its peculiar Fortifications, and the Bridge being broken
down, was quite separated from the Town: The men that
remained in the Town were slain, so also were some women
for they had been lustfully abused; There were four Can-
non in the Castle, and as many in the Town, but they want-
ed Gun-powder; Nor did the Governour of the Castle
send to send Messengers into the next Towns, desiring them
to send him assistance, for that he was resolved to endure
the utmost extremity, rather than quit the place: Here-
upon the Troops of *Over-Issell* being immediately drawn
up by their Commander *Warmeloo*, and placing the
foot behind the Horsemen, through the Marshy Lands he
brought them into the Castle, breaking through the Fort,
where with the *Spaniards* hoped to have shut up the passage.
They also that held the Town, sent for ayd to *Lewis de Ve-*
lde; who had a strong Garrison in *Roerdoorse*, from whence
he presently sent Four hundred Foot laden with Gun-pow-
der: but hearing that the *Hollanders* were about the Town.

they durst not enter it, although the Mootidess of the place, and the darkness, together with the paucity of the Enemy, gave them conveniency and opportunity enough for policy. In their return they were met with by Colonel *Filler's* Horse, and put to flight, part of them being slain, and part taken. In the mean while however, Prince *Henry* of *Nassau* going from the *Hague*, and gathering together as many Foot as he could, and those Horse which we men ioned to return out of *Patelborus*, came thither, and perfected the Siege: which they in the Town were not able to endure long, being with great fury vexed with shot from the Castle, so that within Eight dayes they wanted above an hundred of their men, the rest securing their Lives in Trenches and Caves under ground: At last it was agreed, That the Enemy should go away safe, restoring what Prey they had taken, as also the Prisoners, which they had sent to *Oldenard* whither they remained in the Town. This haste the Besiegers thought fit to make, because the *Spanish* Forces were drawing together on all hands: But if he had persisted, *Terrall* being taken, would have been an acceptable Present to the *French* King, and should have been a Pattern, whereby they should have been punished for the Cruelty they used in their Victory, the terrour whereof should have been such to all unfortunate attempts of that sort, as for the future should have rather made them to seek their Conquests by fair Warr, than Treachery and Surprises.

But *Terrall* nothing terrified herewith, undertakes greater matters, and wanted but little of doing as much in one Night, as deserved the labour of a whole Year. He had received intelligence by some Run-aways, That on the East side of *Saluys*, there were no Watches kept without the Town, the Guards being burned heretofore, and not rebuilt. Therefore taking through the marshy Fields of *Cazans* Twelve hundred *Walloons* and *Irish* with him, he came unobserved to a Fort of the Enemies, whither he designed,

ed, it lying just in his way. It was agreed also, That *Frederick Count Herenberg* should bring more and greater Forces to *Danube*, to assault the Castle as soon as the City should be taken: But as the beginning of their Enterprize exceeded beyond hope, so the latter end proved quite contrary. Two Draw-Bridges and one Gate being forced by Engines applied to them, the innermost that only remained, hitherto made a noyse, which forced them to apply more Petards, and now nothing withstood them, but that they went go to the very Rampire, which was not very high, all while the Town remaining secure, Colonel *Noris* having intelligence, that the Enemy intended some Stratagem, advised his Neighbour Covernors, That they should take heed to their Charges: not once suspecting the Design to be intended against himself, that the Enemy would invade the Town so difficult to come to by its inward Scituation, and compassed round about with so many Guards on every side, and therefore he gave himself to ease; and by his example, so did others. At first they that entered were afraid, because finding so great silence, and no stirring, they believed they were discovered, and that there was some Plot laid to intrap them: It fortun'd, that part of the Souldiers, who were commanded to set upon another part of the Town at appointed time, not performing what was commanded, because the Clock of the Town did not strike that Night, whereby the hours were not discerned. While these delayed, to break in, where the way lay open to them: Some were in the Town awaked, partly with the cracking of the Gates, and partly with the noyse of the Enemies Arms, half armed, and half armed, as they leaped from their beds, shut up the inner Gate. And surely here the assaylants were much too short, that they had placed Pikes in the Front, and not Musketeers, the Pikes not being so ready to enter against Shock. Hereupon the first being beaten off, fear possessed the rest, which made them flye, but they were hindred by

the confused Numbers, that stood crowded together upon the Bridge: And now Colonel *Notts* the Governour having planted some great Guns, made a great slaughter among them as they stood in heaps in the narrow passages. Almost Five hundred were killed with shot, drowned and overwhelmed in water and dirt: Nor did they return without the losse of blood, for the Enemy now appearing in publick, the Souldiers on all hands from the Forts issued out, and fell on in the Rear, making great havock. This terrible danger being escaped, care was taken, (which ought to have been done before) that a Redoubt should be made before the Gate; And by the Arch-Duke's Command, some of the Officers, whose carelessness was principally accused, were punished with great severity, being made an example to others, that they should rather chuse any honourable danger, then by neglect and disobedience of Commands, to incur a certain and sordid punishment.

Now the hope of the *Venitian* Warr being deferred, by reason of the scarcity of provisions in *Italy*, the *Spanish* Regiments came thence into the *Netherlands*. So also did *Spinola*, though retarded by a Feaver, and the report of his death had much increased the *Hollanders* security, with no less joy, (though it proved false) then if thereby they had hoped to have been delivered from foreign Arms.

Upon the disbanding of the *French* Army, some came to the *States*; but the greatest part of the Duke of *Branswick* Forces went to *Spinola*, John Count *Ridberg*, Brother to the *Transylvanian* Earl, having suffered some damage by the *Hollanders* Incursions, conducting to him also part of the Horse, but part of the Money that was intended to the *Marquess*, was intercepted; And the *Hollanders* wasted the Country about *Mechelen*, because they denyed to pay Contribution. And *Spinola* having determined at the middle of Summer, and going into places, in his opinion, full of water, divided both his Cares and Forces with Count *Bucquoy*.

To whom he assigns Ten thousand Foot, and Twelve hundred Horse, and Twelve pieces of Artillery, with command to go into that part of *Holland*, which the *Rhine* divided into another channel called the *Waal*, encompasseth; himself, with Eleven thousand Foot, and Two thousand Horse, and but Eight Cannons, thinking of many things, directed his course chiefly to *Friesland* and the *Veld*, which is that part of *Gelderland* called, which is compassed with the Rivers *Rhine* and *Issel*, then he considered of *Utrecht*, a great City and strong, but apt to Seditions from insupportable vulgar. And that he might proceed with the present expedition, he removed from the Camp all Women, filled the Carriages with Victuals, Boats, Bridges, and Mils: And if what he designed had come to pass, and the Two Armies had met on both sides, the very heart of the *United Provinces*, and all the places of less strength, lay open to the sudden violence, and the outer and more fortified places had been torn away from helping them either with divisions or otherwise: But thick & cloudy weather attended with much Rain, detained *Spinola* as he was entering the borders of the *Tufts*: From thence the Souldiers contracting Sickneses, and growing weak, their passage lying together through marshy wayes, that they in the Rear could hardly reach them in the Van in a second days March: Thus had the Marshes more than ordinarily wet, and lying interred up and down, stopped the passage into *Friesland*: Besides the *Issel*, a River not contemptible at other times, was so swelled with excess of Rain, that it was not fordable any place. By these delays, Prince *Maurice* having gained time to get his Souldiers together (in number Ten thousand Foot, and Two thousand five hundred Horse) those appointed to lye by the River, add to re-enforce with Works and Garrisons, *Duinker*, *Zutphen*, and *Dortburg*, being principal Towns, and to leave the rest to Fortune and the Event. But the Marquess revolving in his thoughts

various Consultations, while he tryes all things, while the weather grew more serene, hating idleness, sent some to besiege *Lichen*, a Town in the Jurisdiction of *Zurich*, meanly fortified, but conveniently situate for any that intended to stay in those Parts: It was only kept by Three hundred men, the Garrison being but small, while the care was chiefly taken for greater Cities: *Duenter* being chiefly dissembled as if it had been aimed at, had drawn Prince *Maurice* thither; therefore the next day having made approaches even to the Trench; the Town was delivered, and the *Spaniards* thought fit to fortifie a little Hill near hand.

At the same time *Pompey Justiniano* by *Bucquoy's* Command, leading Four thousand Foot, Five hundred Horse, and two Canons, early in a morning came to a Village named *Sparlaga*, on the left bank of the *Waal*, and put the most nimble of the Souldiers into Boats, each of which carried Thirty, and himself afterwards carrying over the rest, commanding them at once in an excellent order to loose from the Shore, and also to land at the appointed place; for it was not easie to land every where: But *Warner Dubaut*, to whom the Prince had given in Charge the defence of that side of their Territories, being called from *Nimwegen* by hasty Messengers, had filled the inner bank: which terrified the *Mariners*, who counterfeiting that they were carried away by force of the River, that they might not attain the designed place, soon after returned back: But *Justiniano* prepared once more to set his Souldiers over the *Waal*, but the *Hollanders* overpowering them by multitude of Forces, prevented it.

Then Prince *Maurice*, careful lest the Enemy lying upon him in so many places, and with so great Forces, he might receive some unexpected damage, fortified all from the first division of the *Rhein*, unto the meeting of the same with the *Waal* hard by *Bommell*, then Raising new Works

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other side from *Arnhem* to *Hattum* within the *Rhine* and
therewith he enclosed all that great space, leaving no
greater distance between Work and Work, than might be
convenient for the giving of Signs to each other, either by the
eyes or ears: He commanded also some Boats continually
to go to and fro in the Rivers, to observe the motions and
movements of the Enemy, and to give intelligence. Below
Hattum, about four hours Journey, the River *Ipsell* falls into
the *Zuyderzee*: And the River *Vecht* coming by the Borders
of *Westphalia*, and mingling with the Waters, which passing
the numerous soyl of *Trent*, take the name of the River
the *Black*; making his bendings become Neighbour to
the *Ipsell*, untill it imbosomes it self into the same. The Coun-
try that lyes between those Rivers and the Sea, is called
Westfrick, not vainly conjectured from antiquity, that
the name thereof was extracted from the *Mattiaci* (which
are now *Zelanders*). It was a *Peninsula*, but now a Ditch,
and other Works between the Rivers had reduced it into the
form of an Island, in which part is situate *Swoll*, a Town
on the *Ipsell*.

After the taking other places, *Spinola* conceived a hope
about up *Swoll*: And that he might delude their thoughts,
thinking to go through the parts adjoining to *Zurphen*, from
whence sending some small shot, he sent Count *Salra* to assay
and sound the *Ipsell*. But the wetness of the weather hindered
the sudden executing of that Design, untill the report of
their arrivall was brought to *Swoll*; and *Warmela* being at
the time Governour there, assisted by two Ships of Warr,
assisted the Enemy preparing to pass the River *Vecht*. *Salra*
had brought with him two great Guns, but by reason the
bushes were too big, and the Timber wherewith they should
be sustained, not fitted by the error of those that were to
make them ready, they were of no use. When this did not
succeed, and all that hope of passing the River coming to
nothing, they turned thenceforward all their intentions to
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the besieging of Towns: *Spinola* himself sitting down before *Groll*, a Town in the Province of *Zaithem*: *Bucquoy* was commanded to attacke *Nimwegen*, that they might divert the Enemy from the defence of *Issel*, if they could do nothing else. Wherefore *Bucquoy* first sending to know the Arch-Duke's Pleasure, and being resolved thereof, he agreed in the same Judgment, and pretended to spend the time in finding out other wayes to get over the *Wall*, and in studying other Policies, fearing lest he should prejudice his honour by labouring in vain.

Groll is compassed with a double Rampire on all sides, but where it is washed with the River *Slingen*, the Garrison which consisted of Thirteen hundred Souldiers, was governed by Colonel *Doris*, a young man sprung from Noble Ancestors, but otherwise unknown: At first they made a Sally, but afterwards did nothing but shoot from their Works, which were not valued by the Enemy, to whom the losse of time was more considerable than that of men. The out-parts of the Works were neglected as not expecting a storm, whereat the *Italians* and *Spaniards* the seventh day after entered, being helped by Bridges which they had purposely made: but the *Germans*, to whom the third Quarter was designed, came on more slowly. After this first the *Italians* filling up the Trench, took the Bullwark, but the rest were either repulsed, or further distant. Then the Town-men fearing undermining and more near fights, go to the Governor, and beseech him, That he would prevent extremity, and not provoke the Generall, that was as well prodigall of his own Lives, as his Enemies. With which desires he was overcome, though he had received Letters that assur'd him of Relief within two dayes: for Prince *Maurice* had drawn the Garrison out of all the Cities of *Over-Issel*, and near the *Wall*, with an intent to raise the Siege: This being told to *Spinola*, he offered honourable conditions to such as would march away; but added great Threats to such as should

continue

more obstinate. And here give me leave to say, that there was not a greater Care taken for any parts than for *Groll*, and in other Towns before taken, when they Articled for *Surrender*, almost all the Townsmen remain'd there content, with any kind of Religion, and any Form of Government.

Thus *Groll* being taken, the Marquess, although the scarcity of Victuals, together with abundance of Rain, had fill'd the Country with Water, Resolved to besiege *Berck*, situated in a more elevated Soil, and Provisions near to be brought to the Camp; For after the Designs of higher Concernment proved all Abortive, he supposed no place more worthy to live for with all his Forces, whether he minded the Honour of the Attempt, or Commodities of the place. For *Berck*, according to the manner of building in former Ages, had stone-Walls roughly laid together, and a Trench adjoining to them. In this War, the possession of that place had bin much alter'd: In which variety of Fortune, a slight Bulwark, and another Trench, had bin made about it, partly by the *Spaniards*, and partly by the *Hollanders*: But the Year last past Count *Ernest*, sent thither to that purpose, had made a new Line about it, with Scences and Half-Moons, and in some places with Forts; and hereto was added a Trench, a small Redoubt being made before it: And then, that the *Garrison* might have the more Room, Lodgings were made for the Souldiers under Ground in the Form of Trenches; and every where about the Fields, where it was thought fit, were little Works made four-square, for the Souldiers to keep Guard in. And the Island that lyes before the Town, was fortified in like manner: From thence a Bridge was made over the *Rhine* to the Bank, on the *German* side; and on the Bank it self was a handfom Fort pretty large, and another less, and then again Breastworks. *Buquoy* leaving *Gelderland*, came first to the Town, through the Bishoprick of *Colen*, taking, in his March, a *Holland* Ship that lay in the *Rhine*, and burning

burning others that were deserted by the Sea-men. But before the Ballages were all shut up, Prince *Maurice's* Brother *Henry* came from his Camp (which had continued at *Dordburg* till that time) and brought into the Town the great Band of Horse, and 14 Companies of Foot: Wherewith the Garrison (being great before) was so increased, that they were near 200 Horse, and above 3000 Foot: The rest of the Siege Prince *Henry* brought back to the Camp, neither provoking the Enemy to fight, nor being provoked by them. At this time several young Noble-men and Gentlemen of *France*, among whom was the Duke of *Rohan's* Brother, of their own free-will entered into the Town, and were there besieged, minding to make known their Valour, and to learn the Art Military, *Whether relating to the Assaults of Towns, or the Defence thereof.*

After a few days, *Autumn* now approaching, *Spinola* made Torroads into the *Dutchy of Cleves*, and undertook, in person, to break into some Forts beyond the *Rhine*, and by the means Prince *Maurice* to follow if he durst. The *Besieged* at first made a Sally that way, and had well-nigh taken the General himself, who was abroad onely with a few Attendants. The next Attempt they made was upon *Bucquoy's* Camp, where the *Baron of Flessin* a *French* Noble-man, more valiantly, than warily, assaulting the Enemy, was taken Prisoner: And while *Spinola*, having now joyned the *Leaguers* with a Bridge, wearies out the Fort beyond the River, and other Works, with Shot; *Edmund* Collonel of the *Scots* Regiment, dyed of a Wound; and so much prevail'd the death of this Valiant Man, and Expert Leader, that they in the Garrison having lost the Bank, Retreated into the Island, the *Rhine* defending those places of Safety against the Enemy. But on that side the Town towards *Coley*, the Works were assaulted by Cannon, by Mines, and last of all by Storm. But the Prince sending to the *Scots*, desiring by Letters, To know what they thought fit to be done; and they returning Answer,

That

As they left all to his Discretion: So that he might, if he
 could, fight the Enemy, making many publike Offers, as
 intended to raise the Siege; whereby he might put
 Courage into his own men, and give the longer delay to the
 Enemy, he privately Resolved in his Mind, to spin out the
 end of the Year with the loss of *Berck*: And as he was not
 moved by Reports, so was he wary of Accidents, being
 without fear, lest, if by bringing away his Army, he
 should leave those middle parts naked, *Spinola*, leaving the
 Siege, should again attempt to pass the *Waal*, and the *Issel*;
 and then the Enemy being gotten into the Bowels of the
 Country, all would condemn that vain-glorious Rashness,
 he preferred *specious shows before real safety*. Therefore, Re-
 solving to go no further, and intending to attempt no other
 Towns, he concluded to lye upon the Watch near the *Wesel*;
 pretending, that the Bridges came too late; anon, that the
 Army was drawn nearer; but still keeping the Souldiers in
 the Camp, who burned with a desire of fighting; yet to keep
 the Souldiers in Action, he brought them to a Fort begun by
 the Enemy, where the River *Lippe* mingles with the *Rhine*,
 which he compell'd to surrender, and afterwards perfected it;
 and that nothing might hinder them; he steer'd his course
 whither soever occasion requir'd, by many Noble Attempts,
 making *Spinola* fortifie his Camp, which before lay open,
 joining all the little adjoining Hills.

In this time, the *Besieged* sallied forth very often, and
 every time with a greater number; nor was their Fortune or
 successunlucky, the *French-men's* Gallantry appearing in all
 places: But as the Enemies Force drew nearer, they did
 them no small damage by Mines. But their Courages began
 to fail, when they saw no hope of Relief, and the Enemy se-
 cured from the danger of their shot, daily advanced their
 Works, sparing neither Powder, nor other kinds of fighting.
 The *Besieged* had Gunpowder enough to have served them
 a long time; but they were so prodigal thereof at first, that
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the want thereof was one of the main causes that hastned the *Surrender*. Colonel *Nienhuys*, the *Governor* of *Breda*, was more willing to yield it, in favour to the *French*, who should desperately cast away so much gallant Youth, which were the Hopes and Pledges of so many great Families, into utter Ruine, without doing any good to their Country. At last many of their Bulwarks being taken, and the inner Works but very weak, the Town, Island, and such Ships as were there, were deliver'd up. About 500 were slain in the Camp, but not so many in the Town, among whom was *Saintange*, a *French-man*, of great Parentage. The loss of this famous Town much troubled the *Hollanders*, who hereupon consider'd what was the Fortune of War, if no Army went against it, yet the Fortifications would subsist but for a short time. This place was gotten with the immense Labour of Fortifying, that it might be lost by a Siege, that held but a Month, and a few days over, while *Breda*, six Years before, being out of Repair, and void of Works, condemn'd and held out their Arms a far longer time.

The day before *Breda* was surrendred, Prince *Henry of Nassau* taking part of the Forces, by Night attempted to break into *Vrasse*, having forced the Gate with a *Petard*, and some of the Souldiers, with great earnestness, going by the Bulwark, that lyes close by the *Maas*: But another Gate hinder'd them, and before it could be broken, the Townsmen, together with the Horse and Foot of the *Garrison*, repell'd the *Assailants*. In another part Designs were laid by some Swimmers and Ships out of *Zeland*, upon some *Maritime Towns* of *Flanders*, but the Success was not answerable to Hopes.

At this time, some unfortunate News out of *America*, grievously weakned *Spinola's* Credit, already wavering with the Greatness of the Usury he paid; some *Merchants*, whose *Accounts* with him were unsettled, being compell'd to break promise with him: Whereupon he wanted Money, and being

worred

ordered to give the Souldier part of his Pay, out of his own Revenue, now he was not able to do that. And lately the Governor of *Wachtendael* punish'd some Seditious Threats, by the death of one Souldier, and the punishment of two more: After this continual marching, and labouring in the Camp renewed Discipline: But after *Berck* was lost, and that the *Hollanders* had nothing in those parts besides *Morris*, which it was fear'd *Spinola* would attaque, notwithstanding the *Autumn* was so far spent, and it had a considerable *Garrison*: Nor did *Poverty* onely, and the want of Fodder pinch the Horsemen chiefly, but the Infirmities of Diseases afflicted all the rest; so that many fled to Prince *Maurice*, and some went to other places: They that had more Courage, burning *Stoch*, began to mutiny, and employ'd themselves in making Bullets, and wandering about the Fields, till at last they fell to choosing themselves a Head, and ordaining all other Things, that use to set forth Seditions to be long and durable.

While their *Paucity* was contemptible, *Spinola* first prohibited them of their Commands, and proceeded against them as Offenders against the Law: But when they began to grow more powerful, he was glad to flatter them by *Messengers*: But as his Threats were without Authority, so his Promises, with reall Performances, were little esteemed. Almost 600 of them went to *Hochstraten*, the noted *Receptacle* for such Beginnings; but that place was not at this time fortified, because it was lately agreed between the Arch-Duke and the *Hollanders*, That he should suffer that place, and they also Woud, to be free and exempt from War, to be enjoyed by the right Owners thereof: And by *Albertus* his Order, they heard, that his Forces were coming to take Revenge upon them: Therefore they drew towards *Breda*, and sent to the Governour *Justine of Nassau*, to inform him, That they, according to the Example of others their Companions, were fled to Prince *Maurice's* Protection, whom they knew to bear a respect to valiant men;

men; That they did not esteem it so light a matter to fight against him, that they would do it without their Reward or Wages. Their Desires of the Seditious were answer'd, by sending them Provision and Arms, together with the hopes of Assistance, in case they should be endanger'd. *Spinola* moved herewith, that this Evil might not spread further, he sends the most Active and Cordial of his Men into the Neighbour Towns, and disperst the rest of the Army over the whole Country of *Calen*, as *Mendoza* had formerly done; and likewise he receives Money from some Cities, to keep the Souldiers from coming among them, who (to say the truth) were not evilly Inclined, as long as they were not necessitated.

From these troubled Affairs of the Enemy, the United States conceived hopes of recovering what they had lost this year beyond the *Rhine*, having a sufficient Army by the addition of those that were come out of *Berck*, being near fifteen thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse. No less did the Enemy make haste in this juncture of time, while neither party much minded the future; that their Forces (whose obedience for want of pay, had been exhausted) might be encouraged and brought again into one Body. Count *Ernst* of *Nassau* being sent to *Lochem* with part of the Souldiers, the fourth day after his Arrival gained it, upon the same Terms that *Spinola* had late given it.

About the same time also did the Prince attack *Gravel*. Autumn then coming on apace, which place was defended by *Henry* Count *Herenberg*, with six hundred Foot, and his own Troop of Horse, and much Artillery. And by chance, a great quantity of Rain having lately fallen, so that the Pioneers could not with conveniency come to work, not only delayed and protracted the Siege, but brought many diseases into the Camp. And the Souldiers were spared, in hopes that the Weather would become more seasonable, when at the instant arrived News, That *Spinola's* Forces that had been disperst into Garrisons up and down the Coun-

troop, were collected together from thence. And then
 the Princes earnest desire to continue the Siege, and Fortify
 the Camp against outward Forces, made the Souldiers work
 their Duty double, though in regard of the Enemies being so
 near, it was too late; for *Spinola* himself, and his Officers,
 whose Authority with the Souldiers was of high esteem,
 joining together Prayers and Promises, incited them, *That*
they would not refuse that short and easy undertaking, that would
be them of so great advantage, and so much to their Honour.
 He had gotten together seven thousand Foot, and twelve
 hundred Horse, a number much unequal to Prince *Maurice*,
 yet he pressed on to Fight, either confident in his own men's
 Valor, or knowing that the Enemy by all means endeavour-
 ed to avoid a Battel, in which conceit he was not decei-
 ved. He himself was in the Front with twelve hundred
 men, the choicest Souldiers of all his Army, then two Regi-
 ments of *Spaniards* and *Italians*, and last of all were placed
 the New levyes of *Germany*; to each of these Divisions
 were assigned ten Cannons, the Horse were drawn up on the
 flanks, being guarded by the Carriages, lest they should be
 out-run by Prince *Maurice's* Troops, for that part of their
 Enemies Army they chiefly feared; and receiving Intelli-
 gence by their Scouts what part of the Camp was fortified
 lightly only with Pallisadoes; he shewed his Main Ba- tel
 on that side, although it was a great way about, and his pas-
 sage much hindered by the Marshes. Prince *Maurice*, Al-
 though the States had given him order and power to fight,
 and that his Souldiers were earnest thereto, but the *French*
 specially cryed out, *That they must perpetually seek lurking*
places, and daily fly from the Enemy, if now they should give place
to a few, and they tired out with wet, cold, and long Marches;
 yet he withdrew his men into the safety of his Camp, which
 was the cause of the breeding Diseases among many of his
 men, and striking a fear into those that remained healthful.
Spinola accounted it a great Victory to have raised the Siege,

and to have elevated the courage of his own men, and to have impaired the Enemies Glory. Soon after this, both parties went into Winter Quarters. This year, the Spaniards dismissed Colonel *Perez* German Regiment, that had merited greater Honour and Rewards than the rest, which example was taken in very evil part. In this posture stood the War at Land.

But in the *Spanish* Ocean, after the publick Armies were departed thence, Private Men of War did no small damage, and the *Spanish* great Ships pursued the *Hollanders*, and their lesser were voluntarily set aside. At the end of this Summer, Admiral *Hauten* was again sent to intercept the Fleets comming out of *America* and the *Indies*, he had with him four and twenty Vessels, but of these six were beaten back by Tempests. And soon after *Fiasciardo*, with eight great Gallies, having a prosperous gale, fell upon them unprovided, and ere they were aware: but the Gallies that were with him, not being driven by the Wind, kept to the Shoar. As the bulk of the Gallies, so, the terror thereof, to that time, had been very formidable, and although the *Hollanders* remembered that some such had formerly been spoiled by Tempests, or split upon the Rocks, yet they had no president of any of them at any time worsted in fight. One of these being grappled with a Ship of *Zeland* that was next the Admiral, so affrighted the rest, as soon as they saw it, that at the very beginning of the night, they retreated in all haste. He was left by his Companions, being a man of an undaunted Resolution, yet for two whole dayes did not leave off the Fight, though most of his men were in that time lost, but with his torn Ship, casting aside all fear of danger, protracted their Victory. But after he saw no hopes of relief, and that the Waves poured in upon him, that none of them might come alive into the Enemies hands, at once they unanimously agreed upon a noble, but terrible action, and of much advantage to their Countrey; for kneeling down upon their knees,

and

and Praying God, That he would please to pardon them, in that they sought to shew the mockeries of the Spaniards, by that sad and cruel death; they set fire upon the Gunpowder, by the force whereof, threescore men were killed, two half dead, lived a little while, being taken by the Spaniards, with wonder beholding their dreadful countenances and words, together with their obstinacy even in death.

The *Hollanders* being dispersed hither and thither with Fleets, surprized some Ships coming out of the *Indies* to *Malacca*, and from *America* to *St. Lucar de Barrameda*. And they that came from the *Indies* free from the Enemies, were miserably afflicted with Tempests. Two Ships not far from the *Cape of good Hope*, by throwing overboard their Merchandises, being empty, escaped the danger of Wreck, and got to the Coasts of *Mosambique*. Also two at the very mouth of the River *Tagne* sprung leaks, whereby the greatest part of their Merchandises was spoiled with the Salt Water, but the Seamen and Pilots made a shift to escape: But the *American Fleet*, to the number of Fifty Sail, with very good success, returned and brought, as well to the King as the Merchants, great store of Silver, and other precious Commodities, the total product of a two years Voyage, whereby the apparent poverty of *Spain* was in some measure relieved, and the credit thereof suddenly repaired. But the *Hollanders* lost all the cost and labour they had been at. However in the *Indies*, some of their Affairs went on with more happy fortune, for *Stephen Verhagens Fleet*, which we mentioned to go out about three years ago, now returned, bringing homewith it the Honour of many Victories, famed through the World, and the amicable Leagues of divers Princes; for first of all they met a *Portugall Carrack* not far from *Mosambique*, which they took and burned, that for the future it might be no more troublesome to them. Another they seized upon the same Coasts, and a third coming from *Calicut*. There *Saymiri King of Malabar*, hating the *Portugall*, name,

name, from whom they had received much damage, and to whom they did all the injury they could; voluntarily desired a League with the *Hollanders*, which was afterwards concluded, and confirmed with an Oath. This King had very numerous Land Forces, but wanted Shipping exceedingly. The Letters which he sent to Prince *Maurice*, declared, *That he was well pleased the Hollanders should build a Fort in his Lands, and that having drawn Hidalcano a most Potent Neighbour King into the same League (being both Mahometans), they would take all opportunities of advantage against the chief Colonies of the Portugueses, both in Cochin and Goa.*

But the Embassadors sent by the King of *Achem*, to the *States* and the Prince, returning into their Country; filed *Sumatra*, and all the Neighbour-places, with the report of famous Countries, and a Nation, that even at home maintained great Wars: Afterward, another Ship came into their power, wherein was the *Spanish Governour* of the *Moluccas*: Not far from these *Molucca* Islands, is *Ambon*, which also as many other parts of that World, is possessed by the *Portugueses*; but the Natives of the place, hating the Tyranny of their Lords, greedily accepted the *Hollanders* friendship, as soon as they came thither; for which cause, many indignities and injuries being done to them, made their fidelity to these as constant, as their malice was obdurate against the other.

The *Governour* of the Castle, when he saw the *Fleet* come under the very Fortifications, sent fiercely to ask them, who they were, and what they had to do with the Garison which was committed to his Charge. They answered, *That they came thither by the Command of the United States, and Prince Maurice, and that they were publick Enemies, both to the King and People of Spain, and also to himself: and in a short time, he should find who they were, and immediately all things were prepared to assault the place:* But He, as he was fierce towards those that were weak, or under his power; so trembling at

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the sight of an Armed Enemy, without any assault, surrendered the Castle, that was furnished with thirty Pieces of Cannon: from whence six hundred with himself, were transported to the next Coasts in Ships, provided by the *Hollanders* for that purpose. But forty six *Portugueses*, with their families, stayed in their old places of abode, and willingly took an Oath, to be faithful to the *States* and Prince *Maurice*.

With the chief men of the *Country* (for they govern the good) a League was made, in effect, the same with that which we mentioned before to be concluded with them of *Inda*. Onely this was added, that every individual person, should confirm their fidelity to the *Hollanders* with an Oath: Here a Garrison being left, the *Fleet* was divided, and some went to *Banda*, and five Ships under the Conduct of *Cornelius* *Joostian*, went to the *Indies*. But that it may thoroughly be understood of what concern the Affair was, that was hotly contested for, between two such powerful Nations at Sea; we must make a higher and more narrow scrutiny.

Among the many thousand Islands contained in the *Indian* Sea, whose number till this time hath been unknown, five are more excellently eminent, for this one thing chiefly, that they bear *Cloves*, a most fragrant Spice, and of very great use in the seasoning of the most dainty Dishes. Their most known names at this day are *Ternata*, *Tideris*, *Motiel*, *Malu*, and *Bacian*: formerly there were some other, to wit, *Loe*, *Duco*, *Montil*, *Mara*, *Seks*. Each of these are much of the same bigness with our Isle of *Walcheren*: the *Ayr* and *Gymare*, as it is most fit for the producing and ripening of them, so is it very tedious to humane Bodies, by reason of the Vapours exhaled by the Sun, which is almost perpendicular to them; for these Lands lying just under the *Equator*, having their very entrails scorched, needs must the surface thereof be inflamed.

The *Chinoy*s about the Year of Christ, One Thousand and Thirteen, being scattered far and wide over the *Indies*, possessed these Islands, but not without great expense and blood; whereof at last being weary, they retired themselves more inwardly, leaving those places, whose Possession they had enjoyed threescore years; after these, some out of the Country of *Malacca*, came and seated there, who being driven away, the *Arabians* mixt with *Persians*, succeeded them, who brought in with them *Mahometisme*, a long time mixt with increasing superstitions, and by little and little also separated from them: Nor from any other Fountain sprung their Name; for the *Arabians* called them the Kingdom of the *Moluccas*: From the same, they took the name of their Kings, calling them *Sultans*, and several other words by them used: These Islands were altogether unknown to the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*, unless they may seem to be included under the name of *Chinoy*s, or among the Islands first found by *Jambulus*, whom *Diodorus Siculus* commemorates: But the Merchandise of Cloves, they enjoyed by the People of the *East*; and because being increased, it passed with *Egypt* to the *Ptolomean* Kings, and afterwards, to those that succeeded them in their power and greatness, the *Romans* had their Tribute of the same. But the *Roman Empire* decreasing, first the *Genowayes*, and after them the *Venitians*: together with *Cassa*, obtained these. And when *Constantinople* fell to the *Latins* or *West Empire*: and the *Greeks* envy chose among these *Trebizond*, for a new Seat of another *Empire*, the Trade was drawn thither through the *Caspian Sea*, by a way not so much used, as known to the *Romans* of old, as *Pliny* teacheth us out of *Varro*; and afterwards, the *Turks* Power encreasing thereabout, it was carryed thence by *Camells*, and *Dromedaries* to *Aleppo*: But the *Sultans* that possessed *Cairo*, restored it again to the *Red Sea*, and *Alexandria*: After this, the *Portugueses* having searched many parts of *Africa* and *Asia*, and planted Colo-

in the Year One Thousand Five Hundred and Twelve, came to these Islands, where by force and Arms prevailing, only by the differences of the Kings there, and partly by the strength of their Shipping, easily made themselves Lords of the Trade of *Cloves*, spoiling and destroying all Ships, but by chance at any time came thither, either from *Persia* or *Arabia*, and stopping up all the passages into *Egypt*. Thus did the *Sultans* lose no less than the yearly Renewal of sixscore Thousand Ducats.

At that time, the King of *Ternata*, was *Bolais*, the Son of *Agas*, who was looked upon among his Subjects, as a Proper, the King of *Tideris* was *Almansor*; these were at variance between themselves a long time, only out of a desire of increasing Dominion, which was the Original, and cause of their Slavery: The *Portugueses* preferred the friendship of him of *Ternata*, as having the larger Government; and as they believed any thing lawful to be done against *Mahomans*, they poisoned *Almansor*, disobeying their Command; for which cause, his Son and Heir *Raxamira*, submitted himself to the obedience of the *Castilians*, who eight years after, publicly came into those parts, as if with an intent to take possession thereof, averring, that their *Ancestors* *Magellane*, had discovered those places before the *Portugueses*; and besides, they so interpreted the method of finding the World, and the several positions of places with but incertain dimensions, that they would include these places within the bounds of their Empire: Hence it came, that when those two distinct People, *Spaniards* and *Barbarians*, were intermingled, they had sharp, but no long conflicts: because the *Emperor Charles* the Fifth who Reigned in *Castile*, wanting money, and not rightly understanding of that great concernment the matter in agitation was: accepting from *John* the Third King of *Portugall*, Three Hundred and Fifty Thousand Ducats, He pawned to Him, all his Right in the *Molluccas*: from whence the *Portugueses*

have since claimed a free Trade there, without interruption, sending all their Cloves to *Goa*, from whence the *Persians*, *Turks*, *Chineys* and *Africans*, fetched them; yet scarcely so much by a third part, as is vended to the *European Nations*. Therefore it was no wonder, that out of the *Malacca Islands*, and *Amboyna*, which is not far distant, and bring forth the same Fruit and *Banda*, where the best *Nutmegs* grow, which bears a Flower that is called *Mace*, the Kings of *Portugalls* had a yearly Renewal of Two Hundred Thousand *Ducats*. *Pepper* and *Ginger* growing every where, are esteemed vile to these; so also is *Cinnamon*.

Now as the Wealth of these barbarous Kings increased, so also did the injuries offered to them: for that which at first was but an alliance, after became, and was turned into publick Tyranny; and what before was the Obligation to Fidelity, now was converted into designs of Treachery.

After the Death of *Rolcis*, his Son *Bajan*, that succeeded Him in the Kingdom, was taken Prisoner, and after Him, his Brother, and King *Dayall*. These by some means or other being dead, one *Arias* took the Kingdom, who also was Himself first Imprisoned, and afterwards slain, for no cause, but out of envy to His greatness; for He was unsported in His Fidelity: insomuch, that many Islands about, which had formerly been Governed by the *Noblemen*, in admiration of His Vertues, submitted themselves to His Government: so that He had under His Command, above seventy Isles, and no small parts of the *Celibes Country*, *Mindanao* and *Gulub*. His two Elder Sons were so terrified with this sad Example, that they refused the Name of King, and so escaped the danger.

The Third named *Babus*, ventured to rake the Crown, and promising to revenge the former facts, it was admirable, to see how much Affection both His Subjects and Neighbours shewed to him: In His Reign, the *English* first came out of *Europe*, under the Conduct of Captain *Drake*; in the Year,

One Thousand Five Hundred Seventy and Nine, and disturbed the Possession of the *Portugueses*: *Babus* expected ayd a long time from these; but being frustrate of His hopes, and the Courages of the *Barbarians* beginning, as is usual, by little and little to languish; and hearing that the Wealth both of *Castile* and *Portugall*, were united in King *Philip*, He sent some to him, to excuse the revenge He had taken for his Fathers murder; and promised for the future, Faith and Obedience: But he was eluded with ambiguous Answers, and soon after dying, together with the Kingdom, He left to his Brother *Zaida*, instead of hopes of Parcon, His hatred against the *Spaniards*, ready to burst out upon any occasion given.

There was also one *Molee*, who after *Ravamira*, Succeeded His Father *Guna*, (slain by *Zaida*) and his Brother *Supabaguna* (uncertain by whom poysoned) in the Government of *Tyderis*, who to oblige the *Portugueses*, by good Offices, was envious of their adversaries: These were they the *Hollanders* found, when first, as we have before related, they came into that World.

In the Year One Thousand Six Hundred, *Zaida* first with beheld the *Hollanders* Arms, able to cope with the *Portugall* Power, against whom He joyned with the other, with such Courage, that He not only desired the *Spaniards* as enemies; but slighted the *English*, who desired Commerce and Trade with them; but calling the *Hollanders* his Allies, and Confederates, and the deliverers both of Himself and the Sea, from tyrannous oppressions: On the other side, the King of *Tyderis* permitted the *Portugueses* to Erect a Castle in their Territories: And before *Cornelius Sebastian* came thither, the *English* once more arrived there with their Ships, boasting to the *Portugueses*, That there was a Peace between Spain and England; They that accounted all Foreigners Enemies, yet then counterfeited Friendship to the *English*, although

though the fear of the Hollanders was more prevalent; Nor was gain only diminished by these, and the number of Merchants lessened; but the English resisted them that prepared for War against Tyderis, that they might sell Gunpowder to the Portugalls, by the scarcity whereof, they were much pinched; but by perseverance in Counsell, it was agreed between Zaida and the Hollanders, that He should only make a show of War; while they brought over their Army into the Island of Tyderis: That the Hollanders only should perform the Assault of the Castle, because the Barbarians are carryed on rather by fury than advice; and being once broken off, suddenly loose all their Courage: The Mariners therefore first of all clomb up and assault two Caracks lying near the Bay, then setting fire on some small Villages. All the great Guns, both from the Ships at Land, were levelled at the Castle; but afterwards, Captain Molly, looking at the matter nearer hand, reported, that there was a passage through the ruines; whereupon, they violently run on, and though beaten back both by shot and fire thrown among them yet they came on afresh; Then did Molly, seeing one Torry a Spaniard, rushing upon him with a Favelin, gently avoiding the stroke, catch him in his Arms, so that they both fell down together upon the ground: where as they lay struggling, he called to his next Associate, bidding him to shoot the Spaniard in the Head while he held him in his Arms striving, which was presently done yet, but seven being able to get into the Castle, they were forced to Retreat, in which Captain Molly being found with his Thigh broken, was by his Companions carryed off, though a long time he resisted it, crying out, that they should again; and with greater valour, assault their Enemies, their care of him at present, being to no purpose: for if they took the Castle, they might relieve and take him up at their pleasure; when by chance, a Tower, wherein was a quantity of Gunpowder being shot with a Bulle, the Powder took fire, and destroyed threescore Portugueses: In which affright, the Assailants afresh coming on, took the Castle: The Women and Children

Children fled into the Rocks, which were unpassable by Armed men; but all Victuals and Water being stopped from them, they were forced to yield, and together with the men that survived the taking of the Castle, were transported into the Philippines.

Thus were the *Portugalls* driven from their Dominion in the *Moluccas*, save only they had yet one small Fort in the Island *Timosa*. The *Hollanders* gave not only the King of *Veloris* his life, but granted him all his power, lead thereto rather for their Honours, than Securities sake. But He, assembling amity with the *Hollanders*, made a League with the King of *Ternata*, having no other hopes, and then continually laid plots, which in time he hoped to bring to pass, desiring in the interim, as the best means to secure the liberty of the Island, that the Castle might be demolished, which ought rather to have been kept up and augmented.

At this time also, other Ships returned from the *Indies*, which had been sent thither by several *Merchants*, before they were united into one Company: nor did they come without good booty; for they had intercepted a Carack coming from *Machao*, at the Island *Patany*, which then a Woman Governed, who maintaining, that the spoils taken in Her Kingdom belonged to her, made the *Hollanders* divide the prey with Her, which afterwards they redeemed again.

Part of the *Indian* Commodities, especially Silk, is brought out of *China*, a potent and flourishing Empire, where it hath ever been esteemed a part of Prudence, to forbid an entrance to strangers; and the *Portugalls* residing at the utmost Borders thereof, by many Policies, affrighted that suspicious People, advising them not to admit the *Hollanders*, who were valiant and powerful at Sea, to come within their Borders: but while by the favour of Neighbour Kings

Kings, a harmless Voyage was sued for, in the interim, by the *Merchants* of *China*, that frequented *Java*, and other places, they participated of the same Commerce. Moreover, the *Hollanders* sent to the *Indies*, *Paul Carden*, with Eight Ships, the *Ninth* by chance, being burned before it went out: And lest their Neighbours should seek to convert to their own uses, that Commerce which they had gotten with so much labour, and defended in the uttermost parts of *Asia*, the *United States* did by an *Edict* declare, That no *Native* or *Inhabitant* should go into those parts, either from home, or out of other Lands, except such as were Commanded by the *Indian Company*, lately erected in *Holland*, wherein all Objections were answered by the necessity thereof, and the like Examples: and afterwards, in following times, the same Company was much augmented by new Cautions, and severe punishments against offenders, as any deceitful practices were detected.

This Year were Celebrated some Solemn Funerals; as of *Philip Hebeulo*, one of the Noble Persons among the *Hollanders*, who dyed among them, and of *John of Nassau*, who deceased in *Germany*.

Hebeulo was a Man, well skilled in War, and of an undaunted Resolution; but of no great fore-sight in Command, although during Prince *Maurice's* Youth, he was wont to lead the Forces; but when he saw by the Prince's maturity, that there was no use of Him, at length, partly with grief and trouble of mind, and partly by the *Court*, caused by too much repletion, he had a slow and lingering death, which is very grievous to a valiant mind.

But *Nassau* dyed of old Age, he was Brother to *William* Prince of *Aurange*, and with Him shared the ancient Inheritance of his Predecessors: the Prince enjoying all in *France* and the *Netherlands*, and He what belonged to their Family in *Germany*.

He assisted his Brother with Money, while the necessity of his Affairs required it; and in the greatest distraction of his business, he was not wanting in Counsel. He was for a time, Governour of *Gelderland*, and the chief Authour of the *Trajectine League*, which was in its time, exceedingly necessary. Afterwards, returning to his own Patrimony, he was a continual Assistant to his Sons, supporting by Arms, his Allies and Friends, of whom, Count *William* Governing the *Frisons*, and Count *Ernest*, about that time, marryed to the Duke of *Brunswick* Daughter, only survived; the Counts, *Philip* and *Lewis*, dyed in the War; nor was his Off-spring at home, any whit less, of either Sex.

Now also dyed *Justus Lipsius*, a Man famous for Learning; among the Noblest Wits, after he had obtained great Renown from the Precepts of Wisdom, and the *Roman* Gravity; and also from a new and concise kind of writing, perpetuated the same, in his publick Narrations of *Halle*, and *Mysicoll*. And whether He deferred, or contemned to answer those Books set out against him, his Death so soon following, hath left questionable: however, as well the *Hollanders* as the *Netherlanders*, did not omit to Celebrate the memory of this worthy Person, both in Verses, and publick Orations.

About this time also, was a Marriage in the *Nassavian* Family, Solemnized, between *PHILIP* Prince of *AURANGE*, and a Virgin Daughter of the Prince of *CONDE*, of the *BORBONIAN* Stock, by which Affinity, the KING, as Obligated to Him, restored the free Possession of the Town and Principality of *AURANGE*, although the *PARLIAMENT* of *DAUPHINE*, averred part of the same to be subject to their Jurisdiction, and part in general to the Kingdom.

Before

Before I begin to enter a Work disagreeing to the former discourses, I will declare how the *Hollanders* Affairs were turned from so sharp and long a War, unto thoughts of Peace in this year; what part of *Europe* was at Peace, and what at War, what private or publick motions and inclinations of mind among themselves or their Neighbours, when and how that time became every where as it were fatal in so great mutations, and of what advantage Foreign Affairs were to Ours, or Ours to them.

The whole North, which consisted of Kingdoms of old, repleat with many Privileges and Liberties, was broken out into Arms, almost for the same causes that the *Hollanders* War began; for *Sigismund*, following the Dictates of the *Jesuites*, had lost *Sweden*, with great difficulty retaining *Poland*: For in *Sweden*, *Charles* laying aside the name of Duke, and by the Decree of his Nobles, taking the name of King, and repairing his Forces, after the loss he had received at the Siege of *Riga*, approached near the borders of *Livonia*. In *Poland*, *Samosin*, the Chancellor of that Kingdome while he lived, had by his Wisdome, and the reverent esteem that was had of him, prevailed both with the King and Nobles for the observation of Peace, and support of the Law. But when he was dead, first discontents and hatred arose, which afterwards broke out into open Force. And some there were that said, *The Nobles were advised soon after his Funeral, that their Liberty had been attempted with many artifices, That he had left the Commonwealth in as good a Condition to those that survived, as it was when he first received the Charge of it; and therefore now They should take care, that nothing therein might go amiss, either out of Ignorance, or Sluggishness.* And in truth, not long after, the chief of the Noblemen, that are there called *Palatins*, broke out into Arms, accusing the King, That after the death of his first Wife, without the advice of the States of *Poland*, he had married the Sister of his deceased Wife, thereby at once polluting the Kingdome with Incest,

and

and by a private League obliging himself to the House of Austria, and that in the disposal of Honours, he carried not an equal hand, but preferred Romanists before Protestants; they desired also that the Jesuits might be expelled out of the Jurisdiction of *Cracovia*, and that the contentions growing among Priests should be decided by Domestique Judges, and not at *Rome*, whither they must make long Journeys with vast charge. And thereupon the Great Council of the Kingdome being summoned, they called the King before them, to purge himself of his Crimes, adding threats, *That unless he appeared, they would transfer those Imperial Emblems of Majesty, the Crown and Scepter, which by the Customs of the Countrey they had the keeping of, to another.* But the King, collecting his Army, and winning to him many by gifts, although at first he was answered with divers successes, yet preferring Peace, a League was concluded at *Sandomir*, whereby the Old Laws were strengthened and confirmed by New. But for all this, it might rather be called a laying down of Arms, then a taking away of Offences; for as he contemned the Subjects as Conquered, so their impunity made them again grow confident, so that the Peace was neither safe nor durable. Besides these faults before mentioned, this also was objected, *That without the consent of the Publick, he invaded Poland in a War, by sending aid to Demetrius.* This *Demetrius* (after *Boris* had invaded the Dominion, sought to slay the Son of the most noted *Basilides* by cruelty, and after him enjoyed *Muscovy*) professing himself the Brother of *Theodore*, another being put into his place that should be killed while he was carried into *Poland*, where he long dissembled the Nobility of his blood, but at last prevailed in the overpersuading many, by shewing upon his body divers private marks. But he managed his Arms unfortunately against *Boris*, who was now grown old and experienced both in the Art of War, and Government. When he dyed, he left a son named *Theodore*, whom we mentioned before in his tender

derage to be left to his Mother, but a great part of the *Russians*, who equally hate the Government of Women and Children, fell to *Demetrius*, and presently the common people let him into *Mosco* the Principal City, slaying in favour of their new Lord, both the Widow and Son of *Boris*. But the Fortune of his Kingdome was short, for the Priests were offended at the Authority of the Jesuites, by whose persuasions it was reported, That he had sent to the Pope with intent to change the *Greek* Ceremonies for the *Latins*. Nor were the Noblemen less enraged, because he chose for the Guards to his person, Foreigners, and made use of none but *Polanders*, both in his Court, and Privy Counsels. But the common people, who hate or love, not voluntarily, but as they are lead and instructed, were provoked by common reports, That he was not the *Demetrius* as was supposed, but a Pognitive Monk, instructed by Magick Art, and but a slave sent by the *Polanders* to disturb the Affairs of *Russia*. At the time of his Marriage, which he celebrated with a young *Polonian* Lady, the daughter of the Palatine of *Sandomer*, a great tumult arising, *Demetrius*, or whoever else he was (for even after his death it remained a doubt) in vain striving to avoid his ruine, by leaping from on high to the ground, being weakened by the fall, he was presently killed. And his death was attended with a great slaughter of *Polonians*, while one *Scusky*, that had raised this commotion, seized the Empire, at first indeed very unstable and tottering, while their minds were astonished with the cruelty, and being very slowly drawn to consent to a new Prince, but afterwards it was soon settled by fear and punishments, as is usual among Barbarians.

Now also had the sedition of the Imperial Souldiers involved *Transilvania*, and the parts adjoyning upon *Hungary* in great troubles, which were also increased by the Rapines of the Governours, and debarring the Protestants the liberty of their Religion; the envy of the War here also being thrown upon

upon the Jesuits, as the daily fomenters of mischief. At the same time also broke forth divers long concealed complaints; that they plainly saw they were slighted, for the Prince violated the ancient Customs of his Predecessors, of being present in their Assemblies, and hearing the Requests of his People. But *Rodolph* keeping himself within the Court, kept the chief management both of Arms and Counsels in the hands of Foreigners, which is a thing very grievous, even to such as are beloved, and therefore the more intollerable to them, whose Laws and Foundations of Government, are so confirmed to them by the Oaths of their Kings, that it is accounted to them, neither disgrace or Crime to resist all that would make an infringement thereupon. And thus on a sudden, they fell to fighting and besieging of Cities, to the great rejoycing of the *Turk*, from whom the Crown and Scepter of *Hungary* was sent to *Stephen Boscay*, a chosen Captain of the Malecontents, who was, besides the Publick, inflamed with private injuries, yet he persisted to refuse the same, continuing himself with *Transilvania*, and the Title of Prince. But Peace set an end to this short War, of which this was the third year.

The *Turk* being weakened by the *Persians* Victories, and a new Rebellion in *Asia*, and *Boscay* endeavouring nothing further then the preservation of Liberty. The Emperour *Rodolph*, being too weak for two Enemies, Granted *Transilvania* to *Boscay*, and to the *Hungarians*, Native Governours of their own, appointing his Brother *Matthias*, who had been heretofore concerned in the Low-Country Affairs, their Regent, and settling Laws, whereby the Jesuites Wealth should be restrained, and agreeing the *Turk* should keep what he possessed. Thus Arms being laid aside, *Boscay* not long after was poisoned by some about him, yet even at his last gasp, when he despaired of life, taking care for the Publick; Commending to the *Hungarians* and *Transylvanians*, a strict Unity and Concord, frequent Assemblies in Counsel, and

while

while the *Laws* remained in force, to hold a firm Peace with *Cæsar*. But his dying without Issue, when by the *Laws*, the Principality reverted to the Emperour, straight was *Transylvania* involved in new troubles, impatient to be ruled by a Forreign Prince. *Germany* also was now full of differences concerning Religion; and at *Branswick*, *Patelborn*, *Emden*, although they had not an absolute War, yet their differences came as near to a War as might be, between those Princes and Cities, the former being too greedy of Dominion, and the later unapt and unwilling to obey.

The *Venetians* yet defended themselves by Books, whose Authors at the prescribed day, went not to *Rome*, pretending many casualties in the Journey, and that their nominal Judges were malicious against them, in the interim, Commanders, Armies, and Fleets, were with all expedition sent forward. Nor did the *Spaniard* dissemble in promising the Pope aid, whereof the King of *France* having notice sent to *Rome*, to tell his Holiness, That his Ancestors had several times invited of that See, that in all dangers the Church ought not to seek redress from any other hands then those of the Kings of *France*; but if the Pope should declare himself ambitious to decide the *Spanish* Grievances, He ought with great reason to suspect the same, and therefore in a manner should be compelled to take part against him. With these threats the *Italian* was terrified, whose Countrey was never pierced with Forreign Arms without great damage, because the Body of the Countrey being divided into small Dominions, would easily become prey to the Conqueror. But the *French*, as he feared the War too much, yet he rather chose Peace; Wherefore now He advised the *Venetians*, then the Pope, That they would reconcile their Differences, which otherwise would break out to the Publick Ruine. Himself strengthening and corroborating His Domestique quiet, both by *Laws*, *Money*, and *League*.

Britain after the Discovery of that Horrid Conspiracy formerly mention'd, was full of Jealousies and Suspicions, which the Pope increased, by setting forth Bulls, Forbidding to take the Oath prescribed by the King, maintaining, that it was contrary to Religion, because they swore thereby to continue Faith and Allegiance to the King, though the Pope deny'd it, and the Catholics themselves very hardly believed. And this Determination of the Pope's, was receiv'd with great variety of Opinion; as, Either the Love of the Country, or the imbibed Principles of Religion prevail'd with every one. The English also made many Complaints, because Right was not equally administr'd to the Merchants in Spain. But in Spain the Netherlands were abiding, were with great Cruelty persecuted, whose Trade with the Hollanders, and chiefly with the late United Indian Company was connexed: The Treasury also was taken Care for with great Diligence; all whose Fidelity in managing the Affairs of Money, was suspected, being apprehended and call'd to Question. But the Remedies were too small for such evergrowing Evils; although the King was daily pressed with Petitions of the Portugals, That he would be pleas'd to set an end to their Misery. For why would he suffer his war as hand to be exhausted and spoiled, while he only waged the War with the Hollanders at a greater distance? Why would he permit so many Ships, the only Wealth of that late flourishing Kingdom, to be taken and burned? The Ports of Spain to be beset, and now the Molucca's to be torn from him: Before the War made by the Castilians was very burdensome, which during the late Times, had cost the Spaniard no less than Three Hundred Thousand Scutas Annually, without any hope of an end, and especially, because the danger of the Ships coming from America grew greater and greater? The Expenses moreover, had so far increased over the Annual Income, that the Seditions of the Soldiers could not be avoided, even by the exactest Care and Diligence of Spinola; and what was gotten by the War, did not rise tantamount; it being on the other side known by Expe-

vinces, how firmly the Enemies had fortified their Rivers, and strengthened their Works; how secure they kept their Sea, and how uncertain and dangerous the Passage of our Ships; and how late through the Borders of other Dominions; so that if the Venetian War should grow on, the Belgick not yet ended, it must needs reduce us, not only to Poverty, but to absolute Beggary.

The King was a young man, unexperienced in Matters of War, and who measur'd rather the Greatness of his Kings Dignity, by the Excess of his Pleasures, than the Extent of his Dominions; unless he was drawn thereto by Advice, was not very forward to engage in a War: Besides, he was possessed with great Fears, by an addition and intermixture of Truth and Falshood, not without great Policy of those who had the chief Management of Affairs in Holland, that they might drive Spain, of it self full of Procrastinations, into more speedy and real Motions for Peace: For a Rumour was spread abroad, That the French King strongly labour'd, to make the Hollanders to become Subjects to his Kingdom, under pretence of a Letter, and that Flanckers, being conquer'd, should be the Bonds between them. But it was more tolerable for the Spaniards to give the Hollanders their Liberty, than by the Diminution of his own Empire, to increase that of another, and his especially his chief Emulator; and some hope yet remained of them, when they should have nothing to do, either by suspension of Offences, by Discord among themselves, or with the King, in whose Wealth they flourished, which would for ever be lost, if they were employed. Besides, Fortune favouring them in the Indies, a New Company was prepar'd by the Hollanders and Portugals, that should with a strong Fleet carry, at once, both War and Merchandise into America; and should drive away the Spanish Ships by Sea and Land, with hope of no great Expence, it would make amends for the Charge of the War. Another Report was spread abroad, That, as formerly, the Turk had pass'd the Hellespont, by the help of the Genoways; so now the Moors were, by the Hollanders Assistance and Fleet,

Granado, and other places, possessed by their Ancestors. Some also, and Kibella; this, as a Woman; that, as a Man, in Religious Studies, began now to be weary of the War, and therefore to them by its long continuance. And the Pains and Tears, together with want, and the often raised cruelties of the Soldiers prevailed, that now they chose rather a plain and peaceable Government, than the hope of an enlarged Dominion attended with continual Fear.

But Spinola was the chief Author of that Counsel, who these years, having achiev'd great Honour, fear'd, lest Fortune should turn Retrograde, both his own, and the King's, being at once shipwreck'd, if these vast Charges should continue, or any Chance should intercept the American Discoveries, without any hope of recovering what he had disbursed; so that being overwhelm'd in Debt, in stead of a rich and honourable Fortune, he could see nothing but Shame and Poverty.

But, in the United Provinces, few durst hope for Peace, but rather most fear'd it, being so instructed from their Parents, that all Treaties with a deceitful Enemy were to be shunn'd, and that War was most safe under whatsoever Qualifications; and that the great Number of Men subject to them, were well Souldiers, as the rest of the Common People, were managed by Arms, Engines, Armies, and Fleets: Nor was it fear'd by a few, lest, as formerly, at the beginning of the War, so now at the restoring of Peace, Antwerp should be chosen as the most commodious Seat for Merchandise and Traffick: And when all fear of the Enemy should be taken away, the Dissentions of Cities, and other Disturbances of the Common-wealth were dreaded. Nor were there any wanting, especially among those that were more subject to Danger, as lying nearer the Enemy; who, long since, while they saw Cities taken by force and none so contradictorily; and that under a shew of Prudence, their Liberties were taken, fearing the like might happen to them, when it

would be too late to seek a Remedy, altogether better their whole studies for Peace. But the more Moderate, as they thought fit to avoid Troubles, so they likewise agreed to try, Whether Arms might be laid aside upon Honourable Terms, and the safety of the Commonwealth, and preservation of Religion. Nor was this time to be omitted, when the Families Affairs were decaying, the Authority of the States was grown more firm by long Obedience, and there were two potent Princes as it were at their sides; the one offended at the Spaniard; the other, for many just Reasons displeased with the Pope, and therefore would consequently be more cordial to the *Hollanders*.

The state of Affairs, both at Home and abroad, being in this condition, *Herman Wambuy* by the Arch-Duke's Command, came to the *Hague* about the end of the year. The same also, before the Armies should march out, in the Spring had passed through *Gelderland* and *Holland*, but with Command onely to continue in private, whereof there would be occasion enough given him, in regard he was allyed to several of the *Holland* Nobility, either by the Consanguinity of his Ancestors, or other Collateral Affinity of Marriages. He now *John Oward* the Secretary, coming to accomp^y by him from *Toroboli* (where both of them lived, and that place paying Tribute to both Parties, caused them to have the more free admittance) He deliver'd to the chief of the *States*, what he had in Command from *Altharus* and *Isabella*, which was to this effect: That nothing was more desired by them than the Peoples Peace, and that an end might be put to their long and bloody Troubles: That the Rights belonging to the Arch-Duke were not unknown to the *States*; nor also that they sought not anything that belonged to others: They, on the other side, should consider, what they conceived fit for confirming their Security, whether a Peace or a Treaty onely; and that it was left to them, whether they would chuse a publick or a private Treaty: from which all unjust and treacherous Dealings should be banish'd.

But

But the matter was deferred, because they brought no news from the Arch-Dukes to the States: We shall here relate with care what gradations and progress it had, and with what inclination it was managed, because this will be more expedient for the knowledge of Citizens, than the Arts of Fortifications, or Excursions of Horse; and foreign Nations at no time before had spoken of the *Hollands* with more Honour and Renown.

The Sixteenth Book of the History of the Dutch AFFAIRES.

THE Winter growing more warm, yet very turbulent with high Winds, as it made the *Hollands* secure from their Enemies Incursions, yet hindered the flowing of the Rivers, as if the Heavens had been ruled with the overtures of Peace: nevertheless, it did no harm in another part, by spoiling some Ships near the coast, because the Island was unsafe for Winter Stations, and Ships were thereby forced to delay the time of their going out into several parts of the World: But the *United* States, that they might with the more certainty settle domestic Peace, and vindicate their fame, after Time had ended their late grown Troubles of *Gronings*, taken off the weight of imperious Command, and reduced their minds to conformity of obedience, commanded the Castle, which they had built to keep the City in awe, to be demolished and pulled down, which though formerly it was necessary, now if it should be continued, would not at all suit with

the Liberty which they pretended towards all. The cause of this their so great security was, That the Magistrates of the City were such, whose fidelity both to them and the publick Religion was well known, and a great Garrison was kept therein without charge, and without regret. Yet all this had the Souldiers no time of leisure, for the Spaniards broke into and burned a small Fort in the Isle of *Bonaire*, the Sentinell being hired by them to hold his place. The Captain that Commanded the place was slain, who was blamed for this, because in not changing his Watches, he had given hopes to that Treacherous Design.

Also the Count *Bruck*, a younger Brother, but he lay under the *Hollanders*, as he did to his Father's house with a small retinue, fell into an ambush of the Enemies: his secretary by chance going before, was shot, which was a sign of what was following to his Master; yet he did not choose to fly, but valiantly coped with the Enemy, nor out of love to escape, but because he was ashamed to be taken. After he was slain, his body was barbarously wounded; the fortune and hatred which they bore towards his Father, being executed upon the Son: for with the like barbarism was his Father killed by *Amudsa's* Souldiers.

But *Henry of Nassau* going out with a strong Party of Horse to the Spoil of *Spinola's* men, that carelessly Wintered in the Country of *Limburg*, when they, hearing of the danger, retired into the Cities. He took by force *Erkelen*, a Town lying in his way, after he had beaten down the Gate with a *Petard*. This is a small Town in *Gelderland*, which out of a sense of its own weakness, had of old paid Tribute to both parties: But then by chance was become an Enemy to the *Hollanders*, by receiving Count *Henry of Herenberg*, who had chosen that place as a fit Seat to go a foraging. Fifty Horse were slain within, the rest of the Garrison was shot: Count *Herenberg* himself was taken; what they could

what they carried away, the rest they burned: The fury of the Soldiers was more fierce, than could be restrained by the authority of their Captain; for that they remembered the sad fate of some of their Companions in that place. But Count *Hernberg*, to make amends for his Brother's more hard fortune, resolved to invade *Ardenburg* in *Holland*, a Town fortified by the *Hollanders*, to which design of his, some of the Soldiers within were conscious. One part of them being for some Crimes called in question and imprisoned, confessed the unknown Plot, which was ready to be put in execution; for Count *Friedrick* was in a place hard by with a strong party, expecting a sign from the Traitors.

Some long Voyages were joyndly by the *Hollanders* and the *English* hastned forward: for this Spring the *Hollanders* sent Two Ships, and the *English* Three, towards the *Indies*: in the present the *English* made the greater gain, but their success was drawn in question: for of late, *Edward Michelson* returning out of that World, was reported to have improved Commerce by Slaughters and Rapines committed among the *Barbarians*, but he threw the fault upon the *Indians*, as was gainsaying the Reasons he gave for the same. Nor were there want some, who encouraged to the like audacious attempts, averring it was so directed by the Customs and Laws of their Ancestors, because whatever was committed against Foreigners, with whom no publick League was made, was justified so far in *Britain*, as there could be no compensation got for any injury done. At this time, It was a question, that the *Spaniards* alone might not wholly possess the *America*: for the *English* a good while since claimed themselves a part thereof in the Thirty fourth degree from the Equinoctial, which they named *Virginia*, in honour of Queen *Elizabeth*; which name it still retains. This they claimed, because they were the first that had searched into the inner part of the Country. Wherefore such assembling,

whose Money being not employed at home, yet hoped good advantage from abroad, erected Two Companies, to each of which particular Colonies were designed in those parts: And King *James* settled Laws and Rewards among them for the augmentation of the *British* glory: And it was confidently affirmed, That there were Mines of Gold and Silver; which was credulously believed, as men covetousness wished the same. This great business received its beginning from one Ship, whose Passengers having built a slight Fort on the Bank of a River which they found, by whose Fish, and the Fruits of the adjoining Country, they could well maintain themselves: They that were left there in Garrison, the *Natives* gathering against them, retreated more towards the side of the Country: But another Spanish Ship falling into their hands, they would not spare the Seamen, because leaving at home Peace and Justice, they kept the vast possession of the New World, only by terror: Moreover, some *Britains* lately went to *Guyana*, but a Sedition arising in the Voyage, and the Ship being lost, part of the Company remained in the Island, where continually vexing the *Barbarians* with injurious usage, they at last were set upon by War as Enemies, by force of which, and the want of Victuals, they committed themselves to the Sea in a Boat made onely of an Hollowed Tree; there for the space of ten dayes together, being tossed with continual Tempests, and thrown upon the rocks, they very hardly got to the Land; where their danger was no whit lessened, for they were taken by the *Spaniards*, who for all that pardoned them, in regard they came not to those Parts of their own accord, but by the stress of weather.

But the *Hollanders* Designs ran at a higher pitch, yet went but slowly on, according to the custome of great Undertakings: Heretofore, there was a great number of Merchants, a vast multitude of Sea-men, and besides, then was there so much money, as is scarcely to be believed, in private mens hands

hands unemployed, by the Loss of the *Spanish Trade*, (the *East-Indies* not being sufficient) Only *America* seemed to be able to give this satisfaction, which every where abounds with Mines, besides Salt and Sugar, precious Wood, and Physical Drugs. But the *Spaniards*, prepossessing all the Principal Coasts, cut off all hope of Commerce by Traffick, wherefore by the Publike, strength and authority being added to the Private wealth: And now the wealthiest, as well Merchants as others, who out of a zeal to benefit their Country, had inquired into all things in that New World, took from Books, and also the relations of Sea-men, published a form of Government and Laws for a new Society, that should continue for the space of Six and Thirty Years: And it should not be lawful for any of their Citizens, unless he became a Member of that Company, to go into those Parts, which extend from *Terra Nova*, well known to the French Fisher-men, by a vast Tract of Land all along the Heights of *Magellan*, unto the Ocean on both sides, and whatever lyes opposite to the Coasts of *Africa*, between the Equinoctial and the *Cape of Good Hope*. Five Moneths were limited for the bringing in of Money: And for the next Six years, the *United States* would add Two hundred thousand Florens yearly, and afterwards as much more, as the Affairs of the *Commonwealth* would permit; That the Accounts of Warr and Traffick should be reckoned separately: That for the carrying on of Warr, there should be sixteen stout Ships, and four Barks, set out by Private Men; and the like number by the *Commonwealth*; But how many soever were furnished with Souldiers by the Company, they together with all the rest should be under one Command. That the Stock should be managed in this manner by the Governours; Thirty of *Amsterdam* should have the disposal of the one half thereof: Eighteen in *Zeland* of a Fourth part: In *West-Friesland*, and at the Mouth of the *Mats*, Fifteen should manage the rest. Nor was their Power perpetual,

tual, but every Sixth year, the Third part of these Governours were to give way to Successors: That none should be chosen to that Office, but such as had been most liberal in bringing Money into the Stock.

In the Judgment of these men lay the ordering of all Affairs, both as to Merchandise, and War. The hundredth part was designed as the reward of the labour of all that either Exported or Imported, and the gain arising from the Improvement of the Stock, should be divided when it was equal to the tenth part of the Stock. Whatever should be taken as Prize, was to be disposed according to the determination of the Judges of the Admiralty, but for the first six years the same should remain undivided, that the Charges of the War might be sustained by the Profits gotten by it. And afterwards the tenth part should be brought to the Treasury of the United States, Prince *Maurice* should have a thirtieth part, and the Merchants to enjoy the rest. That four being selected out of the aforesaid numbers of Governours, should equally with the seventeen have the managery of the Chief Affairs of State. The Governours and Commanders sent by these, being sworn to the States, should do Justice, build Forts, and make Leagues, as they should see convenient. That at their return home, they should deliver to the United States, exact relations of all things done by them; That all their Merchandises should be free from the Customs or Tributes which were sealed of Old, for ever, and from the other lately invented, and set up by occasion of the Wars, during twenty years.

The Authors and drivers on of this notable Design and Policy, flattering themselves, as every mans humour led him, (and hopes being once let loose, will quickly spread themselves to an immensity that will hardly be circumscribed) discoursed both in Speeches and Books, that hitherto that most potent part of the Enemies Dominion, would, if it were attacked by Arms, become the weakest. And thus the War should

could be carried to Sea, in which kind of Fights, the *Hollands* were never overcome by all the strength of the Enemies; even when they exceeded them very far in number; and by how much the Voyage was longer, by so much was it more difficult to them, whose tender joints would not be able to endure the heat, in regard of whom, their Northern habitations, and Countrey lying in the Sea, had with space undergone all the greatest discommodities; That the most parts of *America*, which extend to both the *Poles*, had been so little frequented, as it is scarcely known; for *Trinity Isle*, even to the *Equinoctial*, the whole Coast was without a Lord. In the rest of the Countrey the *Spanish* Garrisons scatteredly lying up and down, but at such distances, that they can neither help one another, nor defend any that lay between them. Now if Arms were made use of, they would quickly become Masters, and should learn by experience, that there would be as many Enemies against the *Spaniards*, as there were several people in those Countreys, who would be more faithful to them by the memory of their old cruelty, and the continuance of their terrible slavery, than if they were hired for money. Now they durst promise themselves the same Greatness, which had made the *Spaniard* formidable, and that the glory of their Warfare would certainly be perpetual, because danger being removed from them, they would not fear by a bad example to admit any Enemy that durst hazard the Peace of their Dominion. Nor would this be a small kindness to Mankind in general, that they had propagated Christian Religion among ignorant Nations, or such as at the last had been led out of one error into another, with much more sincerity and pureness.

On the other side, divers affirmed, That the chance of War was various, That the Sea would admit of all, yet there was no War more uncertain and dangerous then one at Sea. It liked to remember the *Athenians*, whose most flourishing City

City had fallen by one such temerity, yet they should call to mind, the unfortunate success of the Fleet they had lately sent out under the command of *Peter Donse*. 'Tis true, they had conquered the *Spaniards* in divers Naval Fights: but the *Hollanders* themselves at the beginning of the War, were unexperienced in Land-service, wherein, if by care and time they were grown more exact, why may it not be feared, but that the Enemy might likewise grow more skilful in Sea Affairs. Sometimes even the Conquered by frequent slaughters, have arrived to such proficiency, that at last they learned to begin to Conquer. And though the people of *Spain* chiefly that live upon the Seacoast, are incapable to man Ships, yet the *English* and *Brittans* of *Armorica* in *France*, and the *Saxons*, are very apt and ready thereat. Nor is the confidence reasonable which the *Hollanders* put in their men-bodies, which though they could endure the extremity of cold, yet it is indubitate and experimentally known, that by the perpetual untemperateness of the Equinoctial heat, they decay as well as others. Would Forty Ships do that Work, and besiege that vaste and immense Ocean, where the Islands, Havens, Stations, and all other places are shut up against them, but open to the Enemy, and when there is no relief or provisions near at hand: no not so much as a sufficient quantity of fresh water? 'Tis true, All *America* is not fenced with continual Castles: But where any Wealth is contained, where any Riches lye hid, where any certain Income or Commodity attracts men, there are no sorts of Fortifications omitted. How easie will it be to land Men among so many difficulties? Where will they find a Foot Army, that should drive away the *Spanish* Regiments, which almost for a whole Age had been naturalized in the possession of those places? And if they should think it inconvenient to send thither such an Army, yet surely it would be very necessary at the same time with another Fleet to shut up the Ports of *Spain*, that they might not from thence send any

may sayd into *America*: And this Office and Charge should be committed to the Merchants Forces, for the *Commonwealth* cannot undertake it, being hardly able with those Forces at home to defend its own Borders, or else by that means would run over head and ears in debt, or being debuded of Garrisons, in all likelihood run the hazard rather of losing the small Seat of their Native soyl, then by victorious arms to have sought any considerable part of that Other World: Is it would be a sign of strange madness to hope the winning of all; and what they shall take, they will not be able to keep: the disposition of the ayr in most places being so unwholsome, and breeding such a multitude of Diseases, as will be more contagious to the *Hollanders* than the *Spaniards*, because these have learned with greater measure to use meat and drink: That there is no such safety to be expected from the *Barbarians* society, but that they must build Forts and Castles no less against them than the *Spaniards* themselves: for they know no such thing as faith, nor ever heard of those other names of Vertue: They hate all strange and foreign things, Now maligning the *Spaniard*, and afterwards whoever shall succeed them in Power, shall be heir to their hatred: Their dispositions are not worthy of liberty, being such as are enraged at a severe servitude, yet flee from any thing that is more mild or remiss. Are they ignorant, that among these people there were and still are *Men-Eaters*, thinking humane flesh the greatest dainty, and therefore every where killing all unknown persons, for no other cause of hatred, but that they are Men? Surely, the *Indians* and people of *Asia*, have a much more polite understanding, and yet even there are the *Hollanders* compelled by many examples of treacherous dealing, to turn their Friendship into a kind of Domination: Nor could any Peace or League be hoped for in that New World, which is divided from its better part not so much by Situation as Manners, and

and secluded on every side by its own Ocean, as if condemned by Nature to the most odious barbarism. These were at that time the Discourses concerning *America*.

Surely it concerned those who were desirous of finishing the War, that these hopes should not be settled too deep in the Opinions of the people: Nor was it a hard matter, to put a stop to the begun Project of the New Company, by the emulation of the Cities earnestly drawing to themselves the ordering of the Ships, and some interceding, that the Liberty of fetching Salt out of *America*, should not be restrained by any Law. Therefore this debate being set apart, no less difficulties were observed to hinder those that were desirous of making peace: for although the Enemies Design might chiefly be discovered, yet the Governours of the Confederate Cities, from a received Opinion in the Prince of *Orange's* time, abhorred the very name of Peace: And men of this persuasion, much appeared that would be loth, if the Enemy should openly profess himself contented with a Peace, whereby he could not regain the dominion he lost by War; for that which of old was accounted a part of Prudence to break off all hope of reconciliation, had no other Basis than this, That onely such a Peace could be expected, as would bring along with it an insulting Lord. On the other side, That it pertained both to the Security and Honour of the *Commonwealth*, if the Enemy could be drawn to a confession of their Liberty: But the War yet growing hot, and new Causes of Indignation daily arising, either Victory made them fierce, or some slaughter drew them to the desire of revenge, so that minds prepossessed, or biased with affection, could not considerately ponder the Reasons that induced to peace: But if any Remission, or Cessation should be granted of Arms, there would not be wanting some favourers of peace, which being otherwise acceptable in it self, would agree principally with the mind of the *HOLLANDERS* that were earnest

of Traffick; and also the people that lay next the
 sea would not easily suffer themselves, having once tasted
 the Sweets of Peace, to be carry'd back to Arms.

It is a very hard thing to find the beginning of so great a
 war in that *Commonwealth*, wherein no Affair of any great
 concern is undertaken, without the Advice of the Provin-
 cial and a Relation of what is done, or to be done, to the se-
 veral Cities, which circuit that business; which, without
 doubt, was involved in great Dissentions, could not bear.
 They that were in the *General Assembly* of the *United States*,
 would not take upon them the Envy of so suddain a *Muta-
 tion*, unless Prince *Maurice*, who was the General of the
 Army, and famous as well by his great Merits, as the Nobility
 of his Extract, should become the great Author of *Temporary
 Agreement*. But He, having attained so much Honour by
 his, that scarcely any ever attain'd the like, and not despi-
 sing the most effectual substance of Fame, and thinking
 of himself, that all Peace with the *Spaniards* was mingled
 with Treachery, yet was perswaded by *Oldenbarnevelt* (whose
Admiralty underpropped by his Providence chiefly, and 30
 years Fidelity, supported these *Consultations of Peace*) that
 he would not refuse to Treat with the Enemy: For the King
 of *Britain* would sit by opely as a Spectator of so great a
 War, and the *French King*, by their Alliance, aimed at greater
 Matters, of which there were no obscure Demonstrations. If
 the *Confederate States* could find a way to lye open for them
 to Peace, they that supposed it advantageous to their Affairs,
 that the *Spanish Forces* should be wasted in the War of *Hol-
 land*, might be brought to promise certain Aids, without any
 other account.

Therefore *Wittenborst* and *Gevard*, having receiv'd Letters
 from *Albertus* and *Isabella*, whereby it might appear they
 were intrusted, they were admitted into the Assembly of the
United States, where they publickly repeated, what they had
 privately before spoken, highly extolling the Commodities

of Peace, before the uncertain Events of War: But because the *Legates* had mention'd the Arch-Dukes Right and Claim. The *States* thought fit to answer, *That it was openly known to all who had any insight in the Belgick Affairs, that the Arch-Dukes could be helped by no pretence of Rights against the Confederate Provinces, but such as must be hoped to be gained by Conquest.* In truth, when of old divers of the Provinces, after the Confirmation of their Liberty by an inviolable *Decree*, were united into one Body, they had sought to reduce them by Arms, being Members separated from that Body by the best and highest Right, the Equity of whose Cause, many Kings and Princes had approved by making *Leagues* with them. Therefore they all Resolved to persist in that Opinion, which they had lately declared to the Emperour, *That a safe, just, and just Peace could not be expected with them, who under the vain pretence of Right, would infringe the Authority of a most Reverend Decree: The Mischief of War would fall on both Parts, but ought to be imputed to them, that would unjustly take what belonged to others, not those that valiantly defended their own.*

Wittenborst being dismissed with this Answer, afterwards writ to the *States*, that he had found it to be the Arch-Dukes pleasure, that in the making an Agreement, they desired to gain nothing; but that all things should remain in the same condition they were; But for the more ready carrying on of this business, the Principal of the Order of *Franciscans* in that Country, by Name, *Francis Naza*, born at *Antwerp*, but by Kinred, a *Zeland*er, was made choyse of, his Father sometimes followed the Prince of *Aurange*, Himself was of a voluble and fluent Tongue; and though he was not ignorant in Court-Affairs; for he had been in *Spain*, and lived at *Brussels*, conversant in matters of greatest importance; being of an open and free disposition, like the *Netherlanders*, that you will hardly suspect guilty of fraud, and by his Profession of life, armed against bashfulness; neither greatly fearing a repulse, or contumely.

Thus

This Man being sent from *Bruxells*, came privately to *Wijicks* (the next Village to the *Hague*) making tryall of discreet Persons, what were the main difficulties that obstructed the business: from thence being brought to the *States*, he expounded some things as he saw convenient; in *Amberst's* Letters; and there understanding perfectly, that there was no hopes of beginning a Treaty, unless the *Archdukes* did first really own and acknowledge their Liberty, returning to *Bruxells*, soon after, he brought Letters from *Albertus* and *Isabella*, Signed the thirteenth of *March*, to this effect.

That they were weary of the cruell War, and were ready to make a perpetual Peace with the United States, as free People, whom they so accounted, and against whom they would make no pretence of claim; but if they liked not such a Peace, they would, if they thought good, make a Truce for twelve, fifteen, or twenty years, or else would make a Cessation of Arms upon equall terms, whereby as well a confident security as Commerce should be continued; with this among the rest, that what they now possessed, they should for the future retain, unless common utility induced them at any time, to exchange some Towns or Regions: That the Legates they would send to this Treaty, should be *Netherlanders* of that Nation, to meet whom the States should send the like number; whose appointment, they left the nomination both of time and place, for their meeting: And that these things might the more easily proceed, they were pleased, if they would consent thereto, that there should be a Cessation of Arms, both by Sea and Land, as well among the *Netherlanders* as the *Spaniards*, during eight months: desiring the States to declare their Resolution concerning the said Treaty before the first of September.

The bringing of these Letters, which they themselves a while before had drawn, those things therein being changed, which in a former Copy brought by the same *Naya*, had been disliked, could not but please the *Hollanders*: the altered points were these, That by the Truce, each should enjoy

what they now had; but if a peace were made, then each should retain what should be agreed. Also that the *Hollanders* should wholly abstain from going to, or Trading in the *Indies*; but in regard they judged themselves wholly Masters at Sea, and at Land more powerful in their *Cavallery*, they thought not fit any further to forbid Hostility for eight Months, then that during that time, no Cities should be besieged or taken, no Countries invaded, nor any new Fortifications built: And it was added, that the King of Spain, within three months, should ratifie the Covenants agreed to by the *Arch Dukes*, with the repeated recognition of the *Hollanders* liberty. Nay, he Promised before the four and twentieth of *April*, that he would bring it to pass, that those Covenants should be signed by the *Arch Dukes Albertus* and *Isabella*; so as the States would do the same: Concerning this sudden business, the Assembly of the States thought fit to write to the several Provinces, that so the Commons might receive the same with more acceptance, which they did to this effect. That they advise well of the Judgment of the *Prince* and *Senate*, in that they had accepted the Condition, which *Albertus* and *Isabella* had offered for a Cession of Arms, that they might have leisure to transact with the Kings of *France* and *Brittain*, and other *Princes*; and afterwards, to consider among themselves, what was fit to be done, as to the rest. What then remained, but that they should all give thanks to God, that he had hitherto prospered their War, and now had inclined their Enemies minds, to the confession of the truth. But upon the appointed day of Humiliation, when now the rumour growing common, made mens affections increase, the Ministers did preached, as every ones fancy led him, named the whole Series of their Sermons, either to the applause of peace, or despiseful rayling against the adverse parties. However, the *States*, about the four and twenty of *April*, sent Instruments of those things lately agreed upon to *Antwerp*, by *Dionis Verdaxie*.

Verdusio. And *Naya* produced the Writing, as it had been sent at the *Hague*, onely with the addition of the *Arch Duke's* hands, commanding the same to be firm and authentic: But *Verdusio* requiring a more solemn Instrument, that should be equal to that he brought, *Naya* presently obeyed, and brought such a one from *Bruxells*: together, with a gold Chain to *Verdusio*, inreating him at the same time, that because some things contained in that Agreement, seemed to be of a dubious interpretation, that he would suffer him to return with himself to the *States*, to advise upon the same.

The Arch Duke *Albertus*, was really so inclinable to Peace, that he would not suffer any Hostility to be begun on his part, insomuch, that He commanded all his Governours, (which was clearly beyond the Agreements) that the *Souldiers* should be kept within their Garrisons; and that all *Peasants* and *Fishermen* that were prisoners at *Dunkirk*, should be set at liberty. And *Verdusio* having written to the *States* concerning *Raya's* Request, and receiving no positive answer, taking for granted what was not forbidden, returned to the *Hague* with him in his company. And now, they that were not withstood the first motions of peace, began to repent themselves of their silence, fearing that would really become War, which they had hitherto supposed to be but fained. Therefore some of them question, by whose order the *Monks* set foot on their ground, being enemies to him and his party. Others accused *Verdusio*, that he had undertaken an affair of so high concernment, by private advice: whereby it easily appeared, that *Naya* was not likely to obtain so much, what in his own daring Imaginations he had already received granted.

While these things were doing in these parts: in the same while, the *Hollanders* obtained a famous Victory at *St. James*, which made the Enemies more desirous of peace, and more fervent to War. When the last year, the War of

Spain went more slowly on, not without some blemish of their ancient Navall Honour, it was thought fit another *Fleet* should be sent thither, as well for recovering their fame, as at the earnest Request of the *Indian* Company, who were afraid lest the whole Strength of *Spain*, should at once fall upon their Ships.

Jacob Hemskerke, a man well skilled in Sea Affairs, was chosen *Admirall*, who had formerly accompanied *William Barent* in the like Voyage, when most froward Fortune hindered them from making a more narrow Inquisition into the Secrets of the *North*; besides, he had been twice at the *Indies*, from whence of late he brought a most rich Ship which he had taken in War: At this time, six and twenty Ships were committed to his charge, fitted for War, and some others for carrying Provisions, with Command to do what should seem most beneficial. Nor did he scruple to promise, that he would so behave himself, as to merit the thanks of his Country, either by death or life; and how full fraight he went out with confidence, may from hence easily be understood, that he would have no other pay, than the eighth part of that booty, which should exceed the sum of five hundred thousand florens. He was not so covetous of money, of which he had enough, as of glory; but not discovering his inclination by any ostentation, because composing both his habit and countenance into a reserved civility, he hid under that mask, the greatness of a Military mind. At the beginning of the Spring, a little before the first Covenants were made between the *Arch Dukes* and the *States*, going to Sea, when he came to the Coasts of *Spain*, he resolved to invade the mouth of the River *Tagus*, that the most Noble City of *Lisbon* might be a witness of his Valour: but understanding by the Spies, which he had sent under the pretence of *Merchants*, and by some *French* and *British* Ships that he met, that the Ships which had been there, were most of them departed to the *Indies*, and those that were to follow

were not ready, but that a great Fleet of Spaniards
 in the Bay of *Gibraltar*, which would take the *Hollanders*
 ships passing out of the *Mediterranean Sea*, into the Ocean,
 that streight; thither he steered his cour'se, sailing as the
 Wind would give him leave, sometimes near the Coast of
Barbary, and other whiles nearer the Coast of *Spain*: for two
 high Mountains generally known by the names of *Her-
 cules Pillars*, being the Mountains *Abila* in *Barbary*, and
Calpe in *Spain*, do make narrow the Streight of the *Atlantick*
Ocean, winding it self between those Lands. Fabulous An-
 tiquity, reported these to be one Hill (and indeed so it is, if
 we admit the strait to continue their union) but divided by
 the labour of *Hercules*, on purpose to let in the Sea; where-
 fore, the last of those separated Hills, are called as aforesaid,
Hercules Pillars. To the one of which, the old name *Calpe*
 remained, until the *Arabian* growing Victorious, gave his
 names to all things and places; for at what time the
Arabs had joyned their Arms to the novelty of *Mahome-
 d's* Superstition: *Moses*, the chief of the petty Kings pos-
 sessing *Africa*, who was the Son of *Nuzir* of the *Maravadin*
 family, went over into *Spain*, accompanied with *Tarica*, the
 son of *Abdalla*, who setting fire on his Ships, that his Soul-
 diers might not be able to desert him, when he was come
 to *Calpe*, he named the place *Gebell Taric*, which in the
Arabian Tongue, is as much as the Mount of *Tarica*, and
 by the *Spaniards*, is corrupted into *Gibraltar*. Thus did
 the Mountain and City *Tarifa*, of old *Cartaja*, get their
 names. This City is situate at the bottom of those Hills,
 were making a Haven in the manner of a Theater, for his
 ships, on the horn thereof, which stretches into the *Atlan-
 tick Ocean*, he built a strong Castle: In this most safe recess
 of the Sea, within the bosome of that most exquisite Rock,
 and under the protection of the City and Castle, the *Spanish*
 ships lay at Anchor. It consisted of 9. *Galeones*, the greatest
 of which, carried the Commander in Chief, *Don John Al-
 varez de Avila*, four other Ships of War.

The

The great Vessel belonging to *Lubeck*, and four French Bottoms belonging to private Merchants, but for a time, taken up for publike use, besides three *Holland* Merchant Ships, that had lately been taken as Prizes: In these, was great number of Mariners and great Guns, together with Souldiers for Sea-service, whose strength was much increased by the accession of many noble persons, who, upon news that the Enemies Ships were seen both at *Cadix*, and *St. Lucar de Barrameda*, had flocked thither, to shew their Valour and duty to the King. In the *Admirall*, were seven hundred Souldiers, another a little less had five hundred, *Admiral Hamskerk*, now entering the Streight, and not far from the Bay of *Gibraltar*, calling together the Captains of his Ships to Counsel: He said to them, *To know Fellow Souldiers, for what cause ye are come hither: The Honour gotten by our Ancestors, both at Sea and at home, is evident to the whole World. They wasted Islands, and besieged Ports, others by chance afflicting them therein; We were the first who came even into Spain itself, to assault the King of Spains Fleet, as intending to let the World know, how falsely the Enemy in the length of his arrogant Title, ascribes to himself the Dominion of the Sea; A more desired place for Honour, could not be wished for. God hath appointed the Hollanders Forces to be tryed and approved in the Confines of Europe and Africa; so that here we shall see the Enemies themselves, certain Witnesses of our Valour. and their own destruction. On the one Shore, lie the Turks and Moors, to whom being hitherto scarcely heard of, we ought not to be made publicly known, but by some great and honourable action: Take now the Courage, which of old *Berghen*, *Middleburgh*, & the *Zuydersee* beheld: The same fortune follows you through the World: So that it is a difficult matter for you not to Conquer at Sea; And let us the greatness of the Enemies Ships affright you, for that very Bulk being unwieldy to be moved and turned, and lying open to shot, will be rather a cause of ruine, then safety to them. And moreover, this is one chief thing, that among us our very Seamen fight, with them only the Souldiers, who appearing to me, as persons of effeminate,*

ary, by the Sinks of the Pump, and the tossing of the Waves being grown heartless, are hardly able to stand up to fight.

I require nothing of any man but what I shall give an example of my self: you, Lambert, shall together with my self, set upon the Admirall, Brassen and Alterhasen on the next, and so the rest on the remainder, two of you still keeping together against one: the lighter Vessels shall go up and down compassing the place of fight, the better to impede the Enemies flight. And as soon as the Battell is begun, Remember that ye fight valiantly for your Ships, wherein you are all either to be slain or taken, unless you get the Victory. Let us forward the anxious and doubtful cares of the States in this great Affair, for this day will yield a great and happy Omen to us, if forced to return to the War, or else will make the Spaniard more seriously to desire Peace: Then may the Conquering Hollander with freedom, deliberate whether it will be more for his advantage, to lay aside Arms, or still to maintain War: We however in the interim, shall begin to be esteemed happy in the Honour of this Maritime triumph, or else shall be looked upon among the chief causes that lead to peace; and for the benefit of Posterity, shall set a noble end to a War of 40 years continuance. Having spoken these things, he encouraged the Captains as well by his eyes, and countenance, as his words, who promising largely their best endeavours, likewise stirred up both themselves and others, by old and new examples of Spanish cruelty: so passing about an encouraging Cup, and renewing their Oath of fidelity, for that time they departed. Avila the Governour, finding Ships so much less than his, steering their course directly against him, commanded a Holland Prisoner that he had with him, to be brought to him; of whom he asked, *What he thought was their Intentions?* Who answer'd, *Either I know not my Countrey-men, or else they are ready to give you Battel.* The Spaniards laughed, as thinking it a scorn, that their whole Fleet should be compared with that only Galeon that was his Admirall: But when the Holland Fleet drew nearer, being compell'd to believe, what he saw

was true, he carryed his said Admiral Galeoon; which by chance lay outermost, nearer to the City, cutting its Cable, that the Fortune of the *Battel* might first be tryed by the other Vessels: Notwithstanding which, *Hemskerk* keeping still to his first purpose, passing by the rest, set upon that alone; and at the first Onset, cryed out, *That all should be careful Prizes therein to whoever took it, and appointing a Reward besides to him that should bring away the Enemies Top-Mast Banner: Commanding, That they should not shoot, until they were very near, whereby the greater Terror might strike them on a sudden.* Therefore the *Spaniard* prevented him, in giving the first Volley of Shot, but he did no great damage by it. *Hemskerk*, by this time, but a little way distant, began to shoot from his Fore-Deck, and presently striking upon the Enemies Ship he cast Anchor. He stood openly in fight, in the midst of the Ship, when the *Spaniard* making thick and frequent shots, a Bullet (by chance) killing one, broke and tore off his left Thigh, and threw him groveling, being laden with Arms. He was sensible of the approach of Death; and therefore, praying God, mercifully to receive his departing Soul, he exhorted all about him, *That they would not be careless in following their business, but would seek to repair the loss of their Captain with the Enemies Ruins.* The death of the Admiral, being concealed by Captain *Nerborven*, did spread over the Fleet until the *Battel* was ended. The same endeavour'd, that the Cannon on the Right-side might be discharged: The *Spaniard* now having lost the use of his great Guns, applyed himself wholly to fight with small Shot; but the *Hollanders* Shot did the greatest damage, in regard the Enemy stood thicker, and more crowded together.

Lambert following, as he was commanded, at first shot at *Avila's* Ship at a distance, but afterwards came nearer, and lay side by side: so that now a most furious Fight was begun, and all were involved in Clouds of Smoke; insomuch, that at Noon-day they had the Resemblance of a Nocturnal

Con-

Consist: The rest of the *Battel* wa ordered by Fortune, not according to Command: For while Captain *Alterases* of *Island*, delay'd to assault the Ship assigned to him, 3 others invaded him, to whom a fourth soon after joyned themselves: Which having taken fire, by the perpetual vomiting of the Cannon, and that now danger drew near to the *Affailants*, the *Hollanders* withdrew themselves, and quenched their Sails, which had likewise caught fire: But the *Spaniards*, astonish'd with fear, casting aside all care of the Ship, after all things in the Ship, and the Ship it self, were seized by the Flame, forced also by the Enemies Shot, leaped head-long into the Sea, and so exchanged one kind of death for another: Captain *Henry Long* a *Hollander*, with more Policy, assailing another Galeoon, was kill'd with a Bullet, but that also was kill'd, and utterly burned. Again, another of the same Magnitude, being shot between Wind and Water, by the coming in of the Waves, and its own Burden, suddainly sunk. The rest of the *Spanish* Ships, as also some of the *Hollanders*, not daring to run the hazard of a close Fight, contested at a distance, almost with equal damage to the Enemy and themselves.

There were many shot also thunder'd upon them from the Town and Castle of *Tariff*; but suddain violence disheartened the *Spaniards*, one of their best Ships being blown up and torn in pieces by its own Powder, or else set on fire by themselves: After the horrible Crack had thunder'd all over the Bay, the torn Ships Reliques, setting fire on those Ships near to him, and they likewise drawing others into the like Danger and Ruine: They that remained, before the Mischief should reach to them, cutting their Cables, made hast to the Shore; onely the Admiral prolonged the Issue of the Fight stoutly, making good her part against two Ships, until at last a Third came: But then the Banner or Ensign being pulled down, together with it they lost all their Courages; and the Victory wholly epring, it was no longer a Fight, but a meer Slaughter.

Slaughter. All the *Spaniards*, as they leaped into the Sea, hoping to escape by swimming, were kill'd either by Swords, Pikes, or Bullets: Nor could one fix his Eye on any part of the Bay, where the sad Spectacle of dead or dying People was not with Horrour represented.

Anilas did not long survive *Hemskerk*; He was an Ancient Sea-Commander, for he had accompanied *Dow John* of *Austria* at the *Battel* of *Lepanto*: Among his Papers were found King *Philip's* severe Instructions, not against the *Hollanders* onely, but all others, who had in any manner assisted them. The *French*, (whose Ships, before surprized by the *Spaniard*, but now deserted in his flight) afforded a safe Retreat to the *Conquerours*; They that were taken Prisoners, and kept alive, after, by a rare chance of good Fortune, the Souldier sent by a *Spanish* Captain to kill them, was by a Bullet intercepted; and a second (sent to put the same Command in Execution) perish'd by the like means, at last had their Bonds and Chains struck off by an accidental shot. After this *Battel*, the Night continued quiet; and the next Morning it appear'd, that the *Spanish* Admiral, (which the *Hollanders* had neglected to keep, as supposing themselves to have undertaken enough) yet stowed intire, with some few Men in it; who, while the Victors Fury raged, had hidden themselves in Holes; from whence creeping out, and getting into the Town, the People voluntarily set fire thereon, that it might not become a Prey to the Enemy: Two days the *Holland Fleet* continued in the place of the *Battel*, esteeming the Victory rather honourable, than advantageous or gainful.

During all the time of their stay there, Armed Men ran up and down; and, on the other side, the Townsmen gathering together all their best and most precious Things, prepar'd to fly: For all Things were now fill'd with fear, the News of this Action being brought by like *Messengers* to *Cadix*, which would certainly have been a great cause of making
Hem.

Hemskerk much more confident, if he had lived; but now all his Counsels fell to the ground with him.

Tunus, a City of *Barbary*, not very ancient, situate at the Foot of the Mount *Atlas*, near these *Straights*, is subject to the *Turk*: Hither the *Hollanders* repaired to amend their ships, and get help and remedy for their sick and wounded Men, of whom they had Threescore, besides almost one hundred slain in the Fight. The *Governour* of the City, both hating, and hated of the *Spaniards*, received the *Conquerours* with much *Congratulations*, and sending to them also many *Presents*; And moreover, offer'd them a Supply of Foot soldiers, if they would please to assault *Sepra*, a Town upon the same Coast, but situate a little more inward, and possessed by the *Spaniard*. But they being more desirous of Booty than War, so determined among themselves, that the greatest part chose to Forage the Coasts of *Portugal*: Others went to the *Azores*; some to the *Fortunate Islands*; and the rest coasted the *Præmontory* of *Antabria*: Two Ships, of those that had brought Provisions, were sent into *Holland*, to carry home the wounded Men, and the Body of *Hemskerk*, which Admiral for the better preserving thereof, was embalmed. The Report of this *Battel* at *Gibraltar*, which was fought the 25 day of *April*, was not yet arrived to the knowledge of the *Hollanders*, but then supposed to have been brought by speedy *Messengers* out of *Spain* into *Brabant*, when *Naya*, then Resident at the *Hague*, desired the Assembly of the *States*, the 27 of *April*, setting forth to them, That he lately, at their Request, promised the *Arch-Dukes* should take care, that the *King of Spain* should confirm the *Articles*, when he had so much to say, either in his Charge or Instructions; And that the *Arch-Dukes*, when they might have refused that Authority, yet, out of love to Peace, by promising the same, had made good his assurance to them: Now therefore it was but just, that as those Princes had by an extraordinary belief omitted nothing, that might be conducive to Peace; so the *States*, on the other side should remove all things

things that might be Obstructions to the same intent; and consequently should recall their Fleet out of Spain, which had lately been sent thither, to spoil all the Maritime Parts of that Country. Moreover he desired, That those things which had lately been agreed of late, concerning the forbearance of encamping, and invading each others Country, might be declared in more express and plain terms, for that the words, wherein they were expressed, were more ambiguous: And since many Things might happen before the first of September, which ought to be published by the States in the Arch-Duke's Names, He required Instruments of publick Credit, and safe Conduct; by vertue whereof, he might (without hazard) go up and down between both Parties.

And now the greatness of the business in hand had wrought upon all Mens Minds, insomuch, that some of the principal Persons of each Province, came and were present at the daily Debates of the Council: At the first, there was much hesitation, concerning the recalling of the Fleet; some Rumours of the Victory at Gibraltar being scatter'd abroad. Whereupon some averred, That it was convenient to prosecute their good fortune, and that Peace should not be discourf'd of, but in the heat of War. Others were of Opinion, That they ought to shew as well in words as reality, that their Minds were not averse from a true Peace: which if it were not at that time brought to pass, not only the Sea should be secur'd, but they would all unanimously resign their Arms, not so much for Revenge of old Injuries, as of their delusive Peace. And it had almost hapned, that they who desired Peace, by making the Spaniard more secure; and they that were against it, putting the Enemy in fear, and seeking after the Causes, why Peace should be sought, that they had brought to nothing their own Counsels.

Among these Transactions, Embassadors came out of France, the chief of whom was Mounseur Peter Janine, of old a great Supporter of the *Guisian* League; but returning to his Obedience towards the King, together with the Duke de

Mayn,

Mays; and from thence forward, was a Minister of great Fidelity, and of great Estimation and Authority among the chief Counsellors, for his great and eminent Experiments in points of Prudence, having a Wit rarely skilful in handling Affairs of State; and not onely knowing in the Theory and Practice of the Law, but thoroughly instructed in all other good Arts: Besides, he was so prevailing, both in Countenance and Words, that when he endeavour'd most to hide himself, his Judgment would most evidently appear. With him were joyned Monsieur *Buxenvale*, formerly the King's Agent with the States, and Monsieur *Elias Playce*, who was Com-manded to succeed *Buxenvale* in that Dignity: It seems the King took it ill, that they had begun to lay the Foundation of so great a Matter, onely by the Knowledge and Advice of a few, which he judged they ought not to have begun without his Approbation, as well in regard of his Grandeur, as the Benefits he had often done to the *Hollanders*. Therefore the Embassadors, according to the Directions given them, pre-mising many Things, by which they declared, how highly the King had deserved of that *Commonwealth*, They presently fell to Complaints, first bitterly inveighing against them, who seeming to love the Thing, yet spoke sharply of him, as being ambitious to get the Dominion over them. After-wards, when they had involved Themselves in Treaties with the Enemy, they made a Clandestine Application to the King, which also he could not but take in very evil part: yet nevertheless, he would not forbear at this time with Courtesie to set forth his Friendship, by this his Embassie; declaring, That he would, for the future, assist them, if they were necessitated to make War: Or, if they thought fit to make Peace, He would, by his Authority, make the same to them just at the present, and permanent for the future; That some might be cho-sen out of the Assembly of the States, that should before the Em-bassadors, weigh the Ability of the Treasury, and the ways and means conducing to Peace.

And

And lest the French Kings Authority might offend other of the *Hollanders* Allyes, it was judged necessary to request the Kings of *Great Britain* and *Denmark*, as also the Prince *Palatine*, and Marquess of *Brandenburg*, to be aiding and assisting by their Counsells in these doubtful and ambiguous Affairs.

Upon *Nays*'s demands, after long debate, that part prevailed who were for Peace; Whereupon it was Decreed, That the Fleet should be recalled from *Spain* as soon as King *Philip* should have confirmed the Articles granted by the Archdukes: and that in the interim, neither any new Ships should be sent thither, nor any provisions; That in the Neighbour Sea, which is enclosed within the Streights and narrow passage by *Bulloin*, from thence forward should be a cessation of arms, but upon this condition, That none but Fishermen should be permitted to go out of the Ports of *Flanders*. And as soon as *Philip*'s Instruments of Confirmation came, the like cessation of Arms should be in all that Sea that runs by *France* and *Spain*, as far as *Cadix*, and from thence all over the more inland Sea. They consulted also for the same nearer to them by Land. And thus the United States enclosed their jurisdiction and security, within the famous boundaries of the *Emus*, the *Vidri*, the *Issel*, the *Rhin*, the *Waal*, and below *Grave*, the *Mats*, all great Rivers of note; but the Archdukes Countreyes were bounded with less famous Rivers, such as *Demmer*, and *Gast*, in *Brabant*, *Leys*, and *Amstel*, in *Flanders*. All that lay without these Borders was subject to War, excepting only the Cities, Forts, and Castles; yet so as no bounds should defend the Soldiers themselves, offering injuries one to the other, either by Sea or Land. Thus before *Nays* departed, it appeared, how little in vain he protracted his time among the *Hollanders*.

Notwithstanding all this, it would not be granted that he should stay at the *Hague*, for that the minds of the States were

were possessed with fear and suspicions, not without cause; but he had a residence appointed for him at *Delf*, where both his going in and out, as all his actions were observed; the reason and Author of which counsel he seemed by his actions and carriage to approve, for he invited *Cornelius Arsen*, Secretary to the States, to a private Conference, who presaging to himself the intent of the Design, goes to Prince *Maurice*, from whom he is commanded, That if any extraordinary gratuity were offered, to take the same, and withal, to detect the Enemies Treachery. When they met, the Monk with great Eloquence gave him thanks, That by his assistance, some glimmerings of Peace had been attained: for it was understood, that when *Nays* came first among the *Hollanders*, by the Mediation of one *Craulen* (who was nearly related in blood to *Arsen*) he found the first access to him. Afterwards he added, That he was not ignorant how great danger *Arsenius* had hazarded by this Deed, if the matter had not succeeded according to both their wishes, a popular Aristocratical Government being alwayes full of envy, emulation, and jealousy. That the Archdukes did greatly love, and highly esteem, this his willing inclination to the Peace of the *Netherlands*: and that as they would for the future give greater rewards, so they would for the present restore to him the house which he formerly possessed in *Brussels*, and that the Marquess *Spinola*, who was of the same mind and desire with them, whether a Peace were concluded, or only a Truce for nine years, would promise to give him fifty thousand Scutes: of which fifteen thousand, should forthwith paid to him where he would appoint, and for the same produced a writing cautionary under the said *Spinola's* hands: Afterwards *Nays* in his own name presented to *Arsen's* Wife a Diamond of great value: *Arsen* giving thanks for the house, and seeming to believe himself obliged by the Covenant for the same, when it should come to him from the City of *Brussels*, for a while refused the rest, as too hardly

hardly pressing upon his fidelity, yet at length he received both the Jewel, and *Spinola's* writing, and so departing, he declared the whole matter to the Prince, and the Prince again related the same to some few of the States. The Prince supposing the matter fit to be concealed for a time, refused the Custody of the Presents. But soon after *Arsen* being solicited by new Letters from *Naga* to come, and receive his fifty thousand Scutes, and fearing lest this doubtful and dangerous secret might break out to his disadvantage, discovered the whole matter in all its circumstances, to the Council of the States. They appointed *George Debes* a man of exemplary fidelity, and chief overseer of the common Treasury, to keep both the Charter and Diamond: yet could not *Arsen* by all this care, escape the hatred of the vulgar, who interpreting the common report of the business to the worst sense, grew so enraged, that he was compelled to set forth the truth of the matter in Print to prevent further mischief that might ensue.

About this time, Admiral *Hemskerk's* body was brought to *Amsterdam*, where it was received with high honour and applause, and with no less grief and sorrow, because having been the Author of so great a Victory, his Country was believed to have received the greater prejudice in his loss: to him then first of all was publicly given a Funeral, and a Monument, with an Inscription testifying, with great honour and eloquence, the famous Actions by him done. After which they sent to the King of *Great Britain*, desirous to dive more narrowly into the Affairs of *Holland*, *John Borken*, an assistant to the Magistrates of *Dort*, and *Jacob Malerius*, a man in principal esteem in the Senate of *Zeland*; these set before him the present strength and charge of the Commonwealth, and how much the Treasury was judged unable both by the Prince and Senate, to maintain the War in any hopeful condition. These were very gently received by King *James*, who promised to take a special care of the Affair.

parts of his Allyes, for he well understood, *That by the Hollanders Arms, as well his own, as the Peace of Ireland was distressed.* And no less did he foresee, how unfit he was to perswade a War, who till that time had never given any supply of money towards it, (which was the greatest want of that War) nor had in the present any to help them with. Not long after, there came from him to the Hague, *Richard Spencer*, of an honourable Family in England; and *Ralf Winwood*, then returning out of Britain, but otherwise Leiger Ambassador for the King with the States.

In the interim, *Spinola* by Letters sent to the States, signifying the King of Spains confirmation of the Archdukes Covenants, and desires a safe conduct for *Don Lewis Verruke*, *Albertus* his Secretary, who should bring the Instrument, and declare other things relating to the matter: which being granted, and He come, immediately the Spanish subtilties appeared, for the words of the Covenants were not confirmed by the Kings Authority according to the Custome of a just League, but the Charters were written in the French Tongue, which is generally spoken by the Dutch Nobility, before date the eighth of May, and brought to them the first of June; which were subscribed by the King in no other manner, then he used to do towards his Subjects, and so confirmed, That he promised the Cessation of Arms should be waived, calling *Albertus* and *Isabella*, Princes and Lords of the Netherlands, but in the interim by no word Himself acknowledged the Liberty of the States, according as was desired; nay more, in the very foremost Covenant of *Albertus*, the words that declared their Liberty, were totally left out, which *Verruke* called by a ridiculous pretext, the Writers neglect. When he sent word to *Bruxells* of that objection, the Archdukes said nothing, only *John Richardot*, the chief of the Cabinet Counsel answered, *That the States mistook the words, for so long as King Philip rejected none of the Covenants, they ought to believe that He approved all.* And al-

though the Archdukes might protest the performance of all things they had promised; yet that their candor and benignity might be the more evident, they sent back again into Spain, for the mending of those things that were found fault with. And the States did not delay to recal their Fleet out of Spain, lest while they professed to be desirous of Peace, their Actions should gorauncounter to their words.

But about this time arose many hot disputes among the United Provinces, many furiously crying out, *That they were publicly deluded by the Spaniard, who for the better concealing their Treacheries, had only made an empty offer of Liberty, but now their deceitful dealing being manifest, he would only endeavour this one thing, to denude them cunningly of their Arms.* Besides, the Enemy was said to be preparing a Fleet both in Spain and Flanders, the danger whereof was the more suspected, in regard it was unknown what design they intended. To all these were added the *French* Ambassadors, then very averse to Peace, because they said it was evident so then, That the name of the *Spaniards* was never officious, but when they studied mischief; but they had scarce resolved to consult of that matter, which before they began to agree to, that they would neither send provisions nor supplies to the Fleet, by which means it might be compelled to return by necessity, which is stronger then any command. Thereupon matters were brought to that pass, that *Olden-Barneveldt* should in the name of the States make answer, That the Instruments brought out of Spain, were not congruous to what was promised, and therefore the States drew up the same in the *Latine* and *French* Tongue, which were to be in like manner perfected within two Months by the King, if he hoped any further to continue the Treaty, which pattern he was to deliver at the same time. And because some delay happened thereby, the States prorogued the space for deliberation after the Instruments were anew confirmed, from this present time, until the first of *September*; yet it was granted

honour of the Archdukes (against whose will these negotiations seemed to be committed), that the Fleet should be recalled, and that after six weeks from that day, all things whatsoever that were taken, should be free, and not taken as prize. But they would keep the Kings Letters till better were brought, chiefly for this purpose, to maintain the cessation of Arms: Nor in the interim (saith he) can we enough wonder, if this Affair be cordially and with uprightness managed, to what purpose serve these great Rewards, *Bibord's Diamond*: See the Chain! Look upon Spinola's hand! and here they were all produced) These cannot be so without suspicion in the givers, but that they who received them by publick command, cannot yet be free from the undesired envy of the people. Be not deceived, for it is not here as in Kingdomes, where two or three rule all things at their will, and the rest of the people are slaves, but We Govern, and are Governed by turns; And if this Council, this Senate, be not sufficiently guarded against your bribes, We will encrease their number: Carry back your gifts to their Owners, which you need not give to obtain Peace, and would be a high wickedness in Us to receive in prejudice of our Liberty. *Verrinke* being on a sudden surpris'd, had nothing to say, but that if any such thing were offered, it was without the Archdukes knowledg; nor was it a wonder, if Monks that are a coverous sort of men, look upon others to be such as themselves.

Now was the appointed time of six Weeks past, when the Fleet was recalled out of Spain, and also *Naya* and *Verrinke* having their desired safe conduct, are come, and bring with them out of Spain, another Writing, which contained almost the same words prescribed by the States, with this only difference, That the King profess'd himself ready to Treat with them as a Free People in any place, and that he would challenge nothing against them, adding, That he asserted this, as well for maintaining the Credit and Promise of the Archdukes, as for

confirming a Peace or long Truce, which when it was agreed upon, He would fully perform all other things that might be desired for the sanction thereof; but that it should be Treated of and concluded in that League, as concerning other desires of Parties, as also of the business of Religion. Wherein if there were no Settlement and Conclusion, then his Right should not be prejudicial to any thing by this Writing, but all things to remain intire as before to both parties. They that were more curious, observed, That a business of so high concernment, was carelessly written in Paper, and not engrossed in Parchment for the perpetuity thereof, and that the Name of Philip was not subscribed in Equals, but like a King, according to his Custome in writing to His Subjects. The Odium of all these things, Now foreseeing the same, attempted to mollify with good words, declaring, That he himself, as best knowing the desires of the Archdukes, and the States in relation to Peace, went into Spain, and informed the King in what condition the state of Affairs on both sides was, and how necessary Peace was to the *Netherlands*. There the matter was debated in Council, That whatever was to be Treated of and concluded, might be more firm and lasting, and that not only the King, who is mortal, but the Kingdome it self, which cannot dye, should be bound by those Agreements. He protested also with much earnestness, and high asseverations, That the King was very desirous of Peace, and that he intended to walk in the right and plain way to attain the same, and therefore had so clearly declared his mind in writing, which he might have concealed, if he had had any intention to deceive.

After him, Verreke highly applauding the Archdukes faithful dealing, he made an excuse, That King Philips expressions were not written in *Latin* or *French*, but in the *Spanish* Tongue. In this Tongue he converseth with Christian Princes, in this he Treats with Free People, nor was it equal for them to take from him this Liberty, who had

heard

turned to the States speaking in what Tongue they plea-
 At this time dissimilitude of thoughts began to discover
 a variety of affections in the United Provinces, the
 some suspecting Treaties, and some Cities both in *Holland*
 and *Zeland*, hoping a greater advantage from the War, then
 could expect from Peace; and therefore the most mo-
 derate and collected minds, and those that were unanimous
 in their desires, looked upon these things with more then or-
 dinary displeasure, for the acknowledgment of their Liber-
 ty with the only esteem whereof being filled, they began to
 shun to those dangerous discourses of Peace, might easily
 be recalled, and indeed it seemed very little, if any thing
 at all, unless the Faction of the *Romanists* should be divided
 in the Commonwealth by the hope of some favour from
 the Enemy. But *Naya* and *Warneke*, being shewed what
 the States seemed to find fault with in the *Spanish* Writing,
 only professed, That it was but labour in vain to expect
 anything more, since if any thing remained dubious, either
 in the League of Peace itself, or in the Truce, it might be
 sounded and made manifest in more clear and firing
 arms. So much confidence had they gotten, by observing
 that a great part of the United Provinces were weary of the
 War; and knowing it would be much more beneficial to
 the *Spaniard*, to make an Agreement with them severally,
 then all United and conjunct. But the States taking the
 Prince's Counsel, together with the advice of the *French* and
Dutch Ambassadors, at length agreed in this Opinion, That
 they would declare to the Archdukes Ambassadors, That the
 letters brought out of *Spain*, were not answerable to the first
 promises, because the last words would seem to bear such an
 interpretation, that the former Graces might obliquely be
 voided thereby; and they being a Free People, and such
 as whom, neither King *Philip*, nor the Archdukes, had
 any Authority, would of their own accord consult of their

Domestique Peace, and not suffer their Affairs to be ordered at the pleasure of others. That there was now a fit occasion given them, not to enter into any further Treaty; yet they would offer so much towards the desired concord, that they would by Letters signify the whole matter to the particular Councils of every Province, and desire their Judgements thereupon, only with this Protestation, That they would admit of nothing that might be prejudicial to their Liberty. And that the Archdukes should within six weeks time, know what was their result, That if they thought fit to hearken to such Proposals of Peace as they should offer, then within ten dayes after, such Ambassadors as they heretofore promised to send, should come to the *Hague*, where also their Deputies should be present, but upon this confidence nevertheless, That neither the King, nor the Archdukes, should offer any Proposition, that might intrench upon the States ordering their own Affairs within themselves. And the States appointed the *Hague* for the place of meeting, lest it should appear unbecomly for the Ambassadors of other Kings to remove from place to place, and also because the power of managing the Affairs being divided amongst many, with more ease and wisdom all things might be consulted of.

When *Naya* and *Perruke* doubted whether upon this answer they should leave the Kings Letters with the States, or carry them away with them; the States declaring they did not whether of them they did; *Naya* went to *Brussels* to be advised, from whence he brought his answer, That the writing should remain with them, so as they would give an acknowledgment that they had received the same, for thereby the Archdukes would be free from their promise to the King; and finally, that they should restore the same, if the League came to no effect. Which things being absolutely refused by the States, and the Archdukes once more advised with, *Naya* without any contract, soon after delivered the Letters.

These deliberations being related to all the several Provincial

cial Assemblies, many doubted, that it was not safe to admit a treacherous Enemy into the very bosom of their Dominions: what would he do there, but search into the affections and strength of the People, and learn what was attainable, either by money or Arms, by force or purchase?

They feared also, lest they among themselves who desired peace, running as it were headlong, and without Counsel, acquire the same, should, by little and little, be drawn into a receipt of unjust and dishonourable Conditions: Therefore when the *Dutchmen* returned into the *Common Council*, all of all, they oblige themselves each to other, by mutual oath, that they would, if the Treaty came on, in the very first Article, have their liberty established by fit words, publicly asserting the same, in such manner as should be sufficient to satisfy the *Embassadors* of other Kings admitted to the Council: And that they would not admit of any conditions relating either to profane or sacred matters, that might undermine their liberty.

On the other side, if the Enemy should still persist, they would declare to all mankind, that it was his fault, why peace was not sealed, and that recollecting their Forces, and making the ayd of their neighbour friends and Princes, they would resume their Arms, from which they doubted not, but Justice would give a successful issue to their arms.

Prince *Maurice* and the *Zelanders*, further insisted, that the very words for Confirmation of their liberty, should then be contrived, and forthwith sent to *Albertus*, whereto if he would not consent, then to let him know, that they would proceed no further in the Treaty: This sentence seemed very hard to some, who desired the Enemy might be heard to.

At this time, a new year approached, at the beginning whereof, the time for the Cessation of Arms was to expire, nor did the Arch Dukes desire its prolongation, expecting

to have had an Address made to them to that purpose when upon; the States write that they trusted to the Arch Dukes Promises, with the same Resolution they had engaged to *Nays* and *Ferris*, expecting a Treaty. And to that purpose they were ready to send seven or eight from them, if they would please to send the like number, or fewer of them, whom they would endeavour equally to fit, as formerly had been discovered, with Command and Instructions from them, as they hoped the Arch Dukes and King *Philip* would do the like, to wit, that the said Commissioner should with all possible speed expedite the business; and that they would consider, whether it were convenient to the matter in hand, whether they would lengthen the Cessation of Arms for a Month, or six weeks; That they would be pleased, it should be for the longer time, if so, the Arch Dukes thought fit to consent; That the States would have the *Legates* to be such as the Arch Dukes were for the future hoped to be. The meaning whereof was, that only *Netherlanders* should be sent. For the Arch Dukes first Letters, whereby the States were moved to a Treaty, clearly contained the same: Nor was it a matter of small advantage to the *Hollanders*; for the conclusions of peace should be weighed together by the principal men of their so wearily allyed Neighbours, among whom as there was less fraud and craft, and one common design of interest equal with them, though not for liberty, yet against forein oppression and tyranny; which being foreseen by the Arch Dukes, they on the other hand were violent to the contrary, and from the very beginning, the *Netherlandish Nobles* had privily fostered the same design, until it should as of necessity seem to be thrown not only upon them, but the Commons also; And lately, *Nays* and *Ferris*, when they were at the *Hague*, were delayed, some speeches being cast abroad, whether the States would endure any forein Commissioners, when the *Spaniards* Affairs were no less in Agitation, than those of the Arch Duke. But then

but their design failed of its effect; yet at this time, the *Governours of Holland*, who were desirous of peace, when either by conjecture, or some private intimation, that it was likely that *Spinola* himself the *General of the War*, together with a *Spanish Senator*, should be sent, of whom *Spinola* was by some private means known to be inclinable to peace; and deeming it of little advantage, by much discourse to the Council to breed further jealousies in suspicious minds, they secretly endeavoured, that the *States Letters* should be written to *Maze and Marrake*, wherein they should be desired, that they would certainly inform them of the number and names of the *Commissioners*; that so a fitting care might be taken for their *Provision and Entertainment*. In these *Letters* was a *Schermschut* enclosed; carefully, as if it had been a matter of no moment, testifying, That they had desired one or another might be admitted into the *Ligation*, besides *Natives*: being well pleased in that point, to submit to the *Arch Dukes*, however, the *States* did not want to intercede, that no *Spaniards*, especially any of the principal Officers of the *War* might come to the *Treaty*.

These words were ambiguously interpreted, for that as the *Hollanders* seemed only to admit of one stranger, so the *Arch Dukes* supposed and so believed, that two were not prohibited, and consequently, that the *General of the War* who was no *Spaniard*, would not be refused; The name also of *Natives* might be extended to the *Burgundians*, who were adjoining to the *Netherlands*, and under the same Government, lest *Richardotte* should be excluded, who for his many Councils, and long continuance in the *Crown*, was esteemed a principal Person, fit for the managing this so great Affair, and therefore thought not to be absent.

At this time there returned out of *Danmark*, *Jacob Beyler of Amsterdam*, *Nicholas Jacob*, *Symon Horn*, and *James Graie of Middleburg*, who had been sent thither, to salute the King, and to request his Advice and Counsel. And not long after, there came from *Danmark* as *Embassadors*, *James Wierfeild*,

said, a Sonny sprung from a Noble Stock, and a Man
 great prudence and *Zeus Charis*; from the *Marquis* of
Brandenburg; came *Hieronymus Discus*; and soon after from the
Count Palatine, *Hippolitus Montaigne*, famous for several
 Books by him set forth, and honoured for many well con-
 formed Embassies: But the Emperour *Rodolphus*, sent Le-
 ges superintended to the *States* of *Holland*, and *Zeland*, and
 other the *United Provinces*, wherein he called to mind, the
 pains taken by himself and his Father, in hearing their com-
 plaints, and endeavouring to procure their peace: But now
 it was arrived to his ears, that they were about to make peace
 with King *Philip* and *Albertus*, but that they would first have
 their *Common-wealth* declared free; That he much admired
 he was not consulted with, in an Affair of such consequence,
 in regard all the *Netherlands* were a Fee and part of the *Ger-
 man Empire*: They should therefore look to it, that they
 should not without his License, begin any thing, that would
 be prohibited by the Laws of a feudatory. Whereto it seemed
 good to the *States*, to return this Answer; That they could
 not conceive, that *Albertus* would have cancelled his *Contract*
 from his Brother, or *Philip* from his *Kinsman*; nevertheless,
 they were not intended to do any thing, of whose beginning they
 would not have given *Cæsar* an account: yet they had no for-
 gotten those many Complaints, which being oppressed with a
 rigid and unjust Dominion, they had put up to the Emperour, and
 the *German Dyets*: as well before the *Arch-Duke Matthias*,
 had undertaken their Cause and Government, as after that he
 was departed from the *Netherlands*; as also how little as in Re-
 sult they obtained thereby: 'Tis true, anon after, there were
 some Discourses of Peace in the City of *Cologne*, before the
Legates of the *Empire*, but when the Enemy from that very
 occasion, took cause of making a more sharp War, They
 were compelled to apply the last Remedy to that Disease,
 which otherwise would become incurable, to wit, That by
 publick Decree, they would take from *Philip*, that Principality,

which he having received well guarded with Laws, which he
 was to defend, had so many ways violated and infringed: Ha-
 ving by this means obtained their liberty, and defended the same by
 arms, foreign Kings in no manner disputed their Right: That
 shedding of blood, and evils of War, wherewith they were fre-
 quently afflicted, might be attributed to the Emperours, and those
 coming from them by a League, were ruled by Albertus,
 the States having always concluded, that they could hope for no
 Issues, unless the Common-wealth still retained its present
 State: And now at last, both the Arch Duke Albertus, and
 King Philip, were ready to give their consent to that point, that
 they would have their liberty unquestioned: as might be seen by
 their Letters & Copies whereto they were transmitted: And now they
 were confident, that not only Cæsar, but all Germany out of their
 ancient good will towards them, would freely give their assistance
 whosoever so private and secret a cause of ending a War. Concerning their
 long Pendency to the Emperour, which passed over in silence, for
 that to resist it would have bred contention, and to confess it, had
 been dishonourable.

King Philip and Albertus, to whom the Emperour had
 written in like manner, concerning his Rights, re-
 turned a like Answer, protesting, that they endeavour-
 ed nothing in prejudice of anothers Right, but passing
 over in silence the debate of right. However, indeed the Fa-
 mily of Egmond had, for a long time, possessed Gelderland, in
 despite of the Emperours, yet the ancient Princes thereof,
 had been accounted under the fealty and Patronage of the
 Empire, being at first named Guardians, afterwards Counts,
 and last of all Dukes: And the Bishops of Utrecht, who also
 ruled Over-Issel, and to whom Charles the Fifth succeeded
 in all their temporal Jurisdictions, took an Oath of Fealty
 to the Emperours, as is evident from Antiquity: But the
 Frisons, with the Inhabitants beyond the Lake, at first, by
 the assistance of Arms, and so the small Tributes, were sub-
 ject to the French, afterwards to the German Emperours: but

in all things else, they retained their liberty; which they boast to be granted and confirmed to them by *Charlemagne*, and since, often by others, and at length, by *Sigismund*, as is evident; and that their Government hath continued mixt, being partly Aristocratical, partly Democratical, for the space of seven hundred years; sometimes one being chosen, who under the name of Podestare, hath the perpetual Authority of a Prince, or else is limited to a certain time: After this, the Emperor *Maximilian*, attempted to put upon them, *Some Government*, but they were never able to attain the intire Possession, although the *Commonwealth* were torn with factions, until being wearied with the contest, they turned over all their Right to *Charles the Fifth*, Prince of the *Low Countries*.

Charles, the bold King of *France*, is believed to have set a Prince over *Holland*, to whom *Zeland* was annexed; and that that Prince was sprung from the *Aquitan* Race, or else was one of the chief among the Native Nobility. But the Instruments that were the Authors of that Opinion, granted both the Dominion, and all Right thereof to *Thierry* as Hereditary, without any mention of a connected Fee; and this only in that part which formerly belonged to the Church of *Egmont*, according to the Evil Custom of that Age, enriching Princes, out of Things consecrated to Divine Uses: Not long after, the Empire being divided between *France* and *Germany*, the *German* prevailed about the *Rhine*: But there is extant a *Charter* of *Otho the Third*, which grants to the *Baron of Holland*, to possess as his own Free-hold, what before he enjoy'd but by a kind of Tenant-Right: But in a short time after, Wars arose between the Emperor, and *Earls*, the one demanding, the other denying Obedience: Yet there were some Princes, who affecting the Favour of *Germany*, named themselves *Vassals of the Empire*; yet with such Liberty, as that they were obliged to no other Duty, than that of *Reverence*, among whom *William* became Emperor:

Nor

Nor did the *Bavarians*, being born under *Emperours*, think of any Change. But the *Burgundians*, and after them the *Austrians*, refused to make any Oath of Allegiance, deriving their Liberty from great Antiquity; as if the Emperor *Fredrick* had released to *Philip Duke of Burgundy*, all Right of Empire; *Maximilian of Austria*, the Son of *Fredrick*, being rather the Father, and Tutor of a Prince, than a Prince; and making opposition against the Cities by Foreign Force, such as *Holland*, and other people of the *Burgundian* Jurisdiction within the Body of the Empire, but the *States* very eagerly opposed the same; and this, among all the rest of the Causes, of the begun Commotions, was look'd upon as one. But *Charles the Fifth* affecting the Empire, endeavouring to expel the *French* as Foreigners, it was objected by the very *Germans* themselves, that the *Netherlanders* belonged no more to the *Almain Empire*, than the *French* did, being obliged neither to pay Tributes to it, be subject to its Laws, nor own its Decrees and Constitutions; But He, the more effectually to attain the Honour he so earnestly thirsted after, promised that he would bring it to passe, that by a firm League, the *Netherlanders* should unite and grow together with the *Germans*; and soon after, brought it to such perfection, that, what could be offered, either for the privilege of *Germany*, or the liberty of the *Netherlands*, being heard and understood, he confessed at length, that only *Gelderland* and *Utrecht*, were Feodaries to the Empire; yet nevertheless, for the future, he required that the rest of the *Hollanders* and *Netherlanders*, should joynly make one part of the *German Empire*: not that they should receive Laws and Constitutions from thence, but that he might confer unto the publick necessities, as much as the two *Princes Electors*; and that they should be under the Protection of *Germany*, and should have right of suffrage in their *Dyets* and *Assemblies*, in all things else, they should keep their liberty inviolate.

Upon the account of this League, it was, that the *Hollanders*, at what time they were subject to the *Spaniards*, implored the help of *Germany*, against the *Spanish* injuries: And in the Treaty of *Breda*, the Prince of *Astrange* laying, the *Holland* and *Zeland* belonged to the *German Empire*, (which he spoke meerly to win the favour of that Nation,) King *Philip*: Embassadors, with much earnestness, denyed the same. But being compelled to defend themselves, and obtaining no help from thence, from that time they withdrew themselves from bearing any share in those foreign burdens: Nor was it a new thing, that Leagues were in this manner dissolved, since almost all *Europe*, withdrew it self from the *Constantinopolitan Emperours*, being by them left undefended against the *Barbarians*: and the Cities of *Italy*, by the same Right, obtained their liberty against the *Emperours*: But it is not convenient for us any longer to prosecute these things: for the order of our intended History, now recalls us to proceed in the same, without further digression.

Therefore, after the violence of Arms was somewhat moderated by Covenants, yet the Sculdiers did not omit the whole Year to make Invasions where it was lawful, laying hold on that last opportunity of making War: For *Albertus* had commanded a few Horsemen to go to *Lingen*, laden with Money for Pay. These being by chance met by a stronger party of *Hollanders*, in the Country of *Brabant*, were surprized and taken: For when they had betaken themselves to the Town of *Stamfort*, some of the Pursuers entered pell-mell with them, while the Townsmen, shutting up the Ports, kept others out. Both Parties fought valiantly within the Gates: Those, to keep their Money; These, on the other side, greedy to win it. They that were without, threatened to force the Gates, unless they were set open, as well for them, as the Enemies. Then each of them send to their Neighbour Friends in Garrisons, desiring them to send Assistance: Thus from the small beginning of a Skirmish, was likely to

was a sharp and great Battle. But the Citizens of the Town, fearing lest they should become a Prey to the Victors, persuaded both, That rather than for the only hope of Gold, they should run the hazard of an uncertain Event by Fight, the Hollanders should take three thousand Archibuzal Angels, and leave the Booty. The Governour of Grave was taken by the Enemy, while he was passing the *Maas* with too much security; and *Warner Dubois* was kill'd, being Judge Advocate of the Army, in the Country of *Tiel*, as he was taking the Air in his Coach, and with obstinacy refused to surrender himself to the increasing Enemy.

At this time, both Parties relying upon the Covenants, dismissed part of their Foreign Souldiers; the *States* doing it out of Prudence; the Arch-Dukes out of Necessity. For *Spaniards* were ready to break forth on every side, if they had not redeemed themselves from new Charges by that Temporary Peace: Nor had they so eschewed the Evil, many of the Souldiers scattering up and down the Country, to the great prejudice of the Husband-men; and they that were drawn at *Diest* threatened, by entertaining others among them to increase their number, if their Pay were any longer delayed. Upon after some Money came from *Spain*, and some was raised by the *Netherlanders*: whereupon Pay was sent to them at *Diest*, and at the same time Pardon and Indemnity was proclaimed to them. Thus the strength of the Confederates being broken, the Arch-Dukes spent that time of Rest which they had from the Enemy, for the encouraging and fortifying Discipline by Examples of Severity, the Author thereof being *Didaco Ibarra*, one sent from *Spain*, to overlook the *Treasury* and *Militia*; Therefore they declare by an Edict, the flagitious wickedness of that Sedition at *Diest* and their offences against the Publike; who, although they were pardoned their Crimes, yet therefore they were not to be retained in Service as Souldiers, without further Licence: And therefore all that were Associates in that Sedi-

Secured, they command, within one Night and Day, to depart, and never to return into, or set foot upon any the Lands belonging to the Arch-Dukes, and Spaniards; threatening present justice to all that should remain in, or return to the Country: and proposing great Rewards to all that apprehended any of them.

The wiser and more moderate sort of Men esteem'd it not fit for that time to publish their Belief and Opinion in the insidious *Hollander*; and, by (so subtle an Interpretation, to elude (though never so deservedly) their Promises to the Souldiers.

In this place, it is not fit to defraud Posterity, of that rare Example of the *Hollanders* Wealth and Ingenuity, which effected Operations against Nature; for some private Persons undertook, and fortunately brought to pass, the draining of the Lake *Sancti Petri*, adjoining to *Parmeren*, seven long Journey in compass, and six Foot deep in Water; This they did with Engines driven by the Wind; and against the outward Force of the Waters, they raised Banks. Indeed, the *Walls* of the *Hollanders*, were for the most part of a very low Situation, but were preserved from being overflowed, by exceeding great Labour and Industry: Nor did the Ocean cease to vindicate it self, by Breaches upon, and Inundations of the Fields and Towns; some whereof were long since by the same utterly overthrown, and the Currents of Rivers being altered in such manner, that there was hardly any where to be seen the like great Exchanges of Land and Water.

Gibber and Warrick returned out of *India* with two Ships, which he had repaired in the Island of *Sunda*, (which the *Hollanders* call *Maurice's Island*) placing Anvils for smelting, and forming their Iron-work, in a naked and desart Soil. Captain *Peter Verboven* went thither with 13 others: He had formerly accompanied *Hemskerk*, and had a great share in the Honour and Victory of *Calpe*, or *Gibraltar*: Beyond the *Emperor Prince Enno*, after *Spinola's* taking of *Ling*.

of the power of the United States; and accordingly
 given their Demand more than fifty Answer than ordi-
 nary. They of *England* likewise took that Opportunity,
 explaining of many Things concerning him; as, That he
 by his *Letters* had prohibited to be sung in the *Overseers* of the
War; any Pay for the *City Garrison*; or other Things, for
 support and managing that Publick Charge; That he alone, with-
 out the Consent of the *Parliament*, had sold the *Taxes*; That he suffer-
 ed the *Spanish Soldiers* to be sold, &c. about the *Country* and
Spain. But the most heinous Fault objected against him,
 was, That when *Sea-men* went into *Spain*, he had not given them
 any Allowance, but as he had known them either follow his Par-
 ty, or for their *Country*. Whereupon it follow'd, that
 the *Overseers* had cruelly used; (and they were not a
 few) they accused the *Prince Enno* to have betrayed them
 by under-hand dealing. But the *United States*, when they
 saw *Christopher* and *Johannes* *Prince Enno's* Brothers, were re-
 main'd in the *Country* beyond the *Emmer*; sent Souldiers to
 the Suburbs of *Elkold*; And to *Enno* himself, not only
 sent Souldiers but a *Treacher* with *Letters*, whereby he was
 demanded within 8 days on *Tuesday* all *Arms* by him done,
 or to be *Committed* and to do his *underwriting*, for saving *free*
 of *Prisoners* in *Spain*. Which if he refused to do,
 they said, He should compel them to *unwilling Arms*; which
 he supposed would be very *inconvenient* to him. He sends into *Brin-*
gton to purchase the *Favour* of that King, to whom he hoped,
 would easily be proved, that a Prince might pick what
 service he pleased with his Subjects. But at last he sent to
 beg himself with the *States* by his *Embassadors*, especially
 touching that *Mischief* done to *Sea-men*: Which had not
 been by any *Treacherous Dealing* of his, but after *Elkold*
 received a *Garrison* of the *Hollanders*, all going from
 thence into *Spain*, were taken as *Enemies*. Thus the *States*
 calling them on both Sides to *Peace*, dismissed them for the
 present.

After this, Audience was given to the Embassadors of Charles King of Sweden; and it was granted, that he might raise and lift Souldiers in any the Cities of Holland: For he prosecuted the War sharply, infesting the Low Countries. While Sigismund was vexed with a New Rebellion at Home: Besides these, and some growing Conturbations in the rest of Europe was quiet, or at least without War.

The French King had reconciled the Protestants to him, upon these Terms; That the New Laws made against them, should be of no force; and whoever of them, at any time, should be apprehended, for any Crime, should be deliver'd up to the Pope. Thus the Pope took off the Interdiction of Religion, which he had laid upon them: and they, who by reason of these Diffensions had left the City, returned thither again. Only the Protestants absolutely refused to admit the Pope: Whereupon some Assassines were hired, (notwithstanding Affairs were thus compos'd) against Paulo Servius, a Man who had born by his Counsels and Writings done faithful Service to the Commonwealth; this Man was almost slain with divers Wounds: And as well they that did the Fact as they that hired them to do it, fell into the Pope's Dominions. The Senate declared, That the said Paulo was under publick Protection; and what ever could apprehend and deliver up, or kill any that had been guilty of the same Crime, should have a great Reward of Money: And the more so incite them, they should have the freedom to recall any two others that had been hanged for other Crimes, whom they should think fit.

When there was a Difference with Ferrara, Governour of Millayn, concerning the Bounds of the Rhodani, which Controverisie he had determin'd to follow, not by Judges, nor by a publique War, by a sudden surprise, making to that purpose the Forces raised in the time of the former Troubles: The Treason being detected, and punished with the punishment of such as were guilty, made the French more wary. But the French and Protestants compos'd

ended the Matter; being ready to be decided by open Arms.

In Germany, the Duke of *Bavaria*, seeking the Rights of his Ancestors, drew also under his Jurisdiction by Arms, the City *Danwert*, situate near the River *Isar*, being proscribed by the Emperor, for a Tumult raised against the Priests; and the Roman Religion. And the Protestants of Germany, too late after the Event, were angry, at what they had neglected to prevent; many of them that were more slow to act, murdering among themselves in Conventicles; and others, exhibiting Complaints to the Emperor.

The King of Spain, while he was not troubled with any Enemy at Sea; receiving safely his Indian and American Ships; and besides, raising a great Sum of Money in Spain, wholly inclined his Thoughts to this, That he might by little and little free himself of his great Debts, and of shingling his publick Power with his private Credit, he lessened the *Isury* he was to pay to his Creditors, and prolonged his own Day.

France also was fill'd with the hopes of a long Peace, by the Birth of another Male-Child; And the Rebellion of the Country People of Britain, against the Covetousness of the Nobles, was in some short time repressed; and, at the present, Peace there was secured by granting them Pardon, and in the future, guarded by well-secured Laws.

From Ireland two Earls, *Tyrone* and *Tyr-Omal*, who, of late, famous for his Rebellion, but both Fugitives first into France, then into Brabant, preferred the Love of the Roman Religion before any thing, choosing rather Banishment, than Revenge it; which King James esteeming injurious to himself, set forth in a Book, That they, according to the Custom of the Age, too much pretended the Cause of Religion, to hide the scandal of their Crimes. For what Earl (saith he) would make so really barbarous take of Religion, to whom Adultery was a thing unknown; by whom Murders were committed, and with whom the greatest Thief is most honourable? And how

horrid it is in these, who obtained their Honour, not by the Nobility of their Blood or Merits, but by his, or Queen Elizabeth's Favour, to shew such an Ingratitude of Mind, such a Conscientiousness of their Treachery, that they would attempt, what they had bin once pardon'd, soliciting a whole Province to Defection and Rebellion, and contrive a Conspiracy to the slaughter of all the English: Nor were there wanting Priests and Jesuits, the usual Authors and Promoters of such wickedness, to foment their Designs: But the Assistance of Forein Power, being in vain implored by them, their impious Attempts left no safe Refuge but in flight.

The Seventeenth Book of the History of the Dutch

AFFAIRES.

THAT the Enemies Embassadors delay'd their coming, the Year most sharp Frost, and worthy to be remembered among the Rarities of the Time, was a main cause, or else was a part of the Spanish Pride to be long expected: As in interim, the States transacted with their Friends, That they might try what might be hoped from them in Peace or War. Then did the Affection of the French clearly appear towards this Commonwealth, there being hardly any found, that would imitate their Pattern: For they made League, wherein it was agreed, That the King should give Assistance against the Violencers thereof, that either did publike Injuries to the *Hollanders*, or being wanted by dissimulation done any private Offences; and, as was said, should send to their Aid Ten Thousand Foot: If the King

Kingdom of France suffer'd any Hostility from an Enemy, the States were to help him either with 500 Foot, or 50 Ships, as should equiballance that Number. If either any thing beyond this for the other, it should be owed till the end of the War, and then to be re-paid; That neither should make any Agreement with the Enemy, without the Allies Consent. And in point of Commerce, the Hollanders should be free among the French Citizens, and the French equal to the Citizens of Holland. And for the Britains, that they might not make the like League, it was of all renewed the old Controversie, concerning the Trade of Cloth; which only one Society among the English, would have, and after wards they demanded, That before all other things, the old Debt of the States should be more narrowly treated.

The Germans a Nation full of delay, from whom, as also from the Landgrave of Hesse, Embassadors came, pretended, That their Princes desired nothing more, than to confirm the League upon mutual Assistance each of other; yet that they had wanted a certain Power and Authority to settle that Affair. In answer to this, (in effect) were the Things which they recommended to the States, if Peace were concluded; to wit, That Care might be taken for the Indemnity of the House of Nassau; That the Spaniards should make satisfaction for the Damage Mendosa had done in Germany; That no Liberty should be granted to any within the States Jurisdiction, to use the Romane Religion; That in the disbanding of Soldiers, no more should be used, than was necessary, should accrue thereby to the Neighbours; And that all Taxes upon Provision, should for the future utterly cease.

At length, in the beginning of the Month of February, arrived the Embassadors from the Enemy, which were Spier, and Manciedo a Spaniard, the King's Secretary for Military Business: Afterwards, Richardot, Verreik and Naya,

being drawn in Slides over the Frozen Waters, enter *Holland* then indeed open, and not shewing any of the natural strength and beauty of its Rivers: Where ever they passed, they were courteously Treated by the Governours of Cities, and were not far from the *Hague*, when Prince *Maurice* went out to meet them: On every side was an infinite company of men, whom the greatness of that unusual Sight had drawn together, and to behold a Thing the Year before believed by no man, that the two chief Commanders of the great War, who lately had led such Armies, mortally hating one another, now unarmed mutually embracing each other, and instead of the Violence of Arms, and Stratagems of War, contesting only who should most exceed in Hospitality: *Spinola* passing in Prince *Maurice's* Coach, and soon Discourse began, each of them receiv'd great Advantages from the others Vertue, one expert Enemy giving a true Judgment of his Opposite: But after the *Italian* General provided of Lodgings, according to his Dignity, began to set forth his precious Household-stuff, and all other Things prepar'd for Ostentation: It is wonderful to tell, what vast numbers of men daily flocked thither from the utmost parts of *Holland*, merely to see the order of his Service, the furnishing of his Table, and chiefly his Person. Indeed, many were drawn thither with the desire onely to satisfy and feed their Eye: but others came thither, who not onely owned, but boasted their Affection to the *Roman Religion*: Nor was he nice, in shewing himself to all Comers: nay more than that, he supposed it a becoming thing, sometimes to speak in his many by an *Interpreter*: or else thereby he fancied to himself a hope of gaining the affection of the Commons against the Nobles.

At the Request of the Enemies *Embassadors*, a more solemn meeting than ordinary, was granted, where before the Prince and the Senate, after Salute and Complements pass'd, they declare to what purpose they were sent. And now some were

chosen that should wear apart with them: first, in the name of the whole Council of the United States; were appointed *Willem of Nassau*, and *Walrave Brederode*, then every single Province added one, as *Gelderland*, *Cornelius Houtwil*, *John Olden Barneveldt*, *Zeland*, *Jacob Adriaensz Vissch*, *Nicholas Burch*, *Friesland*, *Gilly Helleman*, *Overijssel*, *John Sluithen*, and *Groning*, *Abt Conderien*. The first dayes were spent, while each inspected and read the others Commands and Instructions: King *Philip* the *Latter*, styled the *Arch Duke*, the chief Prince of the *Netherlands*, and speaking of the liberty of the United Provinces, he recited that clause, which formerly he had mentioned, that it should be then of full force, when the Peace was concluded, wherein also there were Instructions concerning Religion, and other matters in controversy.

The *Arch Duke* in their Epistles, set forth the words; whereby *Philip* of late had ratified whatever Agreements they should make, upon any the *States* Demands, the *States* themselves, often avenging and complaining of the contrary: Besides, when *Philip* gave power to the *Arch Duke*, for making Peace, either by themselves, or those whom he had delegated to that business.

The *Arch Duke* Instructions did not plainly enough speak and declare, the right which they had received from King *Philip*, to be transferred by them to their *Embassadors*. To which Objections, the *Spaniards* plausibly excusing the same, promised that they would take care that nothing should be wanting in the making perfect their Commission: yet on the other side they argued, that the *States* Instructions to their *Commissioners*, by a new example, had bound and cyed them up by secret and private orders: To which it was answered, that that should in no manner, hinder the business, in regard the *States* themselves were present, who, as any one Head or Article of Peace was agreed on, should immediately confirm the same by their Authority; for it was con-

sented to by both, that all things should not be proposed once in general, but each thing particular by as the same was to be decided or debated.

The *Hollanders* insisted on this, that they might try the *Enemies* minds, at the beginning, by the most difficult thing whether they only desired a Truce, or really intended a Peace: But the *Spaniards* were for a more dilatory way, and that they might avoid any confession they should be forced to, as often as they thought fit.

The *Spaniard* offered indeed a Peace in all *Europe*, but time keeping secret, what at last almost cooed out, was that they could not induce a Peace upon it, lest the *Spaniards* would consent to such a Truce: On the other side, the *Spaniards* from the very beginning, professed, they desired to put an end to the War, and not only so give an implacable Satisfaction thereto; for it was manifest, that the exhausted State of the *Spaniards*, would in time recruit, and in the interim the Neighbour Kingdoms might grow evilly affected towards them: besides, many other things were spoken against a Truce, which we shall hereafter have memorate.

Wherefore at this very time, they began to Treat about a Peace: the first branch whereof was, about the concession of the liberty of *Holland*: upon which started the Debate being begun: *Don Richard* said, *Amsterrdam* is a city, they please to make themselves a Kingdom: yet he desired that the *Covenant* might be so made in such words, as might do least prejudice to the King's Honour: The *Confederate States* desired, that the King and Arch Dukes should in their own Name, and the Name of their heirs and Successors for ever, desist from their Claim of the *Seven Provinces*, and *Utrecht* and *Trent*, and whatever else they possessed, so as for the future, they should not use either their Arms or Title: But the *Spaniards* grievously complained both to the *French* and *English*, of this contumelious demand, as they pleased to call it; protesting, that it was a detestable thing, that besides

law should be imposed on them by that People; then
 laws are wont to prescribe to Kings: The Kingdom of
 Castile is possessed by the Spaniard, yet the ancient Inhe-
 ritance thereof, retain the Honour of the Title: The King of
 Castile acknowledges himself to France, yet neither is the
 French offended with this, nor the Spaniard with that; for
 the Spaniard himself, hath nothing of the Kingdom of Fran-
 ce, but the Name; whereto when the *Hollander* replied,
 the Kingdome were surrendered by their Majesty: But free
 people could never be wary, or cautelous enough, and that
 loss of a few words, would be no great matter, in the
 great swelling Titles of the House of Austria; at last,
 the Spaniards did admit the condition, so as all other things
 might be likewise concluded.

This case of the Spaniard, was suspected by wise men,
 that it was without Reason, and being conjectured, that they
 especially considered that demand, being so popular,
 and pleasing to all, because there remained other things,
 which being within the words of their conceded liberty,
 would destroy both their Power and Wealth: or else things
 equally common with them, and the Confederates,
 would involve them in dissensions.

In the progress of the Treaty, the Solemnity usually in
 leagues, concerning the Oblivion of all acts of Hostility,
 and the prohibiting making of seizures, took up little or no
 debate; But when they came to the point of Commerce,
 the Spaniard declared, that the *Hollander* must abstain from
 going to the Indies, and other long Voyages by Sea; as was
 used before the War, and that this was the main Reason that
 moved Philip to hearken to Peace: Not was their liberty of
 small concernment to them, as that they would refuse to
 give such a price for it; especially no damage attending
 thereby, since instead thereof, they should have the benefit
 of

of the Spanish Trade, which is nearest to death, and most
safe, which while it formerly continued safe to them, they
never once thought of the Dutch. Adding further, that by
the Treaty of *Paris*, neither the French nor the English, by
the Treaty made at *London*, were admitted to go into those
parts, which the *Castilians* and *Portugals* alone, had for so
many years challenged to themselves, as the first finding
thereof. But the *Embassadors* of *France* and *England*, retorted
this, affirming what was lawful by the privilege of trade,
and not prohibited by any League, they esteemed it unques-
tionably permitted, and by that right they used it. For
these things, during the time of the Treaty, were debated in
Books and Writings, wherein was set before them the loss
of their Country, and the private gain from the *Dutch*, as he
preferred before the *Spanish* Dominion that was unjust: the
great therefore was the necessity of the *Hollander*, who be-
ing nothing but a barren Soyl, and full of Marishes, for
Wealth and Glory from the Sea, wherein with their own
Strength, they are able to cope with their most powerful
enemies. Nor would the adjoining Seas, that lie near about
them, be sufficient to maintain so great a multitude. Thus
being used in the Voyage to *Guinea* 20 good Ships, to the
Islands of *Salé* fourscore, to the rest of the Coast of *America*,
almost twenty, and to *India* only 40, wherein and whereby
were employed no less then eight thousand Seamen, from all
whom, by such a League they would take away their Liveli-
hood, or at least, command, or rather compel them to fight,
a thing ignoble in every Citizen, but odious and abominable
towards them, who deserved so much, and so well of the
Commonwealth. As well private as publick Utility, should
be something respected, it being well known, how mighty
in a short time, the gain of the *Indian* Trade was increased,
and it might easily be collected by the profit thereof, in
these last fifteen years, what might be hoped for from them

the future: there yet remained *Cambaya, Malabar, Cribu, Sunda, Coromandel*, and certain other places hitherto unknown, and but slightly enquired after: Now what if that *China* and *America*, opposite to the other Ocean, should be looked after, and the yet undiscovered World, under the North Pole, should wait to be made known by the *Hollanders*? If the *Spanish* and the *Indian* Trade be divided between them, yet the last will not be admitted to be lost hitherto: for it hath still been used by the *French* and *English*; this indeed, is no other, then to seek the recovery which may be continually lost, and in the mean time, certainly to loose what can never be recovered; for a Society once dissolved, cannot by any means be re-united. Besides, the *Indian* Ships are fit and ready for War, whereof some are always at home, for sudden Service, and without any publick charge, could be a publick Fleet; But what would the *Spanish* Fleets, doing but at pleasure, take booty from their Enemies. Let the gain thereof here, be shared with their Enemy; and let them there also partake of their most plentiful advantage: and by that means, the *Spanish* Wealth, now too great for the World enjoy peace, will be lessened.

And that it may be the better discerned what ought to be done to King *PHILIP*, it is to be observed, what he most earnestly demands, which may be imagined the cause of his desiring peace.

Those ancient *LORDS* of that poor Kingdom, are holding to *India* and *America*, for the great raising of their Fortune, which at this time hath made them so proud, who despise Kings; for herein is concerned the cause of most neighbour Princes, to whom by the loss of the Sea, the *Hollander* would be of no use.

If we look upon the Enemy aright, we shall find him bend all his endeavours thither, that he may be able to do injuries, when and where he pleaseth.

The

The *Hollanders* labour for this only that they may not be compelled to suffer. If either Justice or power be for them, they have on their side all Laws, both Divine and Humane, who have given to all a right of Navigation and Merchandise as Nature hath disposed to all an equal share both of Air and Earth. Although before the War the *Hollanders* did not fail to the *Indies*, yet that they had a right, and might have done it, nor can the longest possession prevail against the Authority of the Law of Nations. They that would shut up the Sea, and challenge Merchandise to themselves alone, what other thing do they then Pyrates, and Troglodytes of Provision? Antiquity inverted Arms to be justly taken up against them who excluded any from their Harbours, nor much more then against them who would drive them from the Ports belonging to others? Peace without Trade, is no Peace, but a perpetual hostility where the right of Defence is utterly taken away. And now the miserable unpossessed civility of the *Hollanders* could not be fullyed by a more horrible example, than if they should leave and betray the *Indian* Kings and People confederate with them to the *Spaniards* cruelty. If the *Spaniards* resolve to perform what shall be agreed on, let the business now be perfected (as it will be), when the *Hollanders* are declared Free, and when they are agreed, then that each shall quietly enjoy what at the present he shall possess; for nothing ought to be limited to Freedom, and Traffick admitted in all places whereof they have Possession. But that they should set so high an esteem upon Liberty for yielding up a part of his Dominion, there was no reasonable way for the same, since it was not a gift, but a confession of the truth, without which there was no hope of concord. It were more honourable for him to give or sell Peace, then while his Affairs succeeded so well, to sell it; which if he would not believe, he should first learn experiment it. The fruit of forty years bloodshed would be utterly lost, and in vain were Arms taken up for Liberty, and against

that terrible bugbear of Commerce, the tenth raised a howl, if now as great a slavery should be voluntarily submitted to, and they suffer themselves to be deprived of the greater part of the World by their Enemies, which they could never have endured from any Prince. These things were urged by them.

A few on the other side averred, That this was private business, and ought not to hinder the publick Peace, at least that the cause of some Maritime people ought not to be handled alone, when the evil of War extended to all, especially where the *Spanish* Negotiation was short and safe, it would Seamen, by their good will to avoid long Voyages, which are frequently obnoxious to diseases.

Upon mature consideration of the matter by the United States, these things seemed to them to be just causes, why they would not desert and quit the Indies; yet that they might not leave any thing untryed for the ending the War, without much dispute, they offer the *Spaniards* their choice either that they would make a firm Peace with freedom of Navigation, or else according to the example of *France* and *Britain*, all beyond the line should be left to the decision of Arms, or else to conclude a Peace here, and only a Truce there. But the *Spaniards* would neither permit that negotiation, saying, that Peace and War mingled resembled a Prodigy; but at last they gave hopes of a Truce in the *Indies*, if when the time thereof was elapsed, they would abstain from any further Navigations to those parts. But the States, that abhorred those conditions, revived the Councils of the *American* Society lately laid aside, if perchance they could work upon the Enemy by fear. But they quickly understood these were but threats; not indeed did that matter proceed any further, while they who were desirous of Peace among the *Hollanders* were afraid to be severe towards dissenters.

Without doubt this state of Affairs was very prejudicial to the

the people of the United Provinces. Arms being only hid-
 den, as uncertain whether there should be Peace or War,
 whereupon many of the common people, who got their
 living by War, were not apt to apply themselves to any other
 business, and so were afflicted with two evils, idleness and
 penury, and therefore the States esteemed it more conve-
 nient to hasten the end of the Treaty; so that purpose they
 advised the *Spaniards*, That they should on both sides pre-
 pose the chief heads of what was to be insisted on. They
 ledged it to be an unusual thing, to make new Proposals be-
 fore the former were concluded; yet at length they con-
 sented, not that they would distinctly and plainly offer the
 particulars, but only the chief points in general, and that in
 obscure terms; for they said there remained yet to be con-
 sidered of concerning their limits, the restitution of goods, For-
 eign commerce, money, and those immunities which were
 granted to the *English* or others in the *Netherlands*, as also of
 Religion, and Neighbouring Princes. Being asked, what
 they mentioned Religion, since the same was contained in
 King *Philip's* Letters, whether this were their meaning, That
 they which passed up and down should not be insisted un-
 der pretence of Religion, or whether they would propose
 Laws to the *Hollanders*; whereby Divine statutes among
 them should be ordered? They answered, This was a mat-
 ter concerning which they would advise with their Prince,
 and after the other things were settled, when they came to
 that, they would more clearly procure and produce their de-
 termination. On the other side, the States delivered not a
 few, and those ambiguously contrived, but eight and twenty
 branches or heads, contained in plain words, such as were
 for the confirmation of Peace, or taking away the injuries of
 War; nor did they omit private commodity; such as that
 House of *Nassau*, or of *Estimel*, whose Father *Don Juan*,
 for a short time possessed the Kingdome of *Portugal*.

A conference being appointed concerning the chief con-
 troverted

ward points, immediately to the content of the *Indies*,
 added another about the *European Commerce*, this alto-
 gether no small difficulties, for the passage so *Amur* be-
 opened, the *Hollanders*, but chiefly the *Zelanders* feared
 damage to their Negotiations, whereupon *Don Richa* de
 to the States Commissioners, beseeching them with
 that they would not lose out of their hands a Peace
 much hoped for, by too pertinacious a defence of what
 called themselves. Nor did he obscurely maintain, that
 could be determined concerning Trade, unless the
 of the King of *Spain* were first known therein, and
 the States should remember to connive such a
 of Covenant, or Article, as might be approved by a
 who is neither Conquered, nor a Captive, but really
 of Peace.

The Month of *March* being almost spent, the time li-
 for the Cessation of Arms was almost expired; it was
 agreed therefore, That *April*, and *May* should be added.
 and then the *States* offered this Condition concerning the
 That it should be free for their Citizens during the
 of nine years, from the Conclusion of the Peace, to go
 all those places, unless where the *Spaniards* had Dominion.
 but that they should not at any time come thither, unless
 they had permission from the Governors, or were compelled
 by necessity. And during that time, all hostility should
 between them and their companions, and if any should
 to the contrary, it should not be lawful to take vengeance
 for the same in any other place, then where the injury was
 committed, or the doers of the injuries lived, and then be-
 the expiration of the said nine years, there should be a
 firm and lasting Agreement endeavoured. The *Span-*
 refused this, and plainly argued, That the *Indies* Dis-
 should for the present be limited, and for the fu-
 left off. But the freedom of home Commerce, which
 the *Hollanders* seemed to suspect, they provided for the same
 by

by these Articles: First, That all Taxes invented during the War should be abolished, and only the ancient customs and Tributes remain. That the privileg of drawing Merchandise to particular Markets, usurped by diverse Cities, as of *German Wines to Dort, French Wines to Middelburg*, should be prevalent against the Citizens of other Nations and Countreys. On the other side, the *Hollanders* understanding whether this tended, declared it to please them, that no greater charges should be laid upon Foreign Merchandising, then upon Natives; but the right of Cities to continue in the same posture they were before the *Bulwick* troubles. Also they esteemed it just, that some cation should be given to them, that the Ships that went from thence into *Spain*, should be free and unmolested. Concerning these Controversies *Naya* was sent into *Spain* to speak with the King, with promise to return within forty dayes; but the event evidenced that promise either to be false or rash.

However the interval of time was not spent in vain: for first the States took into consideration the money owing by them to the *English*; and soon after make a League (likely enough to continue if Peace were concluded with *Spain*) almost upon the same terms as they had done before with *France*, only but half the number of supplies were promised. Then all that were assembled above the number of the Commissioners returning to their own Provinces, they that were chosen to preside this business of Peace, called to the *English* Ambassadors, That they would expedite their demands upon the rest of the Heads to be Treated on.

The debate being entered into concerning *Limbs*, the *Spaniards* were not ashamed to insist, That *Brabant, Flanders*, and all *Gelderland* beyond the *Rhine*, should be delivered up by the States, who in field thereof, should receive *Bingen, Oldenau, and Groll*, (which certainly would have been a very unequal exchange). And when they were defended thus far,

That for a short time the States should have the custody of the Towns, yet so as the Sovereign power and Jurisdiction should be vested in the Archdukes; they further said, that they divided the *Netherlands* soo liberally, leaving that part to their Neighbours, which the Fortune of War had determined to be the strongest. The rumour of this business being dispersed, the *Brabanters* under the States Jurisdiction, not contented to obtain that they should not be delivered up to the Enemy, thought they had a fit occasion given them, whereby to recover their right of having a Vote in the publick Council; for after the principal Cities, and the last of them *Antwerp*, had yielded to the Duke of *Parma*, the rest being less then could govern themselves, received Laws, Statutes, and Magistrates, from the Authority of the seven United Provinces, although *Berghen op Zoom* had ever continued faithful to the States, yet *Brabant* and other places that were taken and re-taken by War, recovered their Liberty by the *Trajectine* League. But those were not times wherein under the labour of Conjunction, or the multitude of Judges ought to be increased.

Little was yet done with the Enemy, when even now the Month of *May* was drawing to an end, when they among the *Hollanders* that were desirous of Peace, faintly desired of the rest, That the residue of the passing year might be added to the Cessation of Arms; but upon this Condition, That the Treaty should no longer be continued than the end of July. Which being agreed, They fell to discussing the matter concerning the restitution of goods, which gave new matter of dissention, the former points not being fully concluded; about which *Vercike* going to *Bruxells*, and returning with speed, reported what was the intention of the Archdukes, That it was fit the burdens propagated by War, should be thrown aside and buried by Peace; and for the Towns of *Brabant* and *Flanders*, they would gratify them with the same, so as they might enjoy the whole Countrey.

That as all private persons were to have a restitution of their goods, so likewise were to be restored to the Princes the goods their Ancestors enjoyed, there being several sorts of profit of possessions due to the Majesty of Dominion; nor did it follow, because the Archdukes had denuded themselves of this, that therefore he should be deprived of the rest.

The States contradicted, that a Government could not be deprived of its Revenue, nor Cities of the ground belonging to them, without the Ruine and destruction both of Government and Cities, and therefore unless they come to more moderation, they would suddenly break off the Treaty. The others insisted, That although they denyed the Revenue, yet certainly there was no reason why they should refuse to restore the private Patrimony of the Princes. But this crafty difference and distinction was denyed also, for that in these places, there was no separate account of the Publick Treasury, and the Princes Patrimony. And although they delayed to discover, what they would have comprehended under the name of Private Goods; yet it appeared, That under that Cloak they would hide as well Towns as whole Countreys purchased by Princes, or otherwise gained by any peculiar Title. But when the *Hollanders* said, That a great part of their future security consisted in this, That the *Spanish* Garrisons should be drawn from the Borders of the *Netherlands*, the *Spaniards* protested, That it was a dishonourable thing to be required by them, since they were able to defend their Territories with *French* and *Brabant* Soldiers. No more did they hearken to the demand of restoring to *Germany*, the places they possessed belonging to the Jurisdiction of *Almayne*; and therefore *Verrink* was again sent to *Bruxells*; and after his return, they entered upon the debate concerning the use of Priviledges, the access of Ships of War to the shores, the right of Fortification, the choosing Magistrates for those Cities, which by the Peace

would

would fall to the share of private persons or Lords, the cautions and assurances of Peace, and the not resuming or falling again to War for any injuries, without publick Proclamation. Nor did they well agree in these things; but the chief thing that offended the *Spaniards* was, That the *Hollanders* desired the League might be confirmed, not only by the allowance of the Archdukes, but also by the consent of the Nobles and Cities under their obedience. And when they were again spoken to concerning Religion, they said, They must of necessity wait for *Naya's* coming out of *Spain*, whom the procrastinating nature of that dilatory Nation in Affairs of concernment, detained longer then ordinary. Under this pretence, they requested, That the time limited for the Treaty being about the first of August, might be lengthened unto the third of September.

In the mean time, *Jamius* went into *France*, that he might inform the King, what was the condition of the Commonwealth in *Holland*, what the inclination of their minds, what their ability for War, and what were their hopes of Peace: He at the same time consulting within himself about a Truce, because both by the publick and private colloquies of the United States people, he knew many of them were to War, and was sensible the *Spaniard* would never endure an indifferent Peace.

It was not a matter of small moment, that the States, if the War continued, had desired of the Kings their Associates, a great supply, protesting, That there remained to them no sort of Tribute untied, and yet their Treasury was unable to maintain those Forces, which Prince *Maurice* had formerly adjudged necessary for the carrying on of the War. These were indeed the designs of those that were willing to have Peace, which the Prince too late hoped to avoid by contracting the charge of the War into a narrower compass.

At this time *Don Pedro de Toledo* was Ambassador in

France, whom King Philip had sent thither, to King Henry, to intreat him, That he would so moderate the *Hollanders* Proposal, that his Master might lose as little of his Royal dignity as possible. Then also was King Philip's daughter offered to be given in Marriage to the French Kings son; but King Henry was not desirous of that affinity, He himself formerly having sought a Marriage with the Family of *Medici*, rather than with the House of *Austria*, that abounded in Women. This Embassy was suspected by some of the *Hollanders*, but chiefly by the *English*: And the Dowry to be given in Marriage, was reported to be a right of Dominion over the *Hollanders*. But the *Spaniard* soon satisfied the King of *Britain* with the like honour of an Embassy to him directed, and performed by *Don Ferdinando Giron*, a man eminently famous and honourable among the chief, and greatest Spanish Commanders. But the *Danish* Embassadors departed home, wearied out with the tediousness of delays, and not assembling, protested, They would not sit idle Spectators of that Play, whose Scene was wholly laid in France. And another thing much increased the cares of the States, which was, That Messengers coming out of France, England, and Germany, all agreed in this point of News, That the Ministers of Spain had declared, That Philip never had any intent to resign or lay aside his right of Dominion, but only for the obtaining of a Treaty, he had given to the *Hollanders*, the short use of a temporary Liberty; But now the very inward parts of those Provinces were so well known to him, that he doubted not a good issue either in Peace or War: And that of a truth, he would never consent to a Peace, unless they abstained from the Indies, and himself given to the *Romanists* for the exercise of their Religion in their own Way.

Janus returning to the *Hague*, reported the faithful intent of the King towards them his Allies, and how he had refused *Toledo's* troublesome Requests and Offers, but nothing further, After this the Enemies Legats (while *Naples*

was yet absent, but having received Letters out of *Spain*),
 accounts, That the King did bona fide grant them their
 liberty, and therefore it was but just that they on their part
 should submit to him in the matter of the Indies, and other things
 they demanded; Moreover, That the King desired out of his
 inclination, That it might be allowed to the Romanists to
 worship God according to the dictates of their Conscience; They
 should grant this for their Kindreds sake, they should grant it for
 their Ancestors sakes, lest they should with greater cruelty hate
 the Religion by them approved, then that new Opinion of the Ana-
 baptists, born for the destruction of Empires; and lastly, They
 should grant it for their Countreys sake, lest they should drive
 thence all the Inhabitants, by debarring them from that
 which is most pleasant to mortalls.

The States looked upon this as an Engine intended to sub-
 vert the Foundations of the Commonwealth; the same was
 the Opinion of the *Germans* and *English*. *Janinus* did not
 fault with the Counsel, but with the Authors thereof,
 so great an Affair ought not to be made beneficial by the
 Enemy. At length, the States finding that these delays
 were dangerous to their Affairs, and not willing any longer
 to hearken to the Enemies unreasonable propositions, resolve
 to set an end to the Treaty; and to that end a Decree being
 drawn up, wherein was set forth, by how great and many ex-
 periments they had been terrified from Treating of a Peace
 with the *Spaniards*, inasmuch that when they were first sent
 about it, they immediately declared their minds, on the
 other side, how the Enemy, and with what treachery he
 sought to effect his designs, how every of their demands
 would destroy the right and power of their so often granted
 liberty; and lastly, they repeated the whole series of the
 Affair, as the same had been transacted. The *Spaniards*,
 this Decree being delivered to them, require a time to deli-
 berate thereupon.

In the interim, the Ambassadors of *France* and *Britain*, the *Germans* being rather present then approving, go unto the Assembly of the States, and there produce their Masters Instructions to them, till that time concealed; namely, That they would endeavour by all means possible to make Peace; but if that could not be effected, they should at least persuade both parties to the making of a Truce, yet such as should be safe and honourable for the *Hollanders*, and by which their Liberty should remain without question, their right of Navigation be preserved entire, and their possessions in no manner diminished. That such a Truce might be brought to a Peace, if the Governors of the Commonwealth behaved themselves with discretion; That they well knew what just causes the *Hollanders* had of being enraged against their Enemies, but all perturbations of mind are enemies to wholesome Counsel. They should consider with themselves how unfit they were for War of themselves, and that Kings are not wont to take Arms, unless upon just occasion or necessity. Here nothing more could be expected from the War then mutual damage, and there could be no pretence of necessity, as long as a Truce might be had. If they agreed, the same assistance should be given for defence of the Truce, as was promised if a Peace were concluded; but if the *Spaniard*, which was most of all to be feared, should refuse a Truce, as he had done a Peace, then the Kings their Masters would cordially support the safety of their Friends and Allies for the future.

As soon as fame had blown abroad these things, immediately an unrestrained liberty of dispersing among the vulgar, books written, but without the Authors Name, and this humour spread all about with great heat the whole year. Some foretelling from such a League, solitude, sedition, and last of all slavery. Others with much rancour ripped up all that ever the *Spaniards* had done in *America*, their cruelties to the people of *Graxado* and *Aragon*: And lastly, their

Trea-

Their Treacheries and Barbarities committed in the *Netherlands*: A third sort produced Books that shewed all the Articles prejudicial to the *Roman* Religion, or that maintained it was not necessary to observe or perform Covenants entered into between a Prince and his Subjects: Nor did they omit to find fault, That they were not any Governors of Cities, nor any of the Native Noblemen that were apt to Trear, but *Italians*, *Spaniards*, Monks, the most cunning and deceitful sort of men, who if they could find any thing infirm, or hurtful to the State, they would not leave it undone; nay, they would endeavour by gifts to tempt the Ambassadors of Kings, but the most powerful of the Nobility, to turn aside from the right, and walk with them in oblique and indirect ways.

I esteem this none of the least evils of that Commonwealth, That so great perverseness should be stirred up in the common people, which had often been forbidden, and then was also by a new Edict, yet could not be repressed, while a sharp and diligent search, and other more grievous punishments were not permitted, as being contrary to Liberty. And now an unexpected accident happened to the States, though in their General Assembly; and upon the presumption and hope of Peace, they suffered themselves with difficulty to be drawn to hearken to a Truce; yet that they might not seem to despise the advice of the Kings, as it was the chief cause that induced them thereto; yet there were other, to wit, that the Charge of the War, as it had been of late managed, would every Month exceed the money raised by Tributes, above three hundred thousand Florens, and that that sum would not yet be sufficient, unless for the defence of the Rivers, there were added to the old Forces, six thousand Footmen, whereby the whole Commonwealth of the *UNITED STATES* would be indebted,

nine thousand Millions of Flotens, and the single Provinces particularly, twice as much: so that without the consent and help of the Kings their All yes, the War could not be managed with any good hope; for to cut off any parts of the Government, and only defend the more inward parts, would be an act of cruelty, although there were some that advised it, and would be very dangerous if it should be known abroad; and whereas some said, *That the Commonwealth was so constituted, that it could not be at Peace, though Arms were laid aside,* That was by others accounted an impious and infamous confession. It might more justly be feared, *Lest the Common People, understanding that just and fair Terms were refused, growing displeased with their Governours, should deny to bear the Charge and Burden of the War.* And therefore at last they returned answer, *That they were ready to harken to a Truce, so as their LIBERTY might be confirmed, not under any Conditions, or for a certain time, but really, and for ever.*

But the Spaniards, when the Ambassadors of the said Kings came to them, gave no hopes of any such Agreement, but offered another Condition, which was, That all Affairs should continue in the same posture they were at present, with a Cessation of Arms for seven years, yet so as the Spaniard might choose within two Moneths, whether he would admit the Indian Commerce, or would contest the right thereof by Arms. But there was no cause why the Grant once already made concerning Liberty, should be again reiterated, in regard it would be a difficult thing to be obtained, because the Spaniard is of a more harsh nature, nor will be drawn to imitate the Archdukes facility: And if the States were not pleased with these offers, they desired they might have time given to them till the Calends of *October*, to expect the more pleasing Orders of King Philip.

This

This when it was refused, both by the Ambassadors of Kings and Princes in the Publick Council, the States resolved to persist, and stand to their first Decree; but as to the matter of time desired by the Ambassadors, they said they were ready to consent. In the interim, the Deputies had time every one to return to his own Province, to receive new Instructions concerning this new Affair. And it was agitated with great contention: Nor did the People that lay more open to the Oppressions of the Enemy only dissent from the *Zelanders*, who were guarded by the Sea, but in *Holland* it self, several Cities were of several minds, nor within the Cities were all men of one Opinion, but every one moved as his proper hopes led him, or as they were drawn by more powerful Arguments on either side.

In this wavering of men's minds, counsel was given to Prince *Maurice*, That he should openly, and without dissimulation, make Himself the Author of the stronger Opinion, which he did, not only with sharp words, but by Letters sent to the Cities of *Holland*; At length (saith he), The Arts feared by our Ancestors are burst out: Those specious words, wherewith they purchased a Treaty, were indeed nothing but words, nor was Peace desired by the Enemy, but that he might make War more at his own, then our conveniency; or that he might trouble the Commonwealth more grievously by discords and bribes, then he could do by War. In a short time his Wealth will increase anew, which lately was exhausted, so that he will make his brass money of equal value with Gold and Silver. But our burdens shall continue, for fear of Treachery. Merchandice and whatever was nourished by War, will be scattered abroad, and the chief flower of our Militia, especially the Horse, will go to other parts, to seek, and gain, both Honour and Booty:
Sloth

Sloth will not only seize our Bodies, but our Minds, when the Memory of former Injuries shall grow obſolete; whereof, at preſent, there remains but a ſmall ſign, ſuch having ſucceeded in the places of former Senators, who only hear of former Actions, and give little Credit to what they hear. Behave yourſelves ſo, as it may never be hoped, that any one in the *Commonwealth*, ſhould regard any thing beſides the *Commonwealth*. 'Tis true, the Motion of Kings are ſuddain, while people often periſh by their long Deliberations. Wherefore, call to mind the Fortitude of your Anceſtors, who many times avoided Embaſſies for *Peace*, both from the *Emperour*, and other *Princes*, looking upon them not as Advice from loving Friends, but as Treacherous Snares caſt out by the Enemy to intrap them: Remember thoſe *Diems*, which were formerly made, and ſince often renewed, of ſelling your Liberty without any Controverſie, admit of no Articles, no Conditions, but ſuch as ſhall abſolutely debar the Enemy, not only from the Right of Government, but from uſing or claiming any Title or Token thereof: If there be no Fraud intended, why do they delay to expreſs in plain words, what is ſeriously intended. Certainly, it behoves you ſo to do, as neither Foreign Princes may doubt of your Condition, nor the very Citizens and Subjects begin to think of nominating among themſelves a New Lord. There will be ſome, that will cry up to you ambiguous Speeches, and ſuch Language as reſembleth with the *Spaniard*, and will pretend a neceſſity of your admitting thereof: But, be aſſured, honeſt and wholeſome Counſels, need not the Patronage of Neceſſity, ſuch Curioſity is raſh, and draws only to a Rendition of Liberty.

If my Counſel be follow'd, there ſhall be an abſolute *League* or nothing; And if I have not merited ſufficiently, I am ſure my Father did. The Buſineſs in Agitation, concerns not me or mine ſingly; and if my Heart would have ſuffer'd

me

ne to have private Interest, before publike Advanrage, there might formerly have been, and may still be seen, a common and beneficial Issue by War. You are the Princes and Heads of the Union, give Example to your Inferiours, and let the wavering people be settled by your Authority. Consult of what the *Senate* lately proposed as necessary for the *Commonwealth*; Whoever you send to the Assembly, be sure to bind them up by your Commands, that in the Articles concerning Liberty, they may not alter one Tittle: Command them to communicate Counsels with Us concerning the *Commonwealth*, as was formerly done towards ancient *Governors*, and particularly towards my Father: Such your Care for the public Safety, I shall gratefully accept, and with all kindness.

The Interpretation of these *Letters* was not alike in all places; some of the Magistrates of Cities, that were wont to go to the *General Assembly* looking upon the same, as if their Fidelity had bin traduced among their *Colleagues*, in the performance of their Commands. About this time were produced also the *Letters* of *Justus Lipsius*, elsewhere remembered by us; whereby, being a man skill'd in Civil Affairs, he became the Author of the *Spaniards* making a Truce with the *Hollander*. Princes, by delay, many times gather strength; and, as *Hatred* decayeth, *Obedience* returneth. *Severus Pompeius* of old fell by no other policy, while he was Lord not only of an *Island*, but a strong *Fleet*.

Now was *September*, the time limited for the stay of the *Spaniards*, past; and therefore they go to the King's *Embassadors*, who declared, They had received the Arch-Dukes Instructions, whereby power was given to them of making a Truce in *Europe* for 7 years, in this form, to wit, *To agree with the States as free, and over whom they arrogated no power*; and they promised, *that they would endeavour to obtain King Philip's Consent to the same*. But the said *Embassadors* denied

to discourse with the *States* concerning a matter, which before-hand they knew would not be acceptable; and it appear'd, that the *Spaniards* were offended with the Severity of the last *Decree*, whereby they were commanded to depart the Borders of *Holland*, that they esteem'd it contrary to their Honour and Greatness to desire a longer stay; yet they would very willing'y have continued there, if the *States* had voluntarily, or by the perswasion of other Prince's Embassadors granted the same.

But it was more providently consider'd by the same Embassadors, to satisfy the *States* Anger, by the Enemies Departure, than to incur their Hatred themselves, by so ill-remember'd a Desire. Wherefore, the *Spaniards* came into the Council, to take their leave of the *States*, where *Don Richardus*, highly applauding his Princes, who had pardon'd the greatest Offences for gaining of Peace, he accused the obstinate perverseness of the *States*; by whom also, they were at that time dishonourably driven out of their Borders. *I am* (saith he) *no Prophet; but either I am vehemently deceived, or else I foresee the Day, when you will in vain wish, that you might have those things which you now refuse: By your neglect of Peace, you shall hereafter be accounted guilty of all the Blood that shall be shed.* He:eto *Olden Barneveldt* thus answer'd in the Name of the *States*; That they had acted with all plainness and simplicity; for they would not admit a Treaty, without an assurance, that their Liberty should be absolutely conform'd to them: That the fault of not making a League lay at their Doors, who either would not, or could not, perform their Promises: From them the Blood would be required, whose Laws being more cruel and bloody than War, had enforced a Necessity of using Arms; for that there remained fresh Examples of their Barbarism against weak Sea-men, and silly Fisher-men.

During these Discourses, *Spinola* stood by, with a Countenance, wherein might easily be discover'd the grief of a hopeless

his Peace. And soon after *Richardot*, whether by Chance, or out of Design, is uncertain, left behind him in the Inne, among some other Papers; the private Instructions of the Arch-Dukes, of the method of holding and managing the Treaty; which being found, were soon after publish'd to the Vulgar.

Herein all Things, which we have before-mention'd, of the Transactions of Peace, were set down in the same order as they were done; and among the rest, That they should in all contest the Article concerning Liberty: But if they could not restore the Rights belonging to the Prince's Revenue, in lieu thereof, they should demand a summe of Money to be paid partly; and when they had happily brought to pass the rest, then they should craftily insinuate to the *Hollanders*, how potent the body of the Netherlands would be, if it were united; whereas being divided and torn asunder, they might easily become a Prey to some Foreiner: That therefore they would do well, if they would choose the Arch-Dukes for their Defenders, or at least would enter into such a Society, that who offended either, should be taken as Enemy to both: And if that could not be obtained, yet they should endeavour that it might be agreed, That neither Party should assist the others Enemies, either by Counsel, or otherwise, or suffer any of their Subjects to take Arms on their behalf.

And the Spaniards were Commanded to conceal these Instructions from the *French* and *English*, yet in other Things to use their Help and Counsel; and especially the Advice of *Janinus*, for obtaining a Toleration of the *Roman* Religion, and part of the Goods heretofore belonging to the Priesthood. The Earl of *Friselands* Business also was commended to them, and some other private Matters.

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They that would not believe this Writing was carefully left behind by *Richardot*; suspected this might be some Reason why he left them, to wit, that the *States* thereby might be perswaded there was nothing acted concerning their liberty, but what was serious, and should put into the *Hollanders* minds, the thoughts of an Auxiliary League, which had been unreasonable to have spoken of. They that published that Paper, desired that the *Embassadors* of *France* Counsels chiefly, might be suspected, or to make the *Arch Dukes* subject to the more violent hatred of the Kings; however it was, *Richardot* by *Letters*, both accused his own negligence, and complained, that the *Laws of Hospitality*, were violared, in that a private Writing belonging to him, was published to all the People: Nevertheless, the *Embassadors* of *France* and *England*, (the *Germans*, to whom the action was very displeasing, preparing for their departure) knowing by some late speeches, and now by *Doy Richartot's Letters*, that a *Truce* for ten years might be obtained from *Albertus* and *Philip*, but that no other words would be granted touching their liberty, than those had been at first used at the beginning of the Cessation of Arms, framed a League according to that method.

Concerning the *Indies*, it was admired, that King *Philip* might chuse whether he would have a *Truce* there, or *War*; but as to the Borders, and other controverted points, they were reserved for the future, to a more peaceable *Treaty*. The greatest Labour was, that this method of Agreement, might be approved by the *States*, who were solicitous to confirm their liberty for ever; some also willing to lay hold on this occasion, utterly to subvert the League, and therefore the *Embassadors* came into the Council, of whom *Janinus*, having tersed himself into a *Senatorial Gravity*, began thus to speak.

The Dignity and Vertue of them, who are displeased with our Counsels for a Truce, merits, that their Arguments should be composed with ours whereby it may appear to you, worthy Patriots, whether is more wholesome and sound Counsel: I hear they find fault with words, which if they do, that their liberty may be pre-
 turned, and a pretence is not sought; out of a desire of War, it is, that they may be freed from a praise-worthy perchance, yet an empty fear: for liberty is numbered among those things, which receive neither time nor condition, and being once given, can never be recalled: Although if we rightly consider the matter, you desire not your Liberty to be given to you, but only to be acknowledged: Rather indeed can he give it, It being denied, that a Prince can transgress his Government, and it would be a shame for you, to receive that as given, which by publick Decree, you obtained long since: And 'tis not possible to acknowledge it more plainly, than by calling you Free, and professing, that they arrogate no Authority to themselves over you: This seems enough to us, for the settlement of peace is self: but because some thought more might be obtained, we have not interposed: But to relinquish the Titles and Designs of Honour, seemed even to us, reproachful and infamous, and therefore well to be suspected by a King unconquered: But say they, If the Enemy think so, why doth he not declare himself freely? Why, it may be, he thinks it unreasonable, and unjust, to be compelled to use other words, then such as were satisfactory to you before the Treaty: And now, who would you have believe your liberty? Is it the Kings your Allies? Certainly, those words will be satisfactory to them: Nor do you fear, I believe, that the Spaniard would offer to lay his hand of Authority over you, and should require to be revenged on you: But a Truce being finished, if he shall so think meet, he shall make use of War, as a Judge: No caution can defend the Conquered, and the Reason will easily appear, why Victorious Arms cannot be limited: Nor is it greatly to be feared, that the Enemy can heap any great store of Wealth: That is the Custom of free People,
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and such as require nothing but their own, to look in the future; whereas it is frequent with Kings only to mind the present, soon being destroyed with boundless desires of luxurious living, others waited with the ambition of wide extended Dominions.

King Philip is a young Man, and Governs a Nation, that cannot be brought to quietness: It is more easie for you to revive your Credit, having paid your debts, where Garrisons only remaining the charge of Fortifications, which are the greatest part of your burdens, will cease. You may now defer your Tributes during the years of the Truce. The Enemies gifts and dissensions, I will easily grant to those who say they fear those things whereof they ought to take heed: I know you neither want Laws, nor Judicial Proceedings, and it will be but a vain thing, to seek to corrupt a few, when the Government remains in the hands of many, and they not always the same. And the Enemy himself will shake off shackles, being of that nature, that cannot so behave himself, as to continue long unsuspected: Otherwise, if that Reason be admitted you must of necessity, undertake a perpetual War. In Peace, the want of Security are much more to be feared, nor want there in War peculiar dangers; especially, where any great Calamity makes a breach upon obedience; Nor is that much to be feared, when the publick Revenues are so unable to begin a War, that they cannot keep it off, that is, as to the averting the war. This Advantage you have, that it is in your own power, to take heed of the discommodities of a Truce: Many times, the wisest men cannot escape the sad events of War.

There lies upon us also, the necessity of answering Lipsius his Letters, who perswades the Enemy to a Truce, though but for a short time, and without the mention of Liberty. If they require Examples, we have many, and those not of former, but of the present Age: Holland and Zeland gained a new life from the League made at Graunt: The Switzers that took Arms for the like Causes, laid them down upon a Truce, and have ever for a long time retained their Liberty, being defended by their Fed-

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Soldiers chiefly, and the heights of their Mountains; And therein, I pray, are you less able to defend your selves, being so powerful at Sea, and having the Ocean for a Guard: Some indeed fear, lest you should return to your Arms more weak and effeminate, for the lives of Princes that favour you, (say they) are uncertain; But let them know, that the causes of Alliance and Friendship, doth not decay with the Kings, but remain as immortal as the Kingdoms themselves. This is that makes Allies live and flourish, and let this prevail to stir you up, not to let slip so reasonable a time to acquire peace: This Advice proceeds from Kings your Friends, whose careful providence, chiefly aims at this, that you may be safe: More might be said to this purpose, but I think it prudence to say no more: Let every one answer for himself: only let not the Authors of the contrary Opinion overrule us in the liberty of saying what they please.

The next day he sets upon them again, their minds being already moved with the former Oration, and runs over the principal Heads of the League, one by one, that he might convince them, that there was nothing couched therein, either unjust or deceitful: and when he had so done, added, that They were the first of all People, to whom that Honour had been granted, to confirm their liberty by the Confession of the rejected and abjured Prince: The *Switzers* could not obtain so much, nor could the like be forced by the Victorious *Danes*, from their King *Christiernus*, though a Captive to them; and thereupon, he grievously blamed them with accusations of ingratitude and falsity, because they had whispered, that by the coming of *Don Pedro de Toledo*, into *France*, the King was become averse to the *Hollander's* Commodity. But His Majesties good will to them, was more firmly settled, then to be changed by the desires of their Enemies, or any thing else, save the contumely of such as dispersed abroad such falsities.

Winwood also thought it a part of his duty, to commend *Truces* to the *Senate*, whereof he himself was a member, affirming, that his Master the King of Great Britain, would not perswade them to any thing, but what he himself would give an Example of: Those Arms are just, that are necessary; and those not onely pious Kings, but God himself would favour: but they are not necessary, to which there is a way open to an honourable end, if they subsisted by extraordinary succour, yet they ought not to refuse the making of a League, since both their Religion, Liberty and Commerce, might be preserved. But now it was so far distant, to conjecture what would come to pass after a *Truce*, by how much they could not discern the near dangers of War.

It was a wonder to see with what greatness of mind, the business was transacted at every Assembly, and new Books were daily set forth as it were, to sow and soment discords; for now they spared neither of the Kings: as if the chief of their hopes had consisted in the miseries of the *Confederate States*. But the chief of their envy was vented against *Oldenbarnevelt*, as the Inventor of such things: He being grown odious to men of the greatest quality, and most eminent degree by his excessive Authority, much less could his Equals endure to see him so far in Honour above them, insomuch, that there were some *Letters* found, wherein he was not obscurely destined to slaughter: Whereupon, He in the Assembly of the *States of Holland*, protesting, that he had not feared to draw upon himself, the malice of the most potent men, nor shunned any dangers, so as He might serve his *Country*, being fraught with the Solace of a quiet Conscience against all scandalous Rumours, and unlucky accidents. But when he saw a thing in it self displeasing to him, yet nevertheless be aggravated to make him odious, He beseeched them, that for expediting those things they should see fit in the *Common-wealth*, they would appoint others to officiate,

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but were less bated: which said, immediately he departed from the Assembly: Some of the Lords were sent after him, to desire him, that he would not in this nice juncture of time, desert the *Common-wealth*, which he had hitherto assisted with his faithful Counsels. Hereupon, returning to his accustomed charge, sometimes extolling the benefits and Authority of the Kings, anon explicating, and laying open the charge of the War, he confirmed such as wavered and re- lated them without anger, although they were very sharply contradicted, and *Amsterdam* itself a long time resisted; at length, he brought all *Holland* to one mind; which also five other of the Provinces soon after embraced. Only *Zeland*, out of some peculiar Reasons of their own, and by the insti- gation of Prince *Maurice*, resisted the consent of all the rest, denying to agree to a Truce, nor would suffer the Decree to be revoked, urging the words of the Trajectine League, that Arms should not be laid down, unless by the common con- sent of all, and whatever difference should arise among the Provinces, should be left to the decision of the Gover- nours.

Others were angry, and said, the Question was not now concerning a Truce, but whether *Zeland* alone, should give the Law to all the rest; And now the Contest among them growing hot, the Embassadors of the Kings interposed, en- deavouring to drive those by force of Arguments, whom they could not lead by persuasion.

And first *Janin*, producing to the States, King *Henric*'s letters, wherein he ratified whatever they should say or do, again to praise the good & benefit of Concord; then mention- ing divers Opinions without forwardness, when he came to the Trajectine League, he said, it belongs not to us, to inter- prete the Laws of other People; but yet common Reason teacheth, that at this time, the Debate was upon a yielding to an indifferent League; and if any think otherwise, the Law is either to be abrogated, or laid aside, the Publick

Well so requiring, which contains in it the Sanctimony of all Laws; for what other event will it produce, if these do not refuse the decision of the Kings their Allyes, more justly than those the determination of the Governours; but that upon this Consultation, both must needs run into factious parties, it remains therefore, that the fewer in number should yield to the greater; for by this means alone, stands the Government of People, which otherwise would decay, and fall to ruine.

Thus among the *Switzers*, the Decrees of the greater Party are obeyed by those who contradicted the same; But the *Achyans* and *Æthians*, though valliant people, yet were destroyed by dissention, while each of them would not agree to cōsult with the other; for too much liberty is the ready way to Servitude: Besides, that no man may feed himself with a vain hope, I now by Command declare, that the King hath no such need of you, as to give assistance to those that despise his Counsell.

Spencer also in the name of his Master the King of Great Britain, spoke to the same purpose, adding, that the Common-wealth, wherein the right of many Opinions doth not prevail, is like to a Virgin, which as old Authours remember, was pulled in pieces by the hands of many other rivall Lovers contending among themselves, and so elegantly set forth, how much the Tribunitial Power prejudiced the Republic.

The same Embassadors also perswaded them for the future, to seek a more certain Method of raising their Tributes, as also if any thing were distempered in the Common-wealth, or disfigured by War, that it might be amended, whereby they might become more unanimous among themselves, and more formidable to their Enemies.

The like Advice they gave to the Citizens, who esteemed their own Government best, to wit, that they should leave

the chief Matters to their Provinces and their Deputies; but all suddain and quotidian Business should be in the ordering of the *Governours* and *Senats*, who were to look after not any particular part alone, but the whole Body: But it was not convenient to abolish a Custom approved of by the space of Twenty Years, with Success fortunate enough; whereby it easily appear'd, that it would be profitable for all, that all Things should remain as at present; lest, while the Debate of the Truce depended, they should involve and in-jangle one Business in another.

In these Verbal Contentions, this Transient Year was almost expired, and a Rumour was frequently spread abroad, That the Truce endeavour'd by the *Embassadors*, did not please the Spaniards: And the Truth is, *Richardot* had written to *Famius*, That King Philip was grown more averse than before; but he assigned the fault thereof to the King of Great Britain, as if he had given some hope, that nothing more should be spoken of Liberty.

And now the sweetness of Peace had so far allured some among the *United States*, that they could digest that, but the more discreet sort withstood it; and the *Embassadors* of the Kings sent to the Arch-Dukes, demanding, Whether they should give Credit to those things, which of late had been begun to be transacted with their Ministers: Upon Return of their Messenger, being certified, That the Arch-Dukes had given Command, and likewise had from the King a power of making an Agreement, they shew'd the same to the States, and admonish them, That the Cessation of Arms bring near a conclusion, should be prolonged for one Month, in hope of making a League: Yet lest they should expect other Articles, than what had bin of late prescribed by them, They said, They would only do their Endeavour, that the Truce might continue for years longer, and that there might rather be a peaceable than a warlike Trade in the Indies. In the mean while, the Arch-Dukes well understanding, that there wanted not some in

Spain, who either desirous of War, or striving for the honour of the Kingdom, would dispute those Words concerning the Liberty of the *Hollanders*; especially, because the *Hollanders* would not leave the Trade of the *Indies*; nor would suffer any thing to be Decreed in favour of the *Romanists*. Therefore they sent thither *Jucius*, a Priest of *Brussels*, of a Noble *Spanish* Family, and Father-Confessor to *Albertus*, and which is of necessary consequence with the same, intimate and privy to all his Counsels. This Man was commanded to shew, what Commodities would, by a Truce, accrue to the Ports of *Flanders*, the passage to which was stopped up by War; as also, that some increase of the *Roman* Religion was to be hoped, by as much as *Heresy* and *Animosities* decreased, they being a People covetous of Novelty, and discordant in Matters of Divinity. Neither were those Words much to be fear'd, that were ambiguously implied, the Embassadors of the Kings not only averring, They would take nothing away from the *Spaniard*, but that many of the *Hollanders* had shew'd them to be fruitless by subtilly cavilling: That these Arguments might prevail against all contrary Attempts and Endeavours, they were strengthened by the Authority of the Duke of *Lerma*, a Man most eminent in the Favour of King *Philip*; and therefore drawing after him, not only the Respect of the Court, but the whole Source of Counsel; he delighted much in the pleasures of Peace, and therefore fear'd, lest others should over-top him by Honour and Renown gain'd in War.

This Year came *Philip William* Prince of *Orange*, and Elder Brother to Prince *Maurice*, first of all into *Holland*, remaining other where during the time of War, but now using the common freedom taken by all: The causes of his coming thither he pretended, That by the Truce, he might take a Care to mind the benefit of his own Affairs; as also, that being honour'd with the *French* Affinity, he hoped he might the better bring it about by means of the present

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French Embassadors, those Things which were in dispute between him and his Brothers, concerning his *Paternal Inheritance*: But others interpreted it in another manner, as if he had appear'd there as a Fautor of *Peace*, contrary to the Counsels of his Brother: However it was, this is certain, That by his means, *Emanuel of Portugal*, against whom we elsewhere mention'd Prince *Maurice* to be highly enraged, for his Marriage with his Sister, was reconcil'd to the House of *Nassau*.

During all this time, nothing was done by the Souldiery, but only near *Ardenburg* some were slain, that lay in wait to take away the Townsmens Cattel: Likewise in *Germany*, the *Hollanders* Horse, with more than ordinary Licentiousness, foraging the Country, were met with and punish'd; for some being sent out of the Garrison at *Breck*, slew some of them as they were scatter'd abroad in the Night, among whom was kill'd *Adolphus of Nassau*, a Young-man of great Courage, but too indulgent to the Souldiery: But the *Victors* Joy continued but a while; for the Troops gathering together from all parts, repai'd the slaughter of their Companions, with the Death of many more of their Enemies.

This Year also there appear'd the Seeds of a Mischief that was not contemptible; for Arms were scarce laid aside, before there began a Difference in Religion; the beginnings whereof are not known, nor more of it, but as it broke out by little and little, which happed thus: At *Leyden*, two famously learned Men; the one, named *Gomarus*; the other, *Arminius*, publicly read *Lectures* upon the *Holy Scriptures*; of whom this maintain'd, That by God's Eternal Decree, it was appointed, who should be saved, and who should be damned; and thereupon, that some are drawn to Piety, and being so drawn, are preserved, that they shall not fall away, while others are left to perpetrate the common Vices of Mankind, and so totally involved in their own sins. This, on the other side, maintain'd, That God would not be altogether a severe Judge, but was also a to-

ving Father; and made this difference of Sinners, That as such as were weary of sinning, and could put their Confidence in Christ, he would give Pardon and Life; but to the Obstinate Punishment; and that it was well-pleasing to God, that all should repent; and having learned better things, should be held up from falling back; but that no man was to be compelled.

These Two accused each other sharply; *Arminius* blaming *Gomarus*, that he ascribed to God the Causes of Sinne, and by a strong perswasion made Mens Minds obstinate; And *Gomarus* finding fault with *Arminius*, that he fill'd men with Arrogance, far more than the Decrees of the *Romanists*, and would not suffer a good Conscience, which is a Man's greatest Concern, to be acceptable to God.

It appears by those, who have with Care perused Antient Authors, that the *Primitive Christians* granted, That Man had Free-will, as well in receiving, as in retaining Discipline: from whence proceeds the Equity both of Rewards and Punishments: Neither yet did they omit to refer all things to the Divine Goodness, by whose Gift the wholesom Seed of Goodness came to us, and of whose singular Assistance, all our Dangers have need.

Augustine first of all (from whence arose a sharp Dispute between him and *Pelagius*, with those that follow'd him, and he himself also formerly had thought otherwise) so Relinquished that Name of Liberty, that he preferred before it certain of God's Decrees, which seemed utterly to overthrow the same; But all over *Greece* and *Asia*, the antient and more plain Opinion was, retained.

In the *Western* part of the World, the great and famous Name of *Augustine* drew many to consent to him, though some were found in *France*, and elsewhere, that opposed the same. In after-Ages, when the School hardly made use of any other Doctor than *Augustine*, it was disputed between the *Franciscans* and *Dominicans*, what was his sence, what was the right way of reconciling those Things that seem'd so

repugnant; and the most Learned of the *Jesuits* labour'd with more curious Subtily, to unry the Knot; till being accused at Rome, they hardly escaped punishment.

But *Luther*, the Father of the *Protestants*, going out of a *Monastery*, that as well bore the Name of *Augustine*, as follow'd his Opinion, taking up the Bucklers in the same Cause, began to hew down, what remain'd of the Name of *Free-will*: Which seem'd so abominable to *Erasmus*, that having either approved, or at least pass'd over with silence the rest of his Doctrines, he oppos'd himself to this: By whose Arguments *Philip Melancthon*, an Assistant to *Luther*, being mov'd, recanted what he had formerly written; and was the Author, why *Luther* (as many believe, and is certainly evident to the *Lutherans*) deserted his Rigid Decrees, that would admit of no Condition; yet so, that they rather abhorred the Name of *Free-will*, than the Thing it self.

But in another party of the *Protestants*, their Leader *Calvin*, adhering to the first Opinions of *Luther* in this Controversie, strengthen'd and upheld the same with new Arguments, and added to *Augustine*, what had never been touch'd on before, That a true and saving Faith was perpetual, and could not be lost; wherof, whoever was Conscious to himself, that he possess'd the same, he might even then assure himself of Eternal Felicity; yet did not deny, but that in the interim, they might fall into grievous sins.

The Rigor of this Opinion was increased at *Geneva*, by *Beza*; in *Germany* by *Zanchinus*, *Wysenus*, *Piscator*; who often-times lanch'd out so far, that sometime they would publickly deliver, what others had so carefully avoided; to wit, That the Necessity of sinning, did depend from the first cause: which gave the *Lutherans* an ample occasion of Quarrel, and especially a new occasion of Contentions arising about the Eucharist.

At the beginning it was to some purpose, to contend upon these Differences of disturbed Religion among the *Hollan-*
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den, although it was easie, among so many people differing in Opinions, that it might be argued with equal Justice: But when many young Folks coming from being taught by *Gronov, Palatinus* and *Nassarius* Doctors, began to collect themselves together, and get the ordering of several Churches, they supposed it time, to broach that which they had learned, and maintain the same as infallible, striving either not to admit any publike *Dissenters* into their *Congregations*, or to participate of the *Divine Ordinances*; or else, being admitted, to exclude them at pleasure: Whereupon many *Complaints* were made to the *States* by divers, protesting, That these Doctrines were openly, and without any questioning, taught in *Gelderland* by *Anastasinus Welauwen*; in *Friesland*, by *Gellius Sincerus*; at *Utrecht*, by *Hobertus*; among the *Hollanders*, by *Hilarius, Cleyneus Martinus, Herman Herbert*, and others. Thus these Matters proceeded, until the two great Champions mention'd before, *Gomarus* on one side and *Arminius* on the ther, met in the Schools at *Leiden*, each to confirm his own Opinion, and subvert the others.

The *Dissensions* of the *Masters* broke out among the *Scholars*, so that now other *Ministers* and *Divines* in *Holland* were call'd to take parties: The *States* thought fit that they should meet, and commanded the *Supream Session* of the *Judges* to hear the two *Professors*: After a long Contest, it seem'd convenient, that all the *Acts* of the *Dispute* should be buried in silence: yet both Parties nevertheless publish'd what they pleas'd, and that pleas'd the *Ministers* as the most customary; the *Magistrates*, as the most popular Opinion: And from hence arose a new *Controversie*, when these averred, That the *Judgments* and *Sending of Religion*, was a part of *Supream Magistracy* or *Goverment*: Those, That *Divine Things* ought only to be *Debated* in *Sacred Assemblies*. This brought forth two Books; one, appointing a way for *Instruction* of *Youth* in the *Netherlands*, in *Manners* of *Piety*, according to the *Example* of the *Palatinate*; The other, wherein the *Profession*

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of the Reformed Churches, while the King of Spain Ruled heretofore, was declared; and these added new matter of Controversie.

And the United States, upon Request made to them, That out of the Seven Provinces, the several Ministers might be called into an Assembly, consented upon this condition, That in that Assembly, the said two Books might be examined, according to the Rule of the Holy Text. This, They that took part with Gomarus, attributed to the Policy of those that dissented from them, as if they would; that should be a sign to all that desired Novelty: Themselves praising that Custom approved in all Ages, that the Bonds of Consent should not rashly be dissolved; for otherwise, the Minds of the common People would be divided, according as any one would teach his Fancies; and therefore it was fit, some should attend Ecclesiastical Matters, unless being concerned in those Books, they judged it unjust and dangerous. But they that held with Arminius, said, It was no fault to doubt of Human Writings; that in so great a Matter, it was not so lawful a deliberation that was Tumultuary, as that which is done by the Governors of a Common-wealth; And that it did better consist with Christianity, either to use none, or at leastwise shorter Forms.

Moreover, about this time a small Book came forth at Dordt, containing Matters to be believed by few, yet in the same Words which are prescribed in Holy Writ: Presently there appear'd some from another Company, who publicly detested this, saying, There was no so portentous and horrid Opinion, which might not be hidden under such Words: That the simplicity of the Primitive Times was praise-worthy, when yet unknown Evils wanted no Remedies; but soon after, as every Age was more fertile in Error, so there were found certain manners of speaking, that might drive all that went astray from their lurking places: By which means they became servile, while these enjoy'd Peace and Quiet, which they nick-named Liberty, these truly call'd Perturbation and Faction: until on both sides, by famous Names, the

Differences were increased, which afterwards gave both name and nourishment to greater feuds.

From the East this year also came Capt. *Mataliseu*, all things there being in a happy condition, which without doubt might be some reason, why the *Spaniard* would not the decision of the *Indian Trade* to War. He went out three years and three Months before, when the Spring was too far spent, to suffer him to escape those annual Southerly blasts under the Equinoctial, driving him to the Coasts of *Africa*. He had many and great commands for War; But the Seamen resisted his Authority, murmuring that they were not to perform the Duties of Soldiers.

The Captain himself being ambitious of honour, allured the most potent in the society, with the hope of renown, and the Commons with the hope of prey, now speaking to all in general, anon to particular men, as occasion offered itself, and giving exhortations to every one according to his disposition. When he came to the *Indies*, they took some *Portugall Ships*, and other that assisted them in Merchandising; but the Barbarians in them were all set at Liberty, that they might the better acquite their good will. *Malacca* is seated upon the right Angle of the gulf of *Bengala*, where *Sinatra* shadows the *Indian Continent*, it is a great Island divided by a narrow branch of the Sea, which is called the *Cucapara*.

Jura is not far distant, whose Kings formerly possessed *Malacca*; but after the *Portugueses* came into that World, being invited by the situation of the place, they built there a Castle upon a little hill, encompassed with a square Wall, and some houses within it; and taking into the same a quantity of ground as seemed sufficient. By little and little they began to dwell without the Wall, and especially beyond the River, that lyes to the right hand; those buildings also that were near the River side, were fenced with a Wall. From hence proceeded a perpetual feud between the Kings of *Je-*

and the *Spaniards*, and therefore at this time did they first make a League with the *Hollanders*. At this time four brothers governed *Jora*, of whom the chief in Authority was named *Jandepatnan*, but *Sabran* far excelled him in ingenuity and industry, being very intent, both for the defence and increase of his Government, the contrary whereof is usual in most of the *Indian Kings*, who rather follow *Bacchus* and *Venus*, loving all things that bring delight at the present, and not minding any thing of future advantage. Now *Matlisen* was more able in mind than power to besiege *Malacca*, for the Castle and Town was kept by *Andrea Fartado*, a man famous in War, and having with him almost three thousand men; but the greater part of them was *Indians*, because some *Portugueses* were sent out of the Garrison with certain Ships to *China*.

In the *Holland Fleet*, were eleven ships, and fourteen hundred men. Wherefore for augmenting his Forces, he desired aid of the Kings of *Jora*, making a League, That they should enjoy the Countrey, and the *Hollanders* the Town, but the *Trey* to be divided equally between them. Hereupon they began to shoor, first from the Ships, then from certain little Islands which lay near. Then on the shore to the right hand they pitched their Camp, and suddenly a suburb beyond the River, that might have been defended, was quitted, and a bridge being cut down, the whole defence lay within the Castle, and the places near adjoyning to the Castle. Thus the *Hollanders* with safety made another bridge over the River, and so invaded the backside of the Town, and a Monastery defended with a Mount, and in a short time pierced on the other side, even to the Sea. Therefore *Matlisen* appoints Forts in convenient and fit places, and beats down with the shot of his Great Guns, a Bulwark that *Fartado* a little before had added to the Castle, and when the ground that was full of Water, would not suffer the Pioneers to work, making little wooden Towers, and filling them with earth and

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small loppings of Trees (and by chance there were many Orchards near thereabouts) he removed nearer to the Castle carrying into that rude and barbarous World, the Political Stratagems of the *Netherlandish* War. And strange it is to tell, and hard to be believed, that in all that Siege there was no use made of any of the *Javanese*, or others whom the Neighbour Kings had sent thither: The first number promised to send, they performed not, and then in those that came, obedience and constancy was no less wanting, than knowledge in the use of Arms; for they were not only unfit to stand against violent eruptions or sallies, but at every shot of a Gun, were ready to fly from their appointed stations; so that then it was evident by clear experiments, That the Portuguese had rather made a prey of these Nations, than obtained a Victory.

But the *Hollander* being pressed with the whole burden of the War, partly by accidental misfortunes, and partly by weariness and nocturnal show'ers, were much diminished and weakened. There was no hope that the besieged being more in number, could be taken by them who were fewer; it remained therefore only to starve them out; but now the Siege having continued four Months was broken up by the coming of a Fleet from Goa, which was commanded by *Alphonse de Castro*, the Kings Pretor in the *Indies*; this Fleet consisted of fourteen Galeons, four Gallies, and fifteen smaller ships, which carryed of *Portuguese*, and other *European*, to the number of three thousand seven hundred men, and well nigh as many *Barbarian* servants. These were commanded, as afterwards was known by some Prisoners and Letters, to invade all the places where the *Hollanders* were wont to come with Merchandise, particularly, *Achem*, *Java*, *Paham*, *Panci*, *Batavia*, and *Amboyna*. As they came near *Achem*, they commanded the King of the City, to pay the Charges of their Fleet, Deliver up the *Hollanders*, and suffer a Castle to be builded, as if already they had gotten the Victory.

Victory. But he being well furnished with Arms and Fortifications, wherewith he had strengthened the Shoar, by the Treachions of the *Hollander*, contemned all these threats and cracks; yet the *Spaniards* broke into one of them, but were repulſed with ſo great ſlaughter, that they durſt attempt no further. And now the Siege of *Malacca* coming on their knowledge, they haſten thither, that they might, if poſſible, ſurpriſe the empty Ships, and take the Enemy as he lay ſcattered on the ſhore; but *Admiral* being forewarned hereof by his Scouts and Spyes, prevented them; and although he were but a raw Souldier, yet he performed the duty of an excellent Captain: for firſt, he ſhipped all his Carriages and Guns, then the *Portugueſe* Souldiers, and laſt of all, as any *Hollander* was more diſtant, ſo he was commanded before the others (that lay nearer) to enter the Fort, that was erected on the ſhore. Now had part of them got into the ſhips, and other part was yet on land, when the Enemy made a ſtrong Sally out of *Malacca*, but they were ſoon beaten back, and ſo afterwards the reſt with more care got on board.

As ſoon as ever the ſhips ſaw each other, they began a Fight with their Great Guns at a diſtance; the *Portugueſe* dividing the Fight, becauſe the Wind carryed them towards *Sumatra*, which was from the Enemy. As ſoon as day light appeared the next morning, and the Wind began to blow from *Sumatra*, *Admiral* foreſeeing the Enemy would preſs upon him, commanded to weigh Anchor, but one of the ſhips which was named *Naffar*, when it could not ſtir the Anchor, and delayed to cut their Cables, was ſurrounded by two *Spaniſh* Veffels, and burned; but the danger was like to have reached the Author thereof, if the Gallies had not come in and aſſiſted them, which kind of help the *Hollanders* wanted, therefore being drawn with ropes faſtened to the Gallies that were rowed, they eſcaped the fire, that was now ready to ſeize them: The *Holland* ſhips alſo attempted

attempted to succour their fired Vessels, which were called the *Middleburg* and the *Orange*, but the wind presently slackening, hindered their course, and forthwith *Alvares Carvalho*, *Henry Noron*, and *Duarte Guerra*, *Portugal* Captains with three ships set upon them; into which being intangled one among another, the *Maurice*, another *Holland* ship, cast fire, which utterly consumed *Duarte* and *Carvalho*, with their ships, and together with them perished the *Middleburg*. But *Matthias* himself with the Admiral, assailed *Noron*, fighting with the *Orange*, and so terrified it with shot, that at length the torn Vessel in sign of yielding, took down the Banner: yet for all this, he durst not go among the *Portugueses*, preparing to receive him, fearing lest any Seamen, the Fight being not yet over, should turn both their heads and minds to Boory, and neglect the Battle. Therefore supposing the ship his own, and commanding the shot to cease, he drew it after him with a rope, but *Noron*, the Cable breaking of it self, escaping to his companions, deceived his too careful and unhappy Prudence. But here the *Spaniards* being weary, the Fight began to cease, and the *Hollanders* took great care that they might not by the swiftness of the Tyde, be separated and driven below the Enemy. The Victory was equal, each side having lost two ships, whereas the *Portugueses* indeed were the bigger, but the *Hollanders* loss was the greater; their Fleet being the least. But the loss of men was not equal; for the *Hollanders* wanted only eight, whereas many of the *Portugueses* perished, both by fire, shot, and in the Sea; besides a great many that were slain by the furious Seamen, contrary to their Captains command, as they endeavoured to escape from the fire in a small Boat. The next dayes passed in quiet, or at least in the exchange of some few bullets, when the *Hollanders* began to want Gunpowder, and which was a greater mischief than that, the obstinacy of the Seamen had well nigh burst into a sedition; for because by the Law of the society,

the whole Fleet was not intrusted to all, but every one had his own ship delivered to his Trust, they whose ships were burned, as if they therewith had lost their wages, sad and enraged, inclined others to refuse fighting, with fear of the like loss: therefore for appeasing their minds, as well that their sick men might be refreshed, as their torn ships repaired, *Alonso* withdraws with his Fleet to *Jara*, and there enters into Council with the Kings for strengthening of the Town against any Assaults of the *Portugueses*. Here while he layed a Month, a joyful Messenger came to him with news, That the Enemy had divided his Fleet, part of them being gone as a Convoy to the weaker ships, and that there remained at *Maluco* no more then seven Gallies, and three Gallies. Wherefore trying the *Marriners* sometimes by Threats, sometimes by Promises, he scarily prevailed with them, Not to let slip out of their hands an occasion so advantageous for the good of their Country. When they came to *Maluco*, and saw the *Portuguese* Fleet lye at Anchor, under the Protection of the Castle; *Alonso*, that he might draw them out into the open Sea, made use of this Policy. The outmost of the Enemies ships, (being called the *Niche*) Hime self in the Admirall, and with two other ships, enclosed, and cutting its Anchor Cable with a Rope, drew it along with them into the Main Sea: and because Gunpowder was short with him, he appointed they should not make many shots, but what they did make, to make surely, not aiming at the bottom (because in that calm Sea he could not well draw a ship) but at the hatches and decks, and where ever they saw the men stand thickest. Then he commands the ship so he immediately entered, and that all they met with should be put to the sword: Nor were the Seamen backward in performing the command, forgetting his Domestick quarrell, as he grew hot with fighting, insomuch that they made a great slaughter. And when *Alonso* would have set it on fire, being now empty, unless by chance some had hidden themselves

selfes therein; a certain Captain desired the custody thereof, but he would not grant it, remembering *Norons* late escape; nor indeed could he, for the rope breaking with which it was held, the ship returned to its companions. In the interim, the whole *Portugall* Fleet, that they might save the *Nicholas* in so great danger, weighing their Anchors, came out to Sea. The *Hollanders* sometimes waited for them one to one, otherwhiles two to one: however at last one of the *Spanish* Vessels was burned, another carrying *Sebastian Smures*, yielded it self, the rest all torn and bloody, hovered up and down, when night intercepted the Victory. Famous and full of Honour was the *Hollanders* Valour and Fortune that day, many of the Enemies being slain, and of themselves scarcely any, except such as through greediness of booty, drew upon them ruine by commixing with the burning Ship.

The next morning, one ship, which was very much shattered, appeared, having only left a few of the Slaves that rowed it, which also was delivered, the rest returned to the Harbour. *Matthisen* desiring to spoil those likewise, that he might perfect so famous a Work, was warned by fear, lest being so near the shore, he might run aground, and so do himself a mischief. When this had remained under Consideration some dayes; behold he sees the remainder of the Ships fired by the *Portugalses* themselves, with pleasure beholding the sad spectacle of a mad fear. The Prisoners which he had, he sent back to *Alphonse de Castro*, the Chief, who appointed the Ransome to be divided among the Seamen, and the rest upon this Condition, *That the few Hollanders detained at Malacca or elsewhere, should be restored in their kind.* And he either esteemed the Enemies so vile, or his own men so precious, that he exchanged butten for almost two hundred. All the ships which he took from the Enemy, were burned, that they might not be chargeable, or troublesome to him; only preserving the four and

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Thus as matters here went successfully on, so from the *Malacca's* contrary things were related; for after *Verhagen* had left *Tidoris* to the antient Possessor, certain *Portugueses* falling upon the *Philippines* (which are a part of the dominion belonging to the Kingdome of *Castile*, which the Natives call *Lusania*) desire and obtain aid of *Petro Acuna* the Governour, but with this Proviso, That for the future, the *Moluccas* should be open to the *Castilians*; (concerning which the said people had been long at difference, as we have elsewhere related): Whereupon it was not rashly believed, That the *Castilians* had rather the Islands should be recovered, then kept in such a necessity of time. Being come to *Tidoris* with seven and thirty Vessels great and small, that it might be possessed with the more ease, the King himself assisted, following the *Hollanders* Affairs outwardly with his words, but maligning them in his heart. Thence they passed to *Ternata*, there the Forts are taken, and the King who had been most faithful to the *Hollanders*, and foreseeing the danger, had often advised, that they should not leave *Tidoris* without a Fort, now suffering for anothers fault, first fled, then giving credit to the *Spaniard*, Atticled for his life, and was commanded to hope for the rest; but his Kingdome were disposed to such as were of old envious to him, by the consent of the *Spaniard*, and himself kept in custody, and carryed into the *Philippines*.

Matelison, when he heard that *Ternata* was taken, fearing the like evil at *Ambonya*, and having by chance gotten a small Ship of the Enemies, he furnished it with Arms, and therewithal sends some that he had in the Fleet, that were men skillfull in the Art of Fortification. Himself went to a small Island called *Batu*, seeking the rest of the *Portugal* Fleet, which as before we related, going from *Malacca*, then lay there.

But the *Portugueses* upon sight of the Enemy, being afraid

to fight, fastned the ships together, and all to the shore, bringing all the Guns to one side, and choosing moreover a Creek of the Sea, where they might force the Enemy to Fight against Wind and Tyde; and here to they added all along, great Piles of Wood and Sand. *Matelisen* seeing no possibility of approach, endeavoured with some Fire-ships, to set the Fleet on fire; but they, partly by Boats, endeavoured to divert the mischief intended towards them, and the Wind also helped in blowing them back; but the season of the year did not suffer the *Hollanders* any longer to stay, being commanded rather to surcease from War, than Merchandise, appointing those that should carry them to the *Moluccas*, the Winds beginning to grow boysterous. Part of them went to *Quela*, the King of which place, to gain the favour of the Conqueror, imprisoned all the *Portugueses* living among them; On the other side, the *Hollanders* gave him all the *Indians* and Enemies he had in his power. And other Kingdomes also comming in and submitting, manifestly declared, That the Barbarians Faith would be shaken by the evens of this Battel; So that some had Treated to buy their Peace of the *Spaniards*, by delivering up all the *Hollanders* Factors; but anon after some Merchants ships belonging to *Portugal*, became their prey. Making hast from thence to *Ambony*, where the People are great Lovers of the *Hollanders*, he built a Castle with great expedition and diligence; and *Matelisen*, though he believed there were two principal bonds, whereby Foreign Nations are united one to another, to wit, Marriage, and Religion, yet had with him no Ministers to teach sacred matters, the society among the *Hollanders*, herein, not sufficiently imitating the *Spaniards* Prudence, who have the *Jesuits* as principal Instruments in the ordering Spiritual Affairs in their Kingdoms; yet the *Hollanders* obtaining a garison there, intermarried with the Native Women, whereby Families being produced, it might the more easily become the beginning of a Colony.

valiantly repulsed in *Ternata*, from his assault of the new Fortifications: But that the King of *Jora*, upon approach of the Enemies Forces from *Malacca*, voluntarily fired the Town, and fled into the Desert and places unpassable: however, he sent Recruits to *Ternata*, for by chance, a fresh Ship was arrived from *Holland*: And the King of *Jora* being admonished by Letters of his fault, that he had not followed the Fortifying of the Town, although often called upon to that purpose, at last, this comfort was added, that they were coming that would revenge his injuries.

At *Java*, *Paul Cardenas* met him with seven Ships, for he had lost one that struck upon a shelf at the Siege of *Masembike*, from which he was forced to depart by the sickness of his men, yet he took one of the Enemies *Carracks*, and spoiled two there; and others upon the Coast of *Bengala*: With *Maulism*, there came Embassadors from the King of *Siam*, who brought Gifts to the Prince; other Letters also were at the same time brought from divers Kings. He brought back with him two Ships, and three others followed, all laden with Spices.

At this same time, when the *Indian Company* was afflicted not only with many at home, but with forreign Treasures, even from the Enemy himself, a Noble Merchant being accused for the same, and thrown into Prison, whereupon many others were necessitated to flight.

As of old, *France* greatly flourished under a Porent King, so now it did the like under a Prince that was the Umpire of Peace in the World, whose Queen at this time, brought him a third Son: from this Kingdom, one *Monsieur de Montm*, as is elsewhere mentioned, had planted a Colony in the North part of *America*, near the River *Canada*, but without any benefit from thence besides *Beaver Skins*, (and the *Hollanders* also had a Share therein) but the Company being weary of the charge, it quickly fell to nothing: nevertheless, collecting others, Ships were again sent to repossess those

deserted places, who planted at *Port-Royall* and *Quebec* knowing the *Ayr* in the Island of *Santa Cruce*, was unwholesome.

Into *England*, news was brought from *Virginia*, that nothing hindered their Landing, or planting, and that there was sufficient of all things for humane sustenance, but the mine which they had searched, were of no value.

The faction of *Tyrone* troubled *Ireland*, making irruptions upon some strong Holds near the Sea, while *Tyrone* himself lived at *Rome* with the *Pope*, but no Supplies coming to them, the same Rebels were easily Conquered, and driven into the fastnesses of the Woods and Mountains.

Spain, after the Sea was opened to it, and beginning to perceive the Commodities of Peace, yet sending of thirteen to the *Indies*, did not omit, besides Merchandise, to put Soldiers therein, as knowing, that if a League were made, yet whatever was taken before, would be esteemed lawful prize, and the King himself sweetning the hardships he had put upon his Creditors, renewed his Reputation: Besides, by a rare Example, he caused his Subject to swear Allegiance to his Son, being yet an Infant of three years old, as Heir of his Kingdoms.

Barbary, being always inquiet, while their Sects-sayers, at pleasure, draw the Peoples minds changable by Superstition, now this way, now that way, and then disturbed by *Abdala* and his Uncle *Zidan*, the youngest Son of their sometime King *Hamet*, by his lawful Wife, as he reported, of whom He possessing *Fez* in his Fathers name, yet soon lost *Morocco*, a most Noble City, *Mahomet* the Nephew of *Hamet*, being by the Citizens called to the Kingdom, who received the same: Here by the uncertain Law of *Africa*, and for the more easie Retreat of Warriors, a formidable strength of Pirates planted themselves, disturbing the Sea near the Straights. The Rumour whereof came to the *Hollanders*, at what time *Spinola* was at the *Hague*; Therefore the *States*,

hearing the said *Pirates* had taken one *Hall and Ship*, lest they should seem by dissimulation, to encourage a publick evil, shewed themselves ready with an Armed Fleet, severely to revenge themselves, if *Spinola* would promise they should not be molested by the *Spaniards*, but he protested he had no power to do any such thing.

Among these *Pirates*, were many *English*, to whom happened an accident worthy of memory, which was, That some *English* under the shew of *Merchants*, entering a Ship of *Zeland*, on a sudden got the *Mariners* all under Deck, by chance, and Turk was therein, which was of the number of *Prisoners*, who being taken at *Scлуys*; and having his liberty given him, notwithstanding ever after lived in *Zeland*: He, daring to attempt any thing, being not of a servile nature, killed two *Englishmen*, as they were upon the Watch in the night, and overcharged with drink, then loosing the *Mariners*, hoisting their Sails, they returned into their Country, and delivered up the surviving *Thieves* to a just punishment.

In *Germany*, a *Dyct* was called at *Ratisbon*, where nothing was done, though much deliberated upon: But the *Emp. rom.* who of late had begun to shew his care for the Affairs of *Holland*, was now himself deprived of his Dominions: for *Matthias* choosing rather to have, then to expect Authority, and despising *Rodolfus* his sloth, found not a few in *Hungary* and *Austria*, who were troubled at the present state of Affairs, and having procured the Agreement of both those Nations, and causing the *German* to be hated, who under the pretence of *Cæsars* Person, ruled all, Collecting an Army, he leads it to *Prague*, where was his Brothers Palace and Court; But the *Bohemians* standing up for *Rodolfus*, first a Treaty, and soon after a Peace was made, so as *Matthias* should for the present enjoy all the Christian part of *Hungary*, together with the *Principalities* of *Austria* and *Moravia*, and *Bohemia* for the future, if *Rodolfus* dyed without any Issue male: But *Matthias* had scarce gotten the

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possession of his desires, but his Conditions were changed : Of affable becoming severe, and denying to the *Austrian Protestants*, the use of their Religion, whereupon their minds were turned from him, and their Arms against him : Nor did the *Bohemians* for the like causes, leis disturb the Emperour.

The Eighteenth and last Book of the History of the Dutch AFFAIRES.

1609. **A**T the beginning of the new year, the *Zelanders* being hardly brought by threats to give their consents, that their minds incensed with wrangling, might again grow into one, and all fear of protracting business be taken away, the Provinces promise among themselves : that they would make no agreement with the Enemy, unless the Liberty granted to them in those words, that the Deputies approved, were in deed and reality confirmed, and nothing contrary thereto should be admitted, whether sacred or profane. And if the Enemy should endeavour to do otherwise, they would wait eight dayes, and then absolutely break off the Treaty, and return to Arms, with all the strength they could possible make.

And now on the one hand, the Embassadors of the Kings, and on the other, they that were sent from the King of *Spain* and *Albertus*, and were lately returned home, laboured to lessen the controverted points : but when that way seemed too slow, and it was found difficult to explicate business between absent people, it was concluded there was a necessity

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of a further Treaty; and to that purpose, *Antwerp* was appointed as the fittest place, because many of the *Hollanders* were displeased with the Enemies residence among them, and they who before came as it were to desire peace, now looked upon their coming to them, as if they had come to sue: And for speeding on the Treaty, this way was invented, that as soon as *Spinola*, and they that had been with him at the *Hague*, were come to *Antwerp*, the Embassadors of the Kings should go thither, and carry with them a draught containing the principal Heads of the League, to which the *States*, at the Request of the said Embassadors, a few things only being altered, had consented: And when the *Spaniards* had subscribed to the same, then at last, the *States* Deputies should be sent to *Antwerp* for perfecting the rest, and the *States* themselves would be resident at *Berghen op Zoom*, that if any difficulty arose, they might be near at hand to be advised with thereupon.

The *Spaniards* being shewed the said draught, and desired to Sign it, when they said, that was a little too imperious, because they were not the demands of Enemies, but of Friends, who were admitted Arbitrators, and thereupon, at least demanded time of deliberation; they brought to passe, that upon the undertaking of the Embassadors of the Kings, the Cessation of Arms should be continued until the end of *February*, they promising in the mean time to return their Answer.

When they began to read over, and discuss the several Heads, they found nothing innovated in the words, asserting their liberty, only the *Spaniards* not induring that the Embassadors should call the *States* by the Title of High and Mighty, consented at last, they should be written Illustrious: The *States* desired, that those *Tributes*, which the *Country* Scituate in the middle between both Parties, had payd during the War, for redemption of their Lands from the spoil of the Souldiers, should be continued by the *Tower*, but

But that was rejected, as Hostile and unjust; for most part of *Holland* was inclosed with Sluces and Rivers, and paid no Tribute to the Enemy at any time; whereas they had great and wide Incursions into *Brabant* and *Flanders*. The *Spaniards* desired to take off all Customs which had been, by occasion of the War, laid upon all ships passing the *Scheldt*, and other Rivers; saying also, That those were the Reliques of War, and not only grievous to them, but to the French and English also. But they could not obtain, that any thing thereof should be altered; the Embassadors well knowing, that *Zeland* abominated nothing more; Yet some hope was given; That after the *League*, the Matter might be brought to a better pass, by Friendly Treaties of the Merchants among themselves; for the *Spaniards* had boasted, That it was in their Power, to make their Customs prove prejudicial to them that ex-acted the same.

Concerning the *Indies*, there was a long and sharp Dispute, the *States* averring, there ought to be particular mention made thereof: But *Richardot* said, That *King Philip's* Interest would not suffer it to be done, for many Causes, which belonged not to the *States* to know; otherwise, by this Example, other Nations would require the same Liberty of Navigation, which neither the French nor English use, as granted to them, but at their own peril.

Therefore, that the Truce might be made without any Exception, it was passed over; onely, He would have Commerce restrained within those places that *King Philip* possessed, either in *Italy* or *Spain*; denying, that any further Indulgence could be granted; and however he would not command the same, yet that would not hinder, but that the *Hollanders* might Traffique there; but it was not convenient, so to be declared by a publicke *League*, for it would be enough, if it were settled by private Agreements.

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The Embassadors answer'd, That therein were many things, to which the *States* would never be perswaded, for it was an *Hostile Act*, to keep one out of the Limits of his Dominion, and therefore the *Hollanders* had rather, if they must want the fruits of Peace, contend for the Possession of that World by Arms. Besides, there would be little safety in private Agreements, that should not be published to all Peoples Knowledge.

But as to what was spoken of *Spain* and *Italy*, without doubt those Limitations were too narrow, since the *Spaniards* hath excluded none from the Islands, lying within the Straights of *Gibraltar*, or the *Fortunate Islands*, or the whole Coast of *Barbary*. The *Spaniards* Replyed, That during the War, the *Hollanders* never failed to those remote places possessed by *Philip*, and now when they have by the Treaty of Peace acquitted the same, more ought not to be asked by a Truce, than either had been won by Arms, or could be hoped for by Peace: King *Philip* would not allow the *Indian Trade* should be left to a War, and their case is far different from those of *France* and *Brittain*; for, from thence, there went out onely a few Ships, and those by stealth; but the *Hollanders* go thither with great Fleets. As to the rest, they seem'd to grant the same, that instead of *Spain* and *Italy*, all *Europe* should be named; and if private Covenants would not be satisfactory, they desired the publike League should be made, so as that the Word *Indies* should not be therein. After the form of this Article had been often amended, and what was approv'd by the one side, was disliked by the other; and that the Arch-Dukes had been consulted with first by *Kerres*, and afterwards by *Richardet*; at length, it was agreed in these words,

That the Subjects of King *Philip*, the Arch-Dukes, and the *States*, during the Truce, should maintain Amity, forgetting and forgiving the Injuries given or received in the War:

That

That it be lawful for them to pass backward and forward, and freely to Trade by Land, Sea, and Rivers, which the King brooks fit to limit within *Europe*, and such other places, as have heretofore, by his permission, been open to his Friends, and those at Peace with him; but without those Bounds, it shall not be lawful to negotiate and trade, in any the Countries, Towns, and Ports, by him possessed, without private leave first had and obtain'd: But neither King *Philip*, his Ministers, or Subjects, shall hinder them then from Trading with any other Kings or People willing to deal with them; nor shall the *Hollanders*, or any that admit the *Hollanders* to Commerce, be molested in his Name.

To which words, the Embassadors of the Kings would have these added, viz. When in time it shall be necessary, that they who are conversant beyond those Bounds with Ships and Forces, understand that there is a League made, from thence forward a Truce shall begin there for one Year; and if a *Messenger* arrive there before, both Parties to forbear Hostility; and, if after the Year, any Hostile Acts be done, the damage shall be made good.

The *Spaniards* hearkned to this with great Reluctancy, as well because by manifest Tokens the *Indies* were exprest to collect that if they had bin named; as for that they desired Things taken and seized in that part of the World, if they could be found, should be restored, but slaughters and devastations by fire could not be restored: They being more prone to Cruelty, but the *Hollander* esteeming Booty at a higher value than Blood: However, at last they yielded, but their Countenances and Words manifesting they had received an Injury.

The Embassadors having thus far brought the Business to perfection, after they had received the Directions, of the Kings their Masters, by swift and speedy Messengers, being required by the States to come to *Brughes*, they declare to them

them all they had done: Beseeching them, That they would be content with these Agreements exceeding all their hopes, and that they should not too solicitously scan the Words, for the Kings were pleas'd therewith: And that nothing might be wanting to their Security, voluntarily promised, That if the Spaniards by force disturbed the Indian Commerce, they would take Revenge thereof, as if the Truce had been violated. Whereupon the States, after a little Consultation among themselves, send their Deputies to *Antwerp*, the same which had been nominated before for making Peace: onely *Nicholas Berckman* substituted in the place of *Cornelius Renssen* that had been for *Utrecht*. To these it was given in charge that they perfect the Remainder; and where they could, should explain and make clear any thing that seem'd obscure. The Spaniards would be asked, that the Truce should continue for 12 years; And that a long Dispute might not arise, in discoursing particulars concerning Bounds, it was agreed to be sufficient: That each should retain the Countries and Towns they possess'd at present, and that the Country about should be reckon'd with the Town: As to Commerce, besides those Things already remembred, it was agreed, That neither should lay greater Impositions on the other, than their Friends or Citizens bore when they paid least: And that the Crime of Difference in Religion, might not oppress Travellers or Merchants passing up and down, the same Things were granted to the *Hollanders*, which *Philip* had promised the *English* by private Agreements. That they shall not retain the ships of strangers for publick service, nor decide the Right of Seizure, otherwise than according to the prescript Rule of Law. Many Things were spoken of concerning private Affairs, and more fit to be settled by a Peace, than a Truce. And all Prisoners on both sides to be set at Liberty, *Gratis*. That the space of 40 years should not by Prescription enslave those that follow'd diverse Parties, nor any Sanctions given against such as were absent,

sent,

sent, and made no Defence: That there should be no Restitution of moveable Goods received Profits, or bestowed Honours: That all things should immediately return to the antient Lords of the Soil, or to those Societies, which are devoted to Religion in the Arch-Dukes Jurisdictions, but without any Power to alienate the same: But for what had bin sold from the Exchequer, instead thereof, during the Truce, a Yearly Revenue should be paid; and for what had been bestow'd in publick Works, the value should be given; That it should be lawful to redeem any Farms seized for Debts, within a year: yet so, as a just account should be had to necessary Charges: but the like Priviledges was taken from Houses situate in Towns, so as they should absolutely remain to the Purchasers: For Lakes, Adarishes, and overflowed Grounds, drained by private men at their own Charge, nothing was done, unless any Rent was raised out of the Land: That the Exchequer, and not the antient Professour, should account for the Rents formerly set upon the Land, for those years which they held the same Farms: And because it consisted with the Honour of the Commonwealth nominally to include the House of Nassau, which had so well deserved of Liberty; and therefore it was concluded, That they should not receive their own, but besides, should not be liable to any Debt which his Father had contracted since the Duke of Alva's time: That the making of Testaments should be commanded to the Citizens and People under both Dominions, and no Writings or Deeds should be of any force, which had disinherited the next of Kin, out of Hatred to Sides or Parties: That, to the Count, whose Jurisdiction, by the League should return to private persons, yet the States should appoint Magistrates in such as were in their Dominion, and the Arch-Dukes the like in their Territories: And with no less Prudence was it provided, That this Truce should be beneficial to those, who having gone out of the Netherlands for fear of the War, had sought Foreign Habitati-

Most of these Heads were written by *Olden-Barnevelt*, as he fear'd any thing dangerous, or so clear any thing advantageous to his Country; so tempering his words with wonderful carefulness.

And as Supports of Security, these Defences were raised: That no Ships of War should come from one another to the Ports, Havens, or Coasts of the other, unless by permission, or forced by Tempest; That it should not be lawful to build any new Forts: And that common Assistance should be promised to drive away and punish Thieves both by Sea and Land; That private Trespasses should be vindicated upon the Authors thereof themselves, or else where they lived; That, under that pretence, it should not be lawful to break the Truce: That this League should be confirm'd by King Philip, and the Arch-Dukes, in the Name of themselves, and their Heirs; and the States likewise for themselves to raise the same: The States and Arch-Dukes, within four days, and Philip the Third within a Month: And that each should promise to the other, that they would not do, or suffer to be done, any thing to the contrary, directly or indirectly; and whoever should dare to do the contrary, to be punish'd with all severity. And these were the publicke Acts.

In private, the Spaniards by connivence of the French, obtain'd what they so earnestly desir'd, to wit, That, that part of Brabant Subject to the States, and which hitherto had us'd the Latine Rites, should still enjoy the same without any alteration. But the States Deputies receiv'd from the Embassadors of the Kings, a Testimonial in Writing, That the Adversaries had often, during the Treaty, protested, that the Indies were comprehended under the General Head concerning Commerce; and that the States, at Request of the said Embassadors, promising thus much, had granted, that they should not be named. Besides that was the Mind of the States, that all things us'd by the Spani-

and in the Indies against them, the same they do towards the Spaniards: And if any Hollanders there should be opposed, or assailed, it should not be a breach of the Truce to defend them: That the Jurisdiction of Breda and Berghen, should be contained within the Bounds, and whatever was about, or belonged to the Grave.

On the other side, at the Request of the French Embassador, the States Deputies did testify, That the Heirs of the Prince of Spinoy, who had formerly taken the part of the States, were to be reckon'd among those that were to have their Goods restored; And if the Prince of Ligny delay'd to make Restitution, that the States should adjudge the possession of Wassenær, belonging to the Prince of Ligny in Holland, to the Prince of Spinoy.

And this was given in Favour of the Duke of Roan, at that time very powerful in France, as having the chief Command of the Treasury and Exchequer: And his Daughter was married into the House of Spinoy.

The Ninth Day of April the League was made, whereby those Arms, famous through Europe, and now carry'd into another World, were laid aside by a Truce, in hope of a future Peace. And immediatly it was approved by the Arch-Dukes, and States Letters, and publickly proclaim'd at Antwerp, and in all those Parts, to the high content, and with the exceeding Joy of all the Common People. But it was not so well receiv'd among the Hollanders; who, though People of their own Nature, loving Peace, yet having been disorder'd by the prosperity and misery of fourty years, yet could not suddainly return to their first Nature. But *Forerunners*, when the Report thereof came to their Ears, they wonder'd, that such a Confession of Liberty, and share in the Indies, could be extorted from so puissant a King, being a Thing so far without Example,

Example, that it was even beyond Credit. From hence arising the value of strength and Counfels; And ever since from this time, many Kings, Princes, and Nations, began to respect the Society and Alliance of *Holland*.

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